











## CALENDARS.

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### Instructions to Editors.

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The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged :—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control : 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries ; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis ; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist ; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.



As the documents are various, the Master of the Rolls considers that they will demand a corresponding mode of treatment. The following rules are to be observed :—

1st. All formal and official documents, such as letters of credence, warrants, grants, and the like, should be described as briefly as possible.

2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c., are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

9th. The language of every document is to be specified. If, however, the greater part of the collection be in English, it will be sufficient to denote those only which are in a different tongue.

10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

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\*.\* Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

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## CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

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- Page 2, line 8 from bottom. For "suspicious" read "superstitious."
- „ 7, line 34. For "*craving*" read "*craving*."
- „ 9, „ 24. Put full-stop after "clock." "In" begins another sentence.
- „ 9, „ 26. Put comma instead of full-stop after "therein," and a small "w" to the first word of the next line.
- „ 36, „ 2 from bottom. For "Moysten" read "Mostyn."
- „ 38, „ 9 from bottom. Put comma after "myself," and a small "i" to "if," and a semicolon after "longer."
- „ 45, „ 13 from bottom. *Dele* "s" in "fortifications."
- „ 49, „ 31. For "wine" read "mine."
- „ 53, „ 29. For "bridle" read "be idle."
- „ 61, „ 39. For "seller" read "cellar."
- „ 69, „ 30. For "Gortinthigony" read "Gortnithigony."
- „ 88, „ 3. For "Kilmalloch" read "Kilmallock."
- „ 88, „ 16. For "Gortnishgory" read "Gortnishygory."
- „ 91, „ 3. For "brothers" read "brother's."
- „ 108, „ 6. For "*(wanting)*" read "*(see No. 93 above)*."
- „ 109, „ 4. Before "all" insert "[at]."
- „ 114, „ 6 from bottom. After "had Tirlogh" Sir Robert Cecil had written "McHenry," but struck it out.
- „ 114, „ 5 from bottom. For "Issen" read "issue."
- „ 122, „ 2. For "deliverence" read "deliverance."
- „ 128, „ 2 of foot-note. For "in" read "it."
- „ 177, „ 20. *Dele* commas after "language" and after "well."
- „ 177, „ 21. After "that" insert "*(sic)*."
- „ 197, „ 7 from bottom. For "mishief" read "mischief."

Page 203, line 20. For "Tyrrell's Island, co. Westmeath," read "Offally."

„ 203, „ 21. After "1600[-1]" insert "*Endorsed* :—3 Martii."

„ 208, „ 1. For "Jar" read "Iar."

„ 232, „ 24. *Dele* comma after "McMurtoogh."

„ 232, „ 4 from bottom. *Dele* "James Fitz Thomas."

„ 236, „ 40. For "Anne" read "Jane [Joan]."

„ 245, „ 17. For "submitters" read "submittees."

„ 246, „ 34. For "Slaught" read "Sleught."

„ 246, „ 10 from bottom. Before "great" insert "very."

„ 250, „ 29. For "navigable" read "naviable."

„ 253, „ 4 from bottom. For "to Leix" read "into Leix."

„ 255, „ 25. For "[? the Council of Ireland]" read "[Sir Robert Cecil]."

„ 255, „ 26. For "[? the Lord Deputy]" read "[? Sir George Carew]."

„ 256, „ 22. For "McQuillen" read "McCillen," and *dele* comma.

„ 265, „ 7. For "F. King" read "J. King."

„ 273, „ 29. For "coming" read "country."

„ 282, „ 39. For "said" read "saith."

„ 289, „ 9. After "Bane" insert "[Banat]," and *dele* comma after "McSwyne."

„ 318, „ 26. For "reporteth" read "reported."

„ 367, „ 5 from bottom. After "is" insert "to be."

„ 393, „ 5. In margin of No. 26, for "June 18" read "June 20."

Pages 422, 423. The date of No. 63 should be July 16, not July 10, and the letter should take its place on page 432, just after No. 74.

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## PREFACE.

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THE papers calendared in this volume continue the story of Mountjoy's government for the nine months between 1 November, 1600, and 31 July, 1601. A few weeks after the latter date, the long-expected Spaniards arrived at Kinsale, and the final struggle began by which Ireland was for ever annexed to England. The papers deal in the main with the "journeys" of the Lord Deputy into Ulster and Leinster, with the strengthening and establishment of the English garrisons at Lough Foyle, and with the pacification of Munster.

On the 21st of October, Mountjoy had risen from Dundalk, and encamped in the Moyerie, where Tyrone had been waiting so long to fight with him. During the absence of the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Ormonde was left in charge of Leinster. The Moyerie had been fortified by Tyrone, and a good stand might have been made there. Happily for Mountjoy, Tyrone abandoned the position for a time, "to refresh his rascals," as Sir Ralph Lane put it. Thus there was no action on the night of the 21st of October. Next day, the Lord Deputy advanced close to Newry, where he lay for some days, awaiting the victuals for his men. On November 1, he marched seven or eight miles beyond Newry to Aughenegrane, at the eight miles' church midway betwixt Newry and Armagh. There he encamped on a hill, where he found an old earthwork, which he could utilise in the construction of a fort, and thus save his men some labour. On November 3, he called a meeting of the Council, and certain of its members, having been in the country longer than his Lordship, drew his attention to a situation half a mile



to the rear, where was a hill with a round fort, "whereof there are very many, as it is thought, made by the Danes." This was held to be a better place to fortify, since it was well watered and wooded, so order was given to the camp to retire thither. Scarcely had they begun to settle down, when Tyrone commenced to skirmish with them, and then attacked a little more in earnest. Sir Griffin Markham, an eye-witness, gives a sarcastic and humorous sketch of one incident in the fight:—"Tyrone, belike determining to make his men show their bravery, armed them so heavily with drink, as some of them were so unable to retire, that one of our guards of horse, with very small hazard to themselves and hurt to him, took one Neale O'Quin, one of his best trusted servants, who, it is known, may do as good service to the State as almost any towards him [*i.e.* Tyrone], having long had command of some of his islands, and been trusted with most of his prisoners. Upon his taking there was no examination of him, drink had made him both so senseless and speechless. Since, he hath been examined, and, as it is muttered, hath promised something, whereupon he is yet preserved" (p. 21). Very little skirmishing interfered with the enlarging and strengthening of the fort on the hill. On November 7, Mountjoy was compelled by want of victuals to return to Newry. There word was brought that Tyrone had followed him all day, and had gone to re-occupy the Moyerie. On November 9, having got his victuals, Mountjoy determined to return, and to finish the fort he had begun. Thereafter he purposed to reconnoitre Armagh, where he intended to plant a garrison, and then to return to Leinster. The fort would be convenient for winning intelligence to subject the whole country between it and Newry. It was commodious for annoying the rebels. Further it would be a shelter for any forces that took preys thereabouts; it would be an excellent station for victualling the new fort at Armagh; and, not least of all, it would prevent Tyrone from employing all his forces against Lough Foyle. The fort at Aughenegrane was finished in ten days' time, and named Mount Norris, Captain

Blany being left in charge with a garrison of 400 men. Henry Bird, the Commissary, writes of certain others left there, "There were also left here a very great number of sick men of the camp, without officers or others to attend them, as that it would have grieved any Christian heart to see so many perish for want of looking unto" (p. 26). The Lord Deputy had given directions to his chief secretary, Mr. Cranmer, to send some money for these sick soldiers, when the army came to Carlingford, but Cranmer was killed in the fighting, and "so the poor men were left without means, to the general hazard of them" (p. 26). Mountjoy issued a proclamation against Tyrone, promising 3,000 marks to any who should bring him in alive, and 2,000 marks to any who should either bring in his head, or make sufficient proof that they had slain him. The Lord Deputy returned to Newry on November 11, and on the next day came to the Narrow Water, where the foot were carried over in boats, and took the pass on the other side. For Mountjoy had given out that he would draw home by the pass of Carlingford, where there was a hot fight, Mr. Cranmer being slain, and Sir Henry Davers and others hurt. The rebels lost eighty killed, and a great many wounded. There were ten killed and sixty wounded on the English side. During this northern journey there had been encountered "the great extremity of the foul and stormy weather," and the privations endured by the troops were intense; whilst the plans of the Lord Deputy were much interrupted. On November 13, the force reached Carlingford, and on the next day, Dundalk, where Mountjoy immediately dispersed his men to their several garrisons, and on the 18th he reached Dublin.

On November 26, the Lord Deputy and Council wrote to the Privy Council that "the army is returned (God be thanked) hearty and full of courage, and the rebels much discouraged and dismayed, and, as they now speak among themselves, the heart of their rebellion is even broken." Yet, on the very next day, Mountjoy tells Sir Robert Cecil, "I am full with the apprehensions of the estate of this kingdom, and

of the war that must be made here. I find myself unable to express them by writing as I would." He thought he could save the Queen the expenditure of "many millions," and asked leave to go to England. The permission, however, was not accorded.

Whilst the Lord Deputy was at Dublin, three notable chiefs came and made their submission, viz., Connor Roe Maguire, Donnell Spainagh, and Omalaughlin. These were received with kindness, although suspicions were entertained as to their continued loyalty. "Omalaughlin's country," wrote the Lord Deputy and Council, "is in the furthest parts of Westmeath, towards Athlone, which, being brought back again to obedience, will be a good mean to secure all the tract between Mullingar and Athlone" (p. 57).

Mountjoy's next journey was against the rebels in Leinster. These had become more numerous by reason of the new connection formed with the province by Tyrrell, through his marriage with the sister of Onie McRory, their late chieftain. Tyrrell was a brave and capable leader, and he had taken pledges from the people of Leix to assist him in his actions. They, on their part, had given him Stradbally and other parts of the country for a dowry. Early in December, the Marshal, Sir Richard Wingfield, victualled the fort of Maryborough, and, entering Ranelagh, took from Phelim McFeagh 600 cows, and rifled his house, "where was great store of wine, *aqua vitæ*, and other provision for Christmas." Philipstown was also victualled. Mountjoy appointed the rendezvous at Naas, whence he proceeded to Monasterevan, and straight on to Ballinacorr, which he reached on Christmas Eve. Having burnt Phelim McFeagh's house, and laid waste the country thereabouts, he went over the Broadwater into the Byrnes' country. There a similar work of devastation was carried out, and Phelim himself was very nearly captured. His son, however, was taken, and sent to Dublin. The stormy weather interfered seriously with operations. Sir Geffrey Fenton writes to Cecil on the 6th of January, 1601, "I think the unseasonableness of the weather is the chiefest



hinderer of all good success there, assuring your Honour that, in all the time of my service in this land, I have not seen so tempestuous weather so long together; which maketh me think that, if God hath given liberty to the witches of that country (which aboundeth with witches), they are all set on work to cross the service by extraordinary unseasonable weather." On January 23, Mountjoy drew back to Monasterevan, having left strong garrisons at Wicklow and Tullagh. Captain Dawtrey prophesied that, as the Lord Deputy had kept his Christmas in the Glynnys, so would he keep his Shrovetide in Leix and Offally. From Monasterevan Mountjoy intended to proceed against the Moores and Connors, but discovered the Moores to be so weak in Queen's County (owing to Onie McRory's death and the devastation of their country), and the Connors to have fled from the adjoining part of King's County (many of them to seek help from Tyrone), that he left a few companies in those two shires, and returned to Trim, which he considered the fittest place for service. For if Tyrrell, who was the chief rebel in King's County, assembled his forces in any part there, Mountjoy could soon fall back upon him. There was some hope, however, of Tyrrell's submission. If, on the west side, those northern rebels, who were desirous to go into Munster, should attempt to pass the river Enny, the companies had been so arranged by the Lord Deputy, that the rebels would have to fight with considerable advantage to his own side. If neither of these two courses befel, he intended to act in the Brenny, a little to the north. It would also afford a good opportunity to escort Connor Roe Maguire back to Fermanagh, and establish him there, according to the Queen's warrant. To Neale Garve, who had done, and was still doing, good service, Mountjoy promised the country of Tyrconnell, reserving only Ballyshannon, with some 800 acres of land about it, and the fishing of the Erne. Further, Neale Garve was to have 300 foot and 100 horse in Her Majesty's pay, and pardon for himself and all his followers.

The stay of the Lord Deputy at Trim was one of the causes that prevented Tyrone from stirring up anew a fire in Munster. Tyrrell was in Westmeath with his forces, and Tyrone came in person as far as O'Reilly's country to help Tyrrell, as also to send McMorris and Piers Lacy into Munster. One other cause preventing Tyrone from occasioning fresh fighting in Munster was, that the supplies of men sent to Lough Foyle obliged him to draw back. Tyrrell's forces were beginning to desert him, on account of his tyranny. He and his friends were pinched with famine, and it was a favourable time to dispose of him. Early in March, Tyrrell was attacked in an island in McGeoghan's country, to which he had fled. Reconnoitring had shewn that the position was a strong one, surrounded by bogs and water-courses, and that it was not to be taken without severe loss. The first attack failed, and, before another could be delivered on the succeeding day, Tyrrell stole out of the island and castle. Mountjoy gives full particulars in his despatch of March 15. Sir Christopher St. Lawrence was directed to follow Tyrrell through Fercall and Offally, but the fugitive did not stay anywhere, until he came to Moyligh and Farrinamorchan, on the borders of Kildare and King's County, where he fortified himself. There St. Lawrence attacked him, and, after a severe fight, drove him out of the sconces and the wood. Both Tyrrell and his son were wounded. Most of Offally was laid waste, to prevent the rebels maintaining any force there. "We had a desire," writes Mountjoy, "to have utterly hunted those rogues out of that den, but we were not able to make our horse or foot to live one day longer in the country, and the waters were so exceedingly risen, that at that time it was impossible to force their islands." Hearing of a great preparation made by Tyrone to draw towards the Pale, the Lord Deputy drew his forces towards Navan and the parts adjoining. From the seaside in the Byrnes' country up to Athlone, there had been left almost nothing for the rebels to subsist upon, neither was there any strong body of them, but only scattered

troops, in those parts. One cause of satisfaction to the Lord Deputy and Council was the coming in of Phelim McFeagh McHugh O'Byrne, who made humble submission before them, renouncing all connection with the Earl of Tyrone or any other traitor, and abjuring the King of Spain and all other foreign enemies to Her Majesty. Redmond, Phelim's brother, also submitted; and the same course was followed by Tirlogh McHenry, half-brother to Tyrone, and by Ever McCooley McMahon, after Mountjoy had "made use of occasions and opportunities against" the countries of the Fews and Ferney, and had "scourged" them with his forces. The Brenny also was brought into subjection. It was considered by the Lord Deputy and Council that the Fews, Ferney, and the Brenny were "not only a hedge between the English Pale and the north, insomuch as, they standing firm, the subjects of the Pale are to reap both safety and benefit; but also through those countries Her Majesty's army may find many commodities, when the time shall serve to pass into Tyrone, to act upon that arch-traitor, which is the main design, and all other must be carried on to give force to that" (p. 244).

Although Mountjoy had been on the watch, Tyrrell managed to escape from Leinster into Ulster. But the Lord Deputy and Council could send to England a gratifying list of the principal men of Tyrone who had lately submitted, "beside all Tyrconnell, which is wholly to one foot subdued." O'Cahan himself heads the list. Captain Hetherington writes to Cecil on April 16, 1601, with respect to Mountjoy, "whose worthy praise, honour, and valiant attempts, good success and proceedings I cannot sufficiently commend; thanks be to God, he hath pacified Leinster, and driven the rebels to that plunge and extremity that they were glad to yield themselves, being able to hold out no longer." Sir Edward Herbert, also, writing to Cecil on July 10, 1601, says, "I assure your Honour my Lord Deputy is a very honourable gentleman, and a nobleman who hath behaved himself as honourably in Her Majesty's service all these wars as any that ever I saw in his Lordship's place; and as good



fortune he hath, God be thanked, to do Her Highness service as any that ever I knew. For mine own part, I protest I never got by his Lordship the value of a horse, yet according the honourable good service I see him daily do, I cannot but make bold with your Honour to declare of him my good opinion." "If the garrisons," writes the Lord Deputy in March, 1601, "be well chosen and sufficiently planted, I do confidently believe that the next winter will utterly end the war, and give Her Majesty power to work this kingdom to what fashion she will, either to make a long and lasting peaceable government between some mere Irish and her English subjects, or else to make it as a *tabula*, and to write in it what laws shall best please herself."

The general hosting, previous to the Lord Deputy's journey into the north, was appointed to begin on 30 June, 1601. Meantime he intended to draw to Dundalk, and to occupy his time upon the northern borders, ready to "apply" occasions for service, and especially by his presence to press those who had lately submitted to attempt service on Tyrone and his confederates. These submittees Mountjoy could employ to make passable the Moyerie, that old and formidable obstacle to military expeditions to the north. During his absence from Dublin at this time, he had entrusted the Council with all the requisite preparations for his journey, "so as no time may be pretermitted to set upon the archtraitor at his own doors, when we shall be fitted for it." By lying on the borders Mountjoy compelled Tyrone to keep his forces together in that direction. Sir Geffrey Fenton made a strong appeal to Cecil to send back the various captains, who were lingering at the Court, especially Sir Francis Shane.

The Lord Deputy had been desirous to plant Ballyshannon by way of Connaught, but he saw that the Privy Council inclined to Sir Henry Dockwra's offer to plant that garrison from Lough Foyle. So he held a Council of War to decide on his operations for the summer. At first it was suggested that his army should march by Lecale and those parts into

Coleraine. The object was to subdue all the woodmen, and utterly to take away from Tyrone all that part of Ulster between Coleraine and Lough Neagh and the Blackwater, for from there Tyrone had gathered his utmost strength. The passages were not very dangerous, the sea was at hand for the conveyance of supplies, and there was a chance of getting into Tyrone by crossing the Bann, all other ways of entering that county, save by Lough Foyle, being attended with considerable peril. On the other hand, should the Spaniards arrive, Mountjoy would have his force in "the uttermost corner" of Ireland, and the Pale would be left unguarded. So it was determined that, during the latter half of June, until the hosting had been carried out and the victuals and munition had arrived from England, a garrison should be planted at Lecale, in order to make sure of the Moyerie pass, and that reinforcements should be taken to Sir Arthur Chichester. After July 1, Mountjoy's plans were as follows:—to lay about the Abbey of Boyle the 1,000 foot and the most of the fifty horse drawn from Munster; then, having placed sufficient guards in Galway and Athlone, to put the rest of the Connaught forces in some convenient part of the Annaly, where they would not only lie upon O'Rourke, but between any rebels that might come from the north into Leinster. Two companies were to be left in Westmeath, to watch the points by which some of the Irish might steal from the north into the King's County. Kells and the new fort in the Brenny were to receive sufficient garrisons. The Earl of Ormonde and Sir Henry Power, with their respective companies, were to be stationed in Queen's County; and the Earl of Kildare, with five hundred foot and 37 horse, in King's County. Mountjoy himself, after garrisoning Newry, Mount Norris, and Lecale, and sending 200 men to Sir Arthur Chichester, purposed to draw to Armagh, and to fortify there, and possibly also at the Blackwater. By lying there upon Tyrone during the most of the summer, he would greatly facilitate Dockwra's planting of Ballyshannon. Should that commander find from any cause, such as supplies not coming up in time,

that it was impossible to make the plantation, then Mountjoy would advise him to fall into Tyrone, whilst the Lord Deputy was attacking that county from the Blackwater side. Thus the two English commanders hoped to meet at Dungannon, and utterly to waste all Tyrone's country. In the event of this latter plan being accomplished, it would be advisable to wage the war in Connaught during the winter. This would ruin O'Donnell, who could not long subsist, unless he had Connaught to fall back upon. Then Ballyshannon could easily be planted the following year.

Parts of these plans were very soon accomplished. On June 22, Mountjoy informed Carew, "We have been in Lecale, and planted a garrison, taken in all their castles, and all the inhabitants have submitted themselves. We have put more companies by land to Sir Arthur Chichester to Carrickfergus, and enabled him on that side to annoy them, inasmuch as Magennis, for all his nearness to Tyrone, hath made every great means likewise to be accepted to mercy; and this day we are ready to march toward Armagh." On June 26, the Lord Deputy tells Cecil that he had finished a fort at the Moyerie, placed a garrison in Armagh, and was then encamped between Mount Norris and Newry, awaiting the men, provisions, and carriages of the general hosting. On July 14, the Lord Deputy forced the passage of the Blackwater, and "gained a goodly country, stored with abundance of all sorts of grain." This he determined to spoil, that the rebels might not benefit thereby, and accordingly he had to stay some time in the place. On July 16, there was another fight with the enemy at Benburb, in which Mountjoy's chaplain was dangerously wounded; he succumbed after a little to his injuries. Altogether, there were lost by the English in this hotly-contested engagement 26 killed and 76 wounded. The Lord Deputy again issued a proclamation, dated from the camp at Blackwater, 18 July, 1601, setting a price on Tyrone's head.

The papers regarding the operations at Lough Foyle are numerous and full of interest. Sir Henry Dockwra was a



painstaking and graphic correspondent, and kept the English Government well informed of the progress of the plantation. At the time this volume opens, his forces had been much weakened by disease and desertion. He caused rigorous musters to be taken, not concealing the results from the Privy Council of England or from Lord Mountjoy. Supplies arrived, and, shortly after, Neale Garve, brother of O'Donnell, came in with 120 foot and 30 horse. Having conferred with him, Dockwra resolved to proceed to O'Dogherty's country, as that leader had made many fair offers of submission, and it was considered fitting that O'Dogherty should see the strength of the reinforcements, and realise also that other great men of his nation had come in. The force advanced some miles into his country, but "so cruel a storm" was encountered, that the march was stopped, and the men encamped as best they could. After divers commutations, O'Dogherty came in to the camp, and, though Dockwra rejected many of his demands, yet the two came to terms. In the company of O'Dogherty, during the parley, was Hugh Boy, O'Donnell's intimate counsellor, and he likewise craved his pardon, swearing to serve the Queen faithfully. This petition Dockwra referred to Mountjoy. On his return from this journey, Dockwra sent Sir John Bolles, his second in command, with a small force to take Lifford, a place to which he knew O'Donnell was marching. Both parties arrived before it almost at the same time. The English soldiers, however, had the advantage of surprising Lifford and killing its ward of 24 men, so that when O'Donnell appeared, he saw that his chances were gone. Some two days later, when he had got all his men together, he sat down before the place, for both sides recognised that it was a notable point of vantage, "compassed about with the richest and most fruitful soil of all the north" (p. 13). Some fighting ensued, in which the brave and impetuous Neale Garve had a narrow escape. But O'Donnell was unable to force his way in, although superior in numbers. Dockwra asked the Privy Council for more reinforcements.

He stated that he could draw only 500 men into the field, and that these were "daily decaying," whilst O'Donnell was before him with 1,200 men, and in expectation of greater supplies. Victual, money, and apparel were also besought, and further, that many artificers, especially carpenters and masons, should come with the reinforcements. A good part of Lifford was Neale Garve's "proper inheritance," and Dockwra wrote in high praise of the abilities, spirit, and popularity of that chieftain, being all the more sure of him, since Neale Garve was far engaged in blood with his kinsmen. He had slain, amongst others, O'Donnell's second brother. Cormack O'Neill, brother of Sir Arthur O'Neill, also submitted, and his case was referred to the Lord Deputy. Cormack is described as a discreet and stirring man, and one of great credit in the country. Sir John Bolles, however, entertained strong suspicions both as to Neale Garve and as to Cormack O'Neill, and he stated his opinion concerning them very plainly in a letter to Cecil (pp. 46-48).

The truce that Dockwra had made with O'Dogherty was not of long continuance. The latter was pledged by the terms of his agreement to reveal any plot he was acquainted with against the Queen's forces. Dockwra kept a good watch upon him, and soon ascertained that O'Dogherty was party to a design for handing over the castle of Culmore to O'Donnell. That position was "the very port of all the rest of our garrisons" in Lough Foyle. An English officer, Lieutenant Roberts, who had killed a brother officer and then fled to O'Dogherty, was sent by the latter to O'Donnell, and induced to take part in the plot. Secretly, however, he revealed all to Dockwra. The castle of Ellaugh was also included in the design. Captain Alford was in command at Culmore, and Roberts came to him with tempting offers, to secure the betrayal of the place. Dockwra told Alford to listen to the proposals, as he desired the better to "creep into the secret counsel of O'Dogherty's heart." Hugh Boy was one of the chief negotiators in the plot, and Dockwra was

anxious to prolong the business, so that he might draw both O'Donnell and Hugh Boy to a banquet, and then kill them. Despite all the baits that Alford laid, Hugh Boy was too crafty for a time to give any material proof of the treachery intended. At length O'Donnell, believing the honest meaning of Alford, sent him by Hugh Boy a gold chain. This was immediately forwarded to Dockwra, who thereupon told O'Dogherty's messenger (Phelim Reogh, brother to Hugh Boy) of the conclusive evidence he had obtained, and gave an opportunity to O'Dogherty to clear himself, if he could. The latter retorted by some charges against Dockwra, who broke off the truce, and told him, "Let nothing be expected but rigour and extremity of wars, of all the miseries and mischiefs whereof whatsoever shall ensue, God is the witness that Hugh Boy and O'Dogherty are the only causes." Whilst he had wasted other countries near Lough Foyle, Dockwra had left O'Dogherty's country unspoiled. Now it was free for the Queen to dispose of. Dockwra stated that the succour to be received from it would be "wonderful great," and that the "commodity of keeping" whatsoever was got in any other part would be of no less importance. However, to secure O'Dogherty's country thoroughly, it was necessary to make a fort at Colmackatreynie; and that done, wrote Dockwra, "I am most assured that whole country is locked for either passing out or bringing in of anything, without our leaves." He was willing to add many Irish to Neale Garve's force, but was waiting until the supplies from England arrived, for three causes; "first, because I doubt whether they [the Irish] were indeed that which they say; and next, that I will not draw such a number of mouths to consume the Queen's victual; and lastly, in that their numbers already are greater than I dare adventure our forces abroad withal, lest they playing false, and the enemy both together upon us, our match should be made so much the less equal." Sir James McSorley had repeatedly written to Dockwra to send Captain Willis or Captain Thornton to him, and he would impart matter of



consequence to Her Majesty's service. He afforded proof of his sincerity by refusing to give Tyrone pledges or beeves, and by declining to parley with him.

I may here notice an extremely interesting paper, headed, "A description of Lough Foyle and the country adjoining," and three plans of Derry, Dunalong, and Lifford, respectively, all drawn up about the close of the year 1600. There is also (pp. 276-279), a detailed account of the chief places in Ennisowen, or O'Dogherty's country; and we have, in addition, a map of the country about Lough Foyle (p. 339), and a sketch of the castle of Birt. Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil, and others of the Privy Council, had made various enquiries as to Dockwra's government of Lough Foyle, and his replies to their questions are to be found in an important paper (pp. 111-113). The points dealt with are the storehouses for victuals, the musters, the great expenditure of money, the numbers of the garrison, the frauds connected with the sale of beer to the troops, the charges for kettles, and last, but not least, the hospital. The Privy Council had actually enquired if there were a hospital there or not. Dockwra replies, "As for the hospital, there is no man that hath been there can deny but there is one, built as convenient as the time, place, and matter would afford. But if any man will say that all the sick men were not relieved in it, I must acknowledge that, for I do know the best hospital in London cannot contain all the sick men in that army, nor was it held fit, in the opinions of all the best captains there, that such infectious men should be brought in there; for the hurt men (of whom there is greater hope) should not only be in danger of death by his (*sic*) wounds received in service, but by the infectious disease of others (of whom the tenth man doth not recover)." Verily, Dockwra's words to the Privy Council were true (p. 215); "I feel the smart of evil tongues, and have been informed of many wrong tales, which should be suggested against me to your Lordships."

Writing to Sir Robert Cecil, on 24 January, 1601, Captain Humphrey Willis, one of Sir Henry Dockwra's officers, expressed an opinion that Tyrone and O'Donnell would not be able to hold out long, and that if Her Majesty's forces were strongly supplied in the summer, both horse and foot would be able to serve daily on those leaders, and so the north of Ireland would be brought to a good pass. He considered that 100 good horse should be sent to Lough Foyle in the spring. Buildings had been erected for the garrison, and the soldiers had "good lodgings to cover them, and for the most part beds of deal boards to keep them from the cold earth." Means of transport were badly wanted, and he instanced many unthought of impediments to the works, as, wilful breaking and burning of the tools, selling of cables and anchors to the barges, running away of sailors, driving the boats aground, and bruising them, on purpose to be excused from labour. Along with this paper should be read Dockwra's defence of himself in his three letters of March 10, 1601.

O'Dogherty died early in the year 1601, and a strife for the succession arose between Phelim Oge, his brother, and Cahir, his son. Cahir was foster child to Hugh Boy, and was therefore supported by him and all his sept. Cahir had also his father's goods, and the castle of Birt, and possessed numerous friends. Dockwra negotiated with both parties, who came to terms only on condition that the supplies for the English forces at Lough Foyle arrived, in which case Dockwra would be able to defend them against O'Donnell. Thus a truce was arranged with both. Intelligence was brought to Dockwra that O'Donnell had come to Lifford with 1,000 foot and 100 horse, "gathered of his own and Tyrone's men, all that ever they could make between them." It was impossible for the force under Dockwra's command to prevent O'Donnell from taking large prey, but both Phelim and Cahir promised that, should O'Donnell compel them to carry out their cattle from the country, they would return with them a month afterwards, do what O'Donnell could. Meantime Neale Garve's brother,

with the greater part of the garrison of Lifford, attacked O'Donnell's fortified camp in the night, carried it, burnt nearly 200 houses in it, and all the corn that had been gathered there for the winter's provision. The same garrison performed another service in a fight with Tyrone, by killing over forty men, taking above sixty new Spanish muskets and culivers, and capturing four prisoners, of whom the noted Tirlogh McQuin was one. These muskets were doubtless part of the munition brought by two Spanish ships that had arrived in Killibeggs shortly before. The number of the vessels had been greatly magnified, and we have several passages in these papers regarding the assistance alleged to have come to the rebels.

Dockwra was anxiously awaiting his supplies of men. According to a letter written by him from Derry on February 12, 1601, his entire command then numbered but 1,083 able-bodied foot, 473 sick, and 64 horse, besides the Irish troops. Of this force, writes Dockwra, "we are not able to draw forth, leaving our forts anything sufficiently manned, above 200, and though we could much supply their weakness by the Irish, yet to trust ourselves with so small a number to their courtesy, being stronger of themselves than we, and having an enemy beside in front of us, we neither hold for policy, nor should undoubtedly do good, if we did."

Notwithstanding the treachery with regard to Culmore, Dockwra considered it advisable to secure to his side so influential a man as Hugh Boy, and articles of agreement were signed by the two on 14 February, 1601. Hugh Boy renounced all former leagues and combinations, and promised faithful allegiance and service to the Queen. Cahir O'Dogherty was to be set up as Lord of Ennisowen, receiving the lands from Her Majesty in the same manner as his father, Sir John, had held them. Cahir was in O'Donnell's hands, and, unless he escaped "in convenient time," Dockwra promised to set up some one of Cahir's next of kin. Neither Hugh Boy nor Cahir was to be called in question about his religion, and both were promised the aid of Her Majesty's forces to defend them.



As soon as Dockwra received his supplies of men from England, he immediately employed them in stopping the passages into O'Dogherty's country; thereby preventing the carrying out of 1,200 cattle, which O'Donnell had ordered to be "cut," as a bribe for his making Phelim Oge lord of that country. Moreover, as soon as the truce he had given had expired, Dockwra moved into those parts with 300 men, taking Hugh Boy as guide, and within two days had taken pledges of the whole country. Phelim Oge, his eldest son, and four of O'Donnell's men, escaped, although a keen watch was kept upon them. Dockwra likewise sent 200 men to take possession of the abbey of Ramollan, in McSwyne Fanat's country; and, "that garrison settled," he writes, "I doubt not of present possession of all Tyrconnell, which is almost wholly wasted already." The abbey was taken on March 10 by a band of 150 men under Captain Bingley. Dockwra purposed to deal next with O'Cahan, who was daily importuning him for a truce. But in view of the solemn promise from the Spaniards to be off the coast by the middle of May, Dockwra prayed for 1,000 men more, and for 40 or 50 horse, to be added to his force. "If," he writes, "the Spaniards come not at all, it will be the last levy of men (I presume confidently) that shall be ever requisite for these wars of Ireland."

Dockwra soon reduced O'Dogherty's country to peace, and the result was seen not only in the 5,000 cattle feeding by the English forts, but by the kern of the country going to do service upon McSwyne. Hugh Boy had given much assistance, yet there were those who, like Sir John Bolles and Captain Humphrey Covert, refused to believe in his loyal protestations. Both those officers wrote very strongly to Sir Robert Cecil against the trust that Dockwra was reposing in Hugh Boy, considering the traitorous antecedents of that able schemer. Towards the close of March, 1601, intelligence arrived that O'Donnell was coming to prey O'Dogherty's country; and to resist such an inroad, the fort of Colmackatreyne was fully strengthened, and a company

placed in it. Dockwra also sent some soldiers over into O'Cahan's side, and preyed 300 cows, and only the "incredibly stormy weather" prevented further success. The garrison of Derry had also taken a great prey, and had slain "the Pope's Primate of Ireland," and four other bishops and priests, in a church.

Thus Dockwra had "taken in" O'Dogherty's country, had made up the forts upon the passages of the long bog stretching between Cargan and Colmackatreynne, had made one journey into McSwyne Fanat's country, and another into McSwyne Ne Doe's. He was desirous of making a plantation at Coleraine, but found it at this time impossible. So he purposed to take in Newtown and Aynogh, whereby a large part of Tyrone's country would be freed for men to dwell and keep their creaghts in. Then he wished to attempt Ballinakup, midway between Lifford and Donegal, so that another large scope of ground would be freed in Tyrconnell and in Hugh McHugh Duff's country, and all Fanat would be secured. After that Dockwra would be ready for planting a garrison at Donegal or Ballyshannon; and that being done, "all Tyrconnell were undoubtedly wholly subdued." He informed the Privy Council what supplies he would need to that end in munition, tools, boats, artificers, materials for building, &c. Dockwra was of opinion that, unless some foreign power intervened, the war in Ireland would be finished by the summer. His characterizations of Neale Garve, Cormack O'Neill, and Hugh Boy (pp. 263, 264) are terse, vigorous, and true. In a letter of 22 April, 1601, Captain Covert gives an account of the operations of Dockwra from 2 April to the 22nd of the same month, the chief being a journey along with Neale Garve from Lifford towards a castle that O'Donnell's brother was besieging, near Sheephaven in McSwyne Ne Doe's country. Before Dockwra got within a few miles of the place, O'Donnell's brother abandoned his attempt, McSwyne Togen was driven out of his country, pledges were taken of the gentlemen that submitted, and a large prey of 1,000 cows and nearly 1,000

garrans was seized. There was no loss on the English side, and Neale Garve was left to keep the country with his 300 Irish, assisted by 150 English. On the 21st of April, news came to Dockwra at Derry that 200 of Tyrone's followers had revolted from their leader, taking with them 2,000 cows, and had gone to Cormack O'Neill. Tyrone sent a number of men under "Ogane, his chiefest counsellor and man of war," to force his revolted followers back, whilst he himself went to confront Mountjoy at Armagh. The revolters, however, defeated the force sent against them, and took Ogane and three other principal men prisoners. Hereupon Cormack O'Neill wrote to Dockwra for three or four hundred English, offering, in Tyrone's absence, to enter and waste as much of his country as he could. Dockwra was unable to grant the request, probably because he had no men to spare from the small force he could bring into action. He had been engaged in spoiling Hugh McHugh Duff's country, and had passed therefrom to Fanat, into which he had no sooner arrived, than Owen Oge McSwyne Ne Doe met him, and the two leaders came to an agreement. Owen Oge was to put a stronger ward into his castle, and to secure his country, which he could easily do with his own men, as it lay all within bog, wood, and mountain, and was thus almost inaccessible to an army. He was also enjoined to see that nothing was conveyed through his country from the country of McSwyne Fanat. The latter had not submitted himself, and as news came that O'Donnell was on his way to Ennisowen, Dockwra left Neale Garve to spoil McSwyne Fanat's country, whilst he himself returned with the large prey he had obtained to lie upon the frontiers of Ennisowen in O'Donnell's way. Neale Garve was not long in obtaining pledges both from McSwyne Fanat and McSwyne Banat, and O'Boyle sent messengers, earnestly desiring to be received. Thus the outlook in Tyrconnell was promising for Dockwra's forces, unless foreign troops came to maintain the rebellion. Dockwra refused the applications of McSwyne Banat and O'Boyle, partly because he had resolved to make a journey against O'Cahan, and partly because he saw no



fruit likely to arise from receiving them, since he was not able to leave a garrison in their countries. A very vivid account is given by Dockwra of his interview with Neale Garve, when the latter claimed for himself the whole of Ennisowen and Tyrconnell (pp. 289-291). The pride, arrogance, and rage of Neale Garve form a singular contrast to the tact, firmness, and common sense of the English commander.

Early in May, 1601, Dockwra received intelligence that O'Donnell was advancing with the evident purpose of entering Ennisowen. He at once hastened, with the men he had in readiness, to the passages of that country, but on arriving at Birt Castle, which he made his place of rendezvous, he heard that O'Donnell had changed his course, and had turned towards Neale Garve. The latter came to Dockwra, and informed him that he had been surprised by O'Donnell, who had departed with some booty. Dockwra called a council of war to discuss what should be done, seeing O'Donnell lay still upon the neck of McSwyne Fanat's country. It was impossible to attack him without O'Donnell having the advantage. So it was concluded that Neale Garve should return with his Irish followers and 150 English, and encamp at Ramoltan, which was admirably situated for the defence of the neck of Fanat. Neale Garve hotly protested, saying the country was waste, and that he would rather return to his own garrison at Lifford. At length, Dockwra charged his subordinate on his allegiance to execute his orders. Neale Garve went in high dudgeon, but fulfilled his task most efficiently. He built up the castle, and, three days after, the greatest part of the prey stolen by O'Donnell was back again in Fanat, and O'Donnell himself had removed, and formed his camp at Ballinakip. Thus Fanat was brought to a more settled state, the people seeing the weakness of O'Donnell, and the reality and strength of the Queen's protection.

Cormack O'Neill, Dockwra's other ally, had fortified Strabane, and lay there with his men. So satisfied were the

people round about that no less than 5,000 cows were brought by them to Strabane. Most of these were, by Dockwra's order, driven into O'Dogherty's country, and not one was taken for the use of the army. Captain Humphrey Willis told Cecil that O'Dogherty's country was so fortified in the neck of the land between the two loughs, by the raising of six forts, that it formed, as it were, an island. Within it were gathered 16,000 cows, and the persons these belonged to. Hugh Boy had been in command, but Cahir O'Dogherty, son of the late Sir John O'Dogherty, had come from O'Donnell (who had kept him in durance), and in a short time Cahir was "a great man" in his country. Captain Humphrey Covert declared that Cahir's escape was due to Hugh Boy's cunning temporising with O'Donnell. The latter's forces were 1,200 foot and horse, and he had with him O'Connor Sligo, Cormack McBaron, O'Rourke, and McWilliam. O'Donnell waited for ten days for the fulfilment of Hugh Boy's promise to betray Dockwra and all the English into his hands. But no betrayal took place, so, on the 22nd of May, 1601, Tyrone ordered O'Cahan with his kern to fall on Cormack O'Neill at Strabane. This was done, and, although O'Cahan got a few cows, he lost four men for every one of Cormack's. O'Donnell, too, on the same day, hearing that some of the English companies were withdrawn from Lifford to reinforce Ennisowen, attacked the garrison left at Lifford, but was defeated, losing forty killed and many wounded, to one slain on the other side. Tyrone and O'Cahan departed further off, the former giving out that he had gone to oppose Mountjoy, who was stated to have reached Armagh. On May 25, O'Donnell came within three miles of Birt Castle, which was immediately occupied by Dockwra. The next day, O'Donnell entered into Ennisowen with 1,200 men, and marched unresisted through the country, until he came to Fane Castle on the edge of Lough Swilly. On the 27th he proceeded further into the country, hoping to secure a large prey of cattle. He then delivered an attack on Fane

Castle, but was repulsed by the garrison with heavy loss. He then attempted to win its defenders by promises of rewards, but they refused to listen, and defied him. On May 31, his scouts noticed the approach of ships with reinforcements from England, and thereupon O'Donnell retreated suddenly. The day before, Neale Garve had been sent by Dockwra to spoil O'Donnell's country, but hearing that Tyrone, who pretended to have gone against Mountjoy, was still lurking in O'Cahan's country, he made a spirited and successful attack on the Earl, killing a hundred of the enemy on the field, wounding many, and putting the rest to rout. Tyrone fled away, accompanied by twelve horsemen, Neale calling out to him to strike one blow like a gentleman. Dockwra was still further gladdened by the arrival of 800 men of the 1,000 supplies promised him, though he still awaited the indispensable shovels and spades he had written for. He found out, also, that Neale Garve had many secret messengers going to and fro between him and O'Donnell, and further that Neale had received divers suspected persons in Lifford, and had conveyed them out again. There were rumours, likewise, affecting Cormack O'Neill's loyalty. So Dockwra determined to secure himself on all hands from the Irish; and accordingly he proceeded to take numerous pledges from the various septs and leaders. From Neale Garve he took three pledges by force, and ordered that commander to come and lie at Derry, so that he might have less opportunity of communicating with O'Donnell. The latter managed to slip into O'Dogherty's country, despite the six forts built at its entrance, but got a chilling reception from the inhabitants; and, being foolish enough to attack one of the forts, was badly defeated. Hearing that Dockwra was gathering all possible forces to impeach his return, O'Donnell went out of the country "with a swifter course than he came in."

Early in July, Dockwra drew up his forces to Lifford, and started thence for Newtown in Tyrone. He had not been duly supplied for the plantation of Ballyshannon, although both himself and Sir John Bolles had fully detailed to the



Privy Council the numbers of men and stores that were requisite. Dockwra's object in his journey to Newtown was to receive in one Art McHugh Mergoh, and, having done that, to march directly down into O'Cahan's country, and there fall either upon his prey or upon his castle of Aynogh. But just as the English commander was setting out, he was seized with illness, and could do nothing more than take the castle of Aynogh, in charge of which he left Captain Atkinson, with his company, and a few Irish for guides. O'Cahan considered the castle to be impregnable, and was more submissive after its capture. Dockwra then returned to Derry for a short while, to recover his health. At the same time Neale Garve took Castle Derg, which was a very useful base for raiding Tyrconnell. A few days after, Dockwra resumed active operations, as two pieces of service presented themselves. One was, to assault the camp of O'Donnell at Ballinakip; the other, to capture a prey which he was informed lay between and beyond the two camps of O'Donnell and Cormack McBaron. Not having a sufficient force to attack the camp, Dockwra decided to go after the prey, which, after a cleverly executed march, he seized, and returned to his quarters near Lifford. Twelve hundred cattle were taken on this occasion, but the Irish portion of the troops purloined the most of them, only 500 cows being divided at Lifford. Dockwra was utterly distrustful of his Irish companies. On July 2, he wrote to the Privy Council, "I assure your Honours their perfidiousness, discontentment, and secret affection to their own country, is such as a thousand times I wish they had never been entertained." However, he was a little easier in mind, when he made a composition with Neale Garve and Cormack McBaron, who promised pledges for the fidelity of every sept that served them.

At the beginning of July, Dockwra made ready for a journey into O'Cahan's country, intending to burn and spoil all that came in his way. When all preparations were almost complete, his clerk of munition sent word that there

was not enough match in his supplies for even one day's fight, so the raid had perforce to be abandoned. The pledges of McSwyne Ne Doe had, through the negligence of the Marshal, Sir Richard Wingfield, been allowed to escape, and McSwyne himself, having been preyed by O'Donnell, considered himself bound to follow his goods. Art McHugh Mergoh was betrayed by his own men, and his island given up to Cormack McBaron, but this leader managed to escape by flight. O'Donnell was returning to Lough Foyle, having taken O'Connor Sligo prisoner, and having bereft him of all his castles. This success was a great hindrance to Dockwra giving effectual aid to Mountjoy in the latter's operations.

As to the pacification of Munster, for it had been reduced to "external obedience," Carew told the Privy Council that the benefit to accrue by the coming of James, the younger Earl of Desmond, could scarcely be judged without further experience, "for the greatest weight of the business was undergone and discharged before his arrival" (p. 2). The President had many misgivings in the matter, although the sending of the Earl to Ireland was the result of his own earnest and constant advice. The populace, at first so enthusiastic over this Desmond's restoration, soon fell away from him, when they saw that he was a Protestant. "So long," writes Carew, "as he shall hold his religion firm, little doubt is to be made of him; but, if he were otherwise (whereas now the people do affect him), they would then in far greater multitudes flock about him. Lest therein he may be corrupted, I will be exceeding careful" (p. 2). Desmond himself writes to Sir Robert Cecil on December 18, "I humbly beseech you to consider my estate, which is so desperate in this kingdom, that my person is not here secured by these inhabitants, great or little, nor able to do any service, by reason I want means to execute it." He was soon back in England. On April 30, 1601, Cecil writes to Carew, "I am very glad that the Earl of Desmond is here. He is well used."

James FitzThomas, the Sugane Earl, ever since his overthrow by Captain Greames, had been hiding and shifting about from place to place, chiefly in Tipperary. John FitzThomas, his brother, had gone to Ulster, to solicit help from Tyrone. Piers Lacy was in Tipperary, attempting with Redmond Burke to gather men for fresh raiding in Munster. Florence McCarthy, "false, fleeting, perjured," like Shakespeare's Clarence, came to Carew on October 29, and made humble submission. He haggled about his pledges, giving up his base brother instead of his eldest son, whom the President demanded. "The reduction of Florence," writes Carew, "(although I cannot judge his heart less corrupt than before), gives an assured hope of a present establishment of this province, for upon him the rebels did build their last refuge; and, now that he is defected from them, strangers will be less willing (having no back in the country) to venture themselves therein" (p. 4). The President urged that a general pardon should speedily be extended to the inhabitants of Munster, exempting from it, as "children of perdition," five of the leading rebels, viz., James FitzThomas, and John his brother, Thomas FitzMaurice, the titular Baron of Lixnaw, Edmund FitzThomas, called the Knight of the Valley, and Piers Lacy. Carew also desired that power should be given to him, with the consent of the Council of Munster, or of any three of its members, to exempt any persons from the benefit of the pardon. This was done, as he himself confesses, "especially in regard of the traitorly priests, who are the chiefest firebrands of these unnatural treasons" (p. 5).

On the 2nd of December, Sir Charles Wilmot captured, after a siege of sixteen days, the castle of Listowel in Kerry, and hanged all the ward. He sends interesting details of his success in two letters to Sir George Carew, under date of December 2 and December 5, 1600. But before this capture, Carew had taken the field once more, having received intelligence that the rebels from Leinster were entering Munster with 1,600 foot and 300 horse. The alarm proved to be a false one, but it enabled Carew to do some service between



November 18, when he left Kilmallock, and December 13, when he returned to Mallow. On the one hand, he held sessions of gaol delivery at Kilmallock, Cashel, and Clonmell, and, on the other, to prevent the rebels being relieved, he burned all the corn and houses, and took all the cattle, "in Owhny O'Mulrian and Killequige, a strong country, not far from Limerick." The same work he accomplished in Muskerryquirk and Aherlo, and very nearly captured James FitzThomas and Bishop Cragh in the woods of Kilbarry. Castlemaine having been surrendered to the young Earl of Desmond, Carew was able to inform the Privy Council that there was no castle nor hold in Munster kept against the Queen. McMorris (who owned Listowel Castle), the Knight of the Valley, and Piers Lacy, who were in Ormonde for safety, had fled to Ulster with a few followers; and Carew said that, if Mountjoy wanted 1,000 men from the forces of Munster, they could be spared, but craved only that they might still be continued on his list, so that the "provincials" might know that there was power under his command "to keep them under."

One incident in the Munster wars was bitterly resented by the President and by the government of Ireland. Dermott O'Connor (brother-in-law to the young Earl of Desmond) asked Carew for a safe-conduct for himself and his men, that they might pass from Connaught into Munster, and render some service to the Queen. The safe-conduct was given, and, further, Carew obtained for Dermott several passes from Sir Arthur Savage, the acting Governor of Connaught, and from the Earl of Clanrickarde, to go through their places of command. Thus armed, Dermott, with a small force, proceeded on his journey. When he was in the Earl of Clanrickarde's country, within sixteen miles of Limerick, he was assailed by Tibbott Ne Longe with a great force, and defeated. Dermott was taken prisoner, and hanged. His head was then cut off by Tibbott and sent to Galway. This infringement of the Queen's protection was naturally

held to be a flagrant crime. Tibbot was in the Queen's pay, and Carew and Clanrickarde considered that there should have been an example made of him.

The enmity of the larger corporations of Ireland to the English Crown (referred to in my former volumes) continued in all its intensity. Partly out of malice to the State on the score of religion, but especially for their own gain, these towns desired a continual war, which enriched them more in one year than seven years of peace did. The corporations in turbulent times received the Queen's treasure, issued their merchandise secretly to the rebels at excessive rates, and bought the country commodities at their own prices. When there came, as now, a prospect of peace in Munster, the larger towns elected professed lawyers to be their chief magistrates, either, as Carew thought, to continue the towns in their obstinacies, or to shift off with evasions the offences which they had committed. Simultaneously with this disloyal conduct in Ireland, the corporations had agents at the English Court, urging an extension of their charters. Carew wrote on November 2, 1600, to the Privy Council, "I understand, by divers lately come over, that most of the corporate towns in Munster have now their agents at the Court to sue for the enlargement of their charters. I humbly pray your Lordships to be sparing in any such grant, for the people are sufficiently insolent, stubborn, and proud already, and the increasing of their franchises will increase ill humours in them" (p. 3). Later on, he prayed the Privy Council to command these agents away, "for their lingering in England doth no good to the State" (p. 66).

Towards the close of December, 1600, Carew received intelligence from the Earls of Ormonde and Thomond that forces were coming to disquiet Munster, viz., 1,000 from Ulster and 2,000 more from Connaught. The President expected them within twenty days, adding, "all the chiefs of the rebels are run out of the country to hasten the coming of these rogues." He hoped, however, that McMorris, Piers Lacy, and John FitzThomas would be so well employed

in the north of Ireland, negotiating for aid, that they would not be at leisure to lead forces into Munster. In this hope he was confirmed by Lord Mountjoy, and the latter wrote to Carew on January 27, 1601, requesting him to hurry up the reinforcements. The letter was received on January 30, and three days later Carew wrote to the Lord Deputy, stating that he had received letters from the Earl of Thomond and Mr. Comerford, the Attorney-General of Connaught, as to the rebels' proposed attack on Munster, and desiring Mountjoy to consider the same before the 1,000 men he had asked for were sent from the province. These, under the command of Captain Flower, were at the rendezvous at Clonmell, ready to depart, but the President awaited further orders from the Lord Deputy. His Lordship wrote on February 7, to say that, as Carew was so confident that the Earl of Thomond's intelligence was true, he would not weaken him by calling away any of the companies, though they would have been of great use to him in Leinster. Mountjoy, however, ridiculed in this letter the idea that 4,500 men from the north were coming into Munster, asserting that Tyrone was never able in his own country to draw 1,200 men together to confront him. On the 21st of April, 1601, Moriertagh McDermott McShee, examined before the President and Council of Munster, told them that, for the prosecution of the wars, Ireland had been "divided" between Tyrone and O'Donnell. Tyrone was to carry on operations in Ulster, Munster, and Leinster, and to see his forces paid and answered with money, victuals, and munition. O'Donnell was to carry on the war in Connaught, Tyrconnell, and Thomond; and for that purpose Tyrone had awarded him one-third of the money, powder, and munitions brought lately to Ireland by two Spanish vessels. McShee further stated that Teig O'Rourke had left Tyrone with 1,000 men for Munster, and that Redmond Burke had commission for 1,000 to infest Clanrickarde and Thomond. If Teig O'Rourke found himself too weak with his forces in Munster, then Redmond Burke was to cross



the Shannon and go to his assistance. Tyrrell, also, had been sent by Tyrone with 1,000 men to infest Leinster. But, with all this intelligence, McShee declared that Tyrone was not able to continue these wars long without the aid of foreign princes. "His reason is, that Tyrone findeth no assurance in this kingdom. For in Connaught few are rebels; in Leinster, none of any reckoning in action; in Munster, very uncertain to have any assistance; and from Tyrone himself many of his people daily slip away, notwithstanding he and they are there very bragging and merry amongst themselves." The general pardon, for which Carew had been pressing, came in April, 1601, and on 1 May following, Mountjoy writes to the Privy Council, "Munster is not only long since reduced, and made new men by their pardons, but, as I hear, begins to taste the sweetness of peace, and to show good arguments of their desire to continue it." Accordingly he purposed to take 1,500 foot and 50 horse from the southern province, 1,000 to be employed against Ulster and the other 500 foot and 50 horse to be "borrowed for a time."

On May 15, 1601, Carew wrote from Cork to the Privy Council, thanking them for supplies of munition and victuals, and also for sending shipping to the south coast of Ireland, by which means the country was assured from invasion by sea. "Since the third of May (the date of my last letters) in this province hath been no alteration, and the external appearance of continuance in obedience better confirmed." But he would not warrant every part of Munster, for there was daily expectation of the return of Teig O'Rourke, Redmond Burke, and McMorris, whose coming would certainly lead to disturbances. At the close of May, Carew told the Privy Council that he had many times missed the taking of James FitzThomas. But almost whilst he was writing the words, the chief rebel leader in Munster was skilfully captured by Edmund FitzGibbon, the White Knight, in a cave by Slevgrott. The prisoner endeavoured to win over his captor by large promises, affirming that, before two

months had elapsed, he would have the assistance of 6,000 Spaniards. But the White Knight was not to be taken, either by blandishments or threats, and handed over James FitzThomas to Sir George Thornton, who conveyed him safely to Carew at Cork. The latter wrote to the Queen on June 3, 1601, and expressed a hope that Munster would, through the taking of James, be made sure from any present defection. "And now that my task is ended, I do in all humility beseech that (in your princely consideration) my exile may end, protesting the same to be a greater affliction to me than I can endure." Carew warmly praised the conduct of the White Knight in this matter, and gave him the promised reward of 400*l.* head-money. James FitzThomas was described by the Lord President as "the most potent Geraldine that ever was of any the Earls of Desmond his ancestors." At first Carew thought he would send his prisoner straight off into England, but stayed him for a time. If, said the Judges in Ireland, James FitzThomas died before he came to his trial, the Queen (except by Act of Parliament) could not be interested in his lands; and his brother John was not by the law debarred from the title of Earl of Desmond. So Carew resolved to have James FitzThomas arraigned and judged in Ireland, and then sent into England, to be dealt with as the Privy Council thought good. However, as the lawyers told Carew that a man condemned by the law in Ireland could not on the same indictment be executed in England, the Lord President proposed to send with the prisoner two or three indictments, "ready drawn with sufficient matter, by the which he may be there at all times arraigned." In a deposition made by James FitzThomas, the action of Sir Thomas Norreys, who consigned him to perpetual imprisonment for John FitzThomas's offences, was given as the cause that drew James into rebellion; and it was argued that, if his life were sacrificed, there were three others of his sept and race alive to take the title; one being in England, one in Ulster, and one in Spain. If his life was spared, the Queen would win

the hearts of her subjects in Ireland, and command the faithful services of himself and his alliance. The deposition was at first signed "James Desmond." Carew sent the document back to the prisoner, who blotted out the name, and wrote in its place, "James Gyerallde." Carew was so delighted with the capture of his great opponent that he wrote to Cecil, on June 4, "When I behold and look back into times past, and compare the strength which he was in, being able, as himself confesses, of the provincials and buonies to command 20,000 men, for so many he says he had at his pleasure, I do condemn my own indiscretion to undertake so hard a task with the small forces I had, and therefore do wholly attribute my good successes to God's providence, and the least part to myself. For it is beyond reason that in so small a time the province should be reduced as it is."

If Carew thought that the defection of Florence McCarthy from the rebels gave assured hope of a present establishment of Munster, his satisfaction must have been deep when he got that subtle chieftain under lock and key. The treasons of Florence were only too manifest, and as he had failed, in accordance with the provisions of his pardon, dating back from 7 April, 1601, to put in sureties for his future loyalty, Carew committed him to prison. Writing to Cecil on June 18, 1601, the President says, "With James McThomas I do purpose to send him into England, and then have I sent you two Earls of their own making, and the most powerful rebels that ever lived in Munster."

A letter from Sir Samuel Bagenall to Sir George Carey, dated 20 June, 1601, is inserted in due sequence, because the year written at its close, and also on the dorse, is undoubtedly 1601; but as the particulars of the siege and capture of Dunboy Castle given therein tally exactly with the details of the siege in 1602, it seems clear that Sir Samuel Bagenall put "1601" where he intended to have written "1602." The mistake, however, is not so great as that of Mountjoy, in one of the letters calendared in this volume, for the Lord Deputy has written "1900" for "1600"! (p. 222).



On July 6, Carew informed the Privy Council that he had definite news of the readiness of a Spanish force at Lisbon to sail for Ireland. In Munster he had no more than 1,350 foot and 200 horse in list, whilst the Spaniards numbered 6,000. Cork was said to be the place they intended to attack first, and Carew admitted that "Cork, by reason of the hills, which within a butt length on either side do overlook it, is in nature exceeding weak, and the people thereof no less affectioned to the Spaniard than the rest of the cities in this kingdom." Again he writes, on July 13, "without an infinite great charge, and long time in working, no art can make it defensible." However, Carew purposed, even if the whole province revolted, to throw himself into Cork, and to hold it to the best of his ability. Sir Charles Wilmot was to be second in command in the city. The President urged their Lordships, as soon as they heard of the Spaniards' arrival, to send over the 6,000 foot he had written for, and also supplies of munition and victuals. If these reinforcements came, he considered that he could meet the Spaniards (whose numbers were 4,000, according to Cecil) without any assistance from Mountjoy. Carew was aware that it would be said he was anxious to have the sole management of the war in Munster; but he foresaw that, if the prosecution of Tyrone in the north was abandoned, and the garrisons there withdrawn, the charges the Queen had already been put to would be lost, and Ireland would be in as ill or worse estate than ever. He accordingly wished Mountjoy to keep Tyrone busied in the north, otherwise the Irish commander would not only draw his men into Munster to assist the Spaniards, but his very personal coming would incite the inhabitants of the province to rebel. If no help came to Munster from England, then the northern garrisons must needs be drawn southwards. Carew stated that he would send away James FitzThomas and Florence McCarthy in the first large ship that arrived, "lest they may be snatched up in their passage by some petty man-of-war, of which sort many times this coast is frequented." Tyrone's son was in Spain, where he

had entered a friary, much to the indignation of the King, who wanted to use him for his own political purposes. Philip sent to the friary to get the son out, but the friars said he was devoted to God, and refused to let him go. A sure precursor of trouble came in the person of Father James Archer, the Jesuit, who arrived in Munster once more, "to prepare the people to a defection." His task promised to be an easy one, for Gerrott Comerford, the Attorney-General of the province, wrote on July 20 of "the insolency and wicked behaviour of divers of the inhabitants of these parts," that "gape for the coming of Spaniards." On July 20, the Privy Council of England warned Mountjoy, Ormonde, and Carew of the preparation of 5,000 or 6,000 Spaniards at Lisbon for Ireland, and stated that the Queen would with all expedition send 2,000 men to join her forces in Munster.

The province of Connaught, during the period covered by this volume, may be said to have been entirely in the power of the rebels, save for the towns of Athlone and Galway, and a small portion held by the Earl of Clanrickarde and his sons. The county of Clare, belonging to the Earl of Thomond, had, during the absence of that nobleman on Her Majesty's service, been ravaged by O'Donnell and his confederates. Sir Arthur Savage, the acting Governor of the province, had done good service there, and naturally expected to be formally appointed to that post. But he thought that some others, ambitious of it, were wholly in the favour of Mountjoy, and asked to be relieved of his duties, protesting however that he did not complain of the Lord Deputy, "for I never had better words of any man, whatsoever his deeds have been" (p. 37). The request was not granted.

Captain Thomas Lee had been repeatedly denounced by the Earl of Ormonde, and is once more attacked by the Earl in one of the letters here calendared. Lee was afterwards executed for high treason at the time of Essex's conspiracy. But a proof of the position he had once attained

with those in authority is shewn in some correspondence on pp. 100-105. McWilliam had made an offer to Captain Lee that he would accomplish the killing of O'Donnell and other chiefs on certain conditions. These were, that McWilliam should obtain the Earldom of Mayo for himself and his heirs for ever; that he should have 150 foot and 50 horse for the better settling of his country; that he should receive immediately 1,000*l.*; that O'Rourke should be made Lord of his country and Her Majesty's Lieutenant of the same, with 100 foot for the better settling of his country; and lastly, that Captain Thomas Lee should be made Chief Commander of Connaught. All these conditions were accepted by the Queen and Sir Robert Cecil, with the exception of two, viz., the immediate payment of 1,000*l.* (that too was promised after the service in question had been accomplished), and the appointment of Captain Lee as Governor of the province, "but it may be she will rather appoint him than any other, but she will not be bound to it." The design, in which Captain Blackcaddell was the agent to McWilliam, was for McWilliam to invite O'Donnell and all the principal men of his country to a conference at the Abbey of Donegal. The subject was to be the arrangement of some plan to defeat the Queen's forces at Lough Foyle. McWilliam was to be well accompanied to the meeting, and was, at the first opportunity, to kill O'Donnell, Teig O'Rourke, and O'Connor Sligo. Brian O'Rourke, it was thought, could easily be drawn to join in the enterprise, because the removal of Teig O'Rourke would be of advantage to him. Tyrone, too, it was hoped, might come to the parley, and in that case, he was to be taken prisoner, and handed over to Her Majesty. For Blackcaddell's safe going into Connaught to see McWilliam, Sir Robert Cecil sent the Lord Deputy a letter, empowering Blackcaddell to confer with any traitor whatsoever for the space of three months. The reason to be given to O'Donnell for getting this warrant to confer with any in Connaught was, that it was through that province that the messengers and priests from



Tyrone and O'Donnell passed to go into Munster and Leinster, and that Blackcaddell would find means to apprehend some of them with their letters. Jeames Knowde, Captain Lee's servant, was to be employed to go to the Earl of Tyrone, to urge him to attack the garrison of Lough Foyle, but was not to be informed of the offer of McWilliam. Cecil, in a letter to Captain Lee, complains of the delay in putting the plot into execution, owing to Lee's illness, and suggested a plan for proceeding with it at once. The messenger that Captain Lee sent to Blackcaddell was to take with him a letter to Sir Henry Dockwra, signed by Her Majesty, and, when McWilliam was resolved to go on with the service, the messenger was to go to Lough Foyle with the letter. This, however, was not to be delivered to Dockwra until McWilliam had performed what he had undertaken. This done, the Lough Foyle garrison was to rescue McWilliam, unless he managed to get there himself. He was then to be embarked for England, where he should have all his demands fulfilled, including that for Captain Lee to be Governor of Connaught. Besides the 1,000*l.* to McWilliam, 1,000*l.* would also be paid to McSwyne, McWilliam's brother-in-law, and 1,000*l.* more to Blackcaddell. Sir Robert Cecil writes to Captain Lee, "There must be great secrecy used in the cause." No attempt to carry out this plot is recorded in these papers, but the correspondence is another proof that neither the Queen nor her gréat minister recoiled from employing the weapon of treacherous assassination.

There is a similar plot against Tyrone revealed in a letter of Lord Dunsany to Cecil on February 10, 1601, wherein we read, "In the mean I thought it my duty to signify this much unto you, that in the service of cutting off a bad graft, which when I took my leave of you I promised to set a work, I have essayed many ways. But, what for the difficulty and danger of the attempt, and for the distrust of requital in any proportion of a service of that consequence, I found mine endeavour still frustrate, until now, to my greater comfort and hope, I procured (with all circumstance of secrecy and oaths)

the matter to be broken to one of greatest nobility, spirit, and valour amongst them, promising unto him the place and honour for his reward." Lord Dunsany then states that the person is Henry Oge McHenry McShane, lineally descended from Con O'Neill. "This my proceeding I have imparted to my Lord Deputy, which I hope in God will take effect." Sir George Carey himself writes to Cecil on May 21, 1601, with respect to Mountjoy and Tyrone, "I signified unto his Lordship that it was greatly expected in England, both of Her Majesty and Council, that the Archtraitor's head should not so long stand on his shoulders. His Lordship is not negligent therein, and hath good hope to effect the same, for he hath laid two or three plots for the doing thereof." Similarly, Sir George Carew writes to Cecil on June 18, 1601, "I am promised for 100*l.* to get Bishop Cragh, and for the like sum the Knight of the Valley, ere it be long. I hope to send you the one or both. Likewise, I am proffered for money to have McWilliam's head in Connaught, but being out of my government, I know not how to deal in it."

There was another claimant for the governorship of Connaught, in the person of Sir Oliver Lambert, who had served in Ireland for twenty-two years. He had occupied the post of Marshal of the army, and was highly thought of both by Essex and Mountjoy. Perhaps the most remarkable part of his letter to Sir Robert Cecil (7 February, 1601), asking for the governorship, is the conclusion, "If it shall please your Honour so much to bind me to you as to make me Governor of Connaught, which I doubt not but I shall sufficiently discharge, I will ever acknowledge so honourable a favour, and endeavour by all duty to make myself deserving it, and humbly desire your Honour to accept 500*l.*, to be disposed of at your pleasure." The letter is holograph. One may gather from the proffered bribe what profits some of the Governors of Connaught made.

Sir Francis Shane, writing to Sir Robert Cecil from Lough Sewdy, on February 22, 1601, tells of the discontent of O'Rourke and of O'Connor Sligo at the distribution of

the money and munition sent in the Spanish ships. O'Donnell had planted the county of Sligo with his people, driven thither by the garrison of Lough Foyle. The planting of Ballyshannon would probably drive him out of his country altogether. Shane said that Connaught had wanted government for almost two years. He did not reckon the time when the Earl of Clanrickarde and Lord Dunkellin had charge of affairs there. His earnest advice was the appointment of Sir Arthur Savage, "an old soldier, and well experienced in Ireland, one well acquainted with the situation of every part, and disposition of the people" (p. 197).

Captain Henry Clare served well with his company in the southern parts of Connaught. In a certificate given to him, on 13 February, 1601, by the town of Galway, it is stated that he had banished the rebels from Iar-Connaught, and had taken from them a strong castle, called Muckullen, to the great good of Galway. Formerly the rebels had daily spoiled quite close to the town, but after his operations they did not come near it. The certificate has fifteen signatures, including those of the Bishop of Kilmacduagh and of five Aldermen of Galway. Nevertheless, on the 10th of March, 1601, the Mayor of Galway wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, complaining of the wrongs offered to the town by the soldiery, and particularly by Captain Clare's men, and he prayed that Captain Blake, who was in service in those parts, and who was a native of Galway, might be put in Captain Clare's place. The latter, in his letter above referred to, stated that this Captain Blake had been with McWilliam, and that, when Blake had been asked for his authority for so doing, he said that he had sufficient from the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Robert Cecil. Clare further stated that Blake was held to be "a very dangerous man, having served the King of Spain, and been in rebellion with the said McWilliam." When Cecil wrote to Captain Lee about Blackcaddell's going to McWilliam, he styled him Captain Blage, so very likely the officer spoken of by



Captain Clare was the same person as the accredited envoy. Captain Clare's complaints took effect, for the Mayor of Galway was censured by the Council of Ireland. They wrote, also, to Clare, assuring him that they still held their opinion as to the meritorious nature of his services.

Sir Theobald Dillon gave testimony as to the fear impressed on the rebels by the sudden and cleverly-managed incursions by Mountjoy both into the north and into Leinster. "They cannot prevent or shun their deserved ruin in every part, save in the unfortunate province of Connaught, where the rebellion seemeth to increase for lack of a settled sufficient Governor" (p. 239). When such was appointed, he should be directed not to reside continually at Athlone, since that had done great injury to the province, the Governor being "far from the more ticklish inhabitants." Early in March, Tibbott Ne Longe attempted to surprise McWilliam, who escaped in person, but lost many of his men, and most of his munition and arms. Tibbott's followers and friends then set up another McWilliam in place of the defeated man, who was O'Donnell's nominee. This faction fight would further the Queen's service in Connaught against O'Donnell, "and that being effected," writes Sir Theobald, "I would both parties were in Abraham's bosom, for in this world I think they will do little good." He impressed upon Cecil the importance of effectually planting Ballyshannon, for then the counties of Sligo and Leitrim, being severed from intercourse with Ulster, would be quickly reduced to obedience, and the haunt and passage of rebels to and fro would be stopped. Connaught, before this last revolt, had yielded to Her Majesty 5,000*l.* per annum.

Mountjoy confirms the general opinion as to the rebellious condition of Connaught, in his letter of May 1, 1601, to the Privy Council. "Only Connaught is of all others the most out of order, and yet the most easy to be reduced, insomuch that the only going through it with an army, to make the war in Ulster by Ballyshannon, [it] is thought will absolutely

reclaim and assure it; which is my reason to plant Ballyshannon through Connaught, and with an army." This, thought Mountjoy, would "presently straiten, and very shortly banish, the two vipers of this kingdom, Tyrone and O'Donnell; and consequently make a final end of this war." There are papers in this volume shewing what demands both Sir Henry Dockwra and Sir John Bolles made, in order that they might be ready for the planting of Ballyshannon. The Lord Deputy's motive for reducing Connaught to obedience was, that the province would be such a convenient base of operations, from which to join Sir George Carew, should the Spanish forces arrive. Athlone was to be the Lord Deputy's starting point, and, to take away the chief dangers of the journey, he purposed beforehand to send 1,000 men from Galway to Sligo, this force to join him afterwards in his advance. Tyrone was negotiating for aid of men from Scotland, and there are several papers to shew that the English government was acting to gain the like assistance for its purposes in the north of Ireland.

Sir Arthur Chichester had returned towards the close of 1600 to his old government at Carrickfergus. He found that in his absence several alterations had been made through the treachery of Neill McHugh, who had for some time greatly assisted the English government, and had received high rewards on that account. Soon after Chichester's departure, Neill McHugh had betrayed the ward of Edenduffcarrick, and taken the boats that Chichester had built there. He had also stolen many goods from Carrickfergus, and concealed them in woods and other places. Yet his services had been such that he was not dealt with as an enemy. As soon as Chichester returned to Ireland, Neill McHugh fled to the Scots, but a few days after he came to talk with the English commander, yet not till he had first received a safe-conduct. Neill McHugh swore to give up the castle and boats the next day. Had a longer respite been granted him, there might have been a serious mishap for Chichester's men, because Neill McHugh had incited the Scots to fall upon them, and

had himself defended the castle against the troops. Chichester was not in a position to storm the castle. He had not even a spade to cut a sod. So he had to temporise with Neill McHugh. The latter was at perpetual strife with Shane McBrian about the Lower Clandeboy. When Neill behaved so treacherously, Chichester sent to Shane, who immediately joined him with his family and some of his followers, and was shortly afterwards sent to Mountjoy, with Chichester's recommendations. The latter pleaded for reinforcements, begging Her Majesty to strengthen her garrisons at Lough Foyle, to place a thousand men at Coleraine, and to raise his own garrison to a thousand. He could not then bring more than 250 into the field, though in list his force was 650, and by the muster they actually paid 550 souls. Chichester considered that he and Dockwra conjoined could pass into Tyrone with far less danger than the forces of Leinster could advance to the Blackwater. Even if the Scots and the rebels were broken, they would gather again, unless the Queen took their castles and erected other holds in their fastnesses. "For this we have the poorest means that ever was afforded men of war; and, without this, let the Queen send thousands of men yearly, they shall die and consume away, not doing her one good day's service, as experience teacheth us" (p. 84). Chichester pressed for a supply of horse, with which he would do as good service as any place in the north. "We must kill and destroy all that comes to our hands, for there is little faith or obedience among them" (p. 84). He complained of a "dilatatory war," and said that some other course must be taken to defeat the enemy. Until Tyrone was beaten or suppressed, Chichester had little hope of quieting his sphere of government. He had wasted a good stretch of country around Carrickfergus, but all the neighbouring country beyond was in the hands of the rebels. Chichester said he must have more assistance from the nearer English garrisons, or an increased force of his own. "Betwixt this and Carlingford, there lies never a man for the Queen." By placing garrisons at Coleraine and Lecale,



there would be taken from the traitor more assistance than Spain afforded him, besides destroying two countries that yielded Tyrone many men and more fostering. Sir James McSorley, of the Route, who had slain Sir John Chichester, Sir Arthur's brother, had been treating with Sir Henry Dockwra, making show of submission and service, and had also sent a messenger to Mountjoy; but Chichester considered that these were mere pretences to cloak McSorley's real purposes. And, as if to prove this contention, McSorley had, at the beginning of January, 1601, put 300 bonnaughts upon his own country, and 100 upon Neill McHugh's.

In March, 1601, Chichester drove out of the Upper Clandeboy and Dufferin, Brian McArt, a nephew of Tyrone, and one of his greatest assistants in the north. Several times Brian's country was wasted, until the gentlemen thereof began to revolt from him, and offered submission and obedience to the Queen. Chief among these was Owen McHugh, who, after the death of Neill McBrian Ertoe, laid claim to the country. Chichester said, however, that he could not so wrong Con, Neill's son, as to give the country to Owen. The difficulty was solved by dividing it between them, and Sir Fulke Conway was left with his company to overrule the two competitors. Similarly, Chichester divided the Lower Clandeboy between the two rivals Shane McBrian and Neill McHugh. The former of these had 100 foot and 10 horse, in the Queen's pay; and the latter was promised by Chichester twenty shillings *per diem*. Writing, however, to Mountjoy, on May 14, 1601, Chichester said, "if your Lordship please to hang them both, you shall have cause enough against them, notwithstanding my endeavours to make them honest."

Sir James McSorley wrote to Sir Francis Stafford, offering his service to the Queen, if Chichester were withdrawn from the government of Carrickfergus, and he himself placed in it. Captain Willis was sent by the Lord Deputy to talk with Sir James, and Chichester was instructed to further the Captain and to treat Sir James justly. This the Governor

said he had ever done, and would continue to do, though he knew Sir James to be "a false and treacherous traitor." The latter had, even when treating with Sir Francis Stafford, allowed a body of Scots, under Angus McConnell's son, to go quietly through his country to Tyrone, for the purpose of offering the Earl 1,500 men, if he would give them entertainment. Angus was quite impartial, for he had sent a messenger to Chichester, offering a like number of Scots for the Queen's service. Chichester temporised with Angus, in order to prevent, if possible, his concluding with Tyrone.

In some letters enclosed in Chichester's despatch of 12 April, 1601, we have the story of the mysterious understanding that arose between him and McSorley. After telling of the fight in which Sir John Chichester fell, McSorley declares he would have written to Sir Francis Stafford long before, only he thought Sir Arthur Chichester would intercept the letter, and when the latter was made Governor of Carrickfergus, McSorley considered that the Lord Deputy and Council were of opinion that he would never become a subject again. So he craved for a protection and for the displacement of the Governor, begging Stafford to come to Carrickfergus. Mountjoy, of course, saw the letter, and wrote in a sharp tone to McSorley, refusing altogether to remove Sir Arthur, but assuring McSorley that, if he desired to return to obedience to the Queen, he would find that Chichester would not only favourably hear him, but most justly perform what he promised him. Chichester was made acquainted with the letter to Stafford and also with that of Mountjoy, and himself wrote to McSorley, confirming what the Lord Deputy had said. "I ever thought," he declared, "my brother was slain by the accident of war, and not by your treason. And so believe I bear you no private malice." Chichester further stated, "I would sooner be a housekeeper to an honest subject, than Governor for the Queen in this place." Captain Willis might by contrary winds be driven to Lough Foyle, so the Governor desired McSorley to send him within ten days notice of his intentions, promising that

meantime no harm should be done to him or his followers. Chichester also offered to send to the Lord Deputy or to any of the Council any letter that McSorley wrote, "for, seeing you trust not me, they shall end your business." McSorley wrote a very cordial and grateful reply, assuring Chichester that "it shall not be unknown to your worship what humility and kindness I shall shew to your worship in my loyal service to Her Majesty." He requested protection until the following 28th of May, a course upon which Mountjoy had severely commented some months before. Chichester stated that the reason of McSorley's demand was, "to delay time, rather to enjoy the quiet fishing of the Bann for this season, or to see that time to the end of May expired, within which Tyrone hath promised the assistance of Spaniards or others, or else leaves every man to shift for himself."

About the middle of April, 1601, Sir James McSorley died. Randall, his brother, returning from Scotland, met James McConnell coming from Tyrone with O'Hagan and some of the Earl's men in his company. Randall asked assistance from Chichester, and McConnell likewise applied for a safe-conduct on the ground that he wanted to confer about business concerning the Queen's service. Chichester trusted neither party, knowing them to be mortal enemies, and stood upon his guard. Before he came to the appointed place of conference, a messenger brought news that Randall had defeated McConnell, who was a prisoner in Dunluce, and that O'Hagan and some forty or fifty others were slain. A few days after, Randall asked Chichester for a protection, and this, after some discussion, was granted, though Chichester had little hope that the terms of Randall's petition to the Queen would be accorded, declaring, however, "Randall hath carried himself true of his word ever since I had first dealings with him."

In the Upper Clandeboy Chichester had placed some bonnaughts, with whom he was well satisfied. Tyrone sent a force of 400 men to those parts, where his nephew,



Brian McCart, was already in action. Chichester, hearing of this, hastened from Carrickfergus, and inflicted a severe defeat on the rebels. Many Irish leaders were killed. The Governor wrote, "it was good service on both sides, for never an honest man was slain." He burnt and destroyed all along Lough Neagh, even within four miles of Dungannon, killing man, woman, child, and beast. His men were wearied with continual service, and were scattered over the country in divers forts. His money was exhausted; and he writes to Cecil from Massereene, on May 15, 1601, "I protest unto your Honour, all the men of war the Queen hath in this government have not been able to make ten pounds these twenty days. We can neither feed ourselves, nor reward spy, guide, or any other that shall draw us upon service." Chichester said that, if more men were sent to him, he would settle at Toom. "I cannot as yet hold it and these other places, not being strong in any place a (*sic*) 150 men." He looked forward to the Lord Deputy's northern journey, "the sooner the better," and had written to Mountjoy to that effect. His demands for money and necessaries for building certain boats were granted by the Lord Deputy, who instructed Sir George Carey to send what was needed. "In these matters," writes Mountjoy, "for the boats and such like, we must not be sparing of the Queen's purse, for then we shall overthrow the service." Chichester declared that Tyrone was "weak in men, weak in opinion; every catching knave is desirous to serve upon him"; and the Governor hoped that, when Mountjoy and Tyrone met near the Blackwater, there would be no great resistance on the latter's part. The Lord Deputy sent two companies to reinforce Chichester, and declared, in a letter to Sir George Carey on June 22, "if I had reaped no other benefit of my journey into Lecale, but the speaking with Sir Arthur Chichester, I should not have repented neither the time nor the labour; for we do now perfectly understand one another, and I have taken a course to do the like with Sir Henry Dockwra

by him, without the which we might have much erred in all our several ways." The garrison at Lecale received orders to join Chichester "in all his business."

On the morning of July 6, Chichester besieged and took Castle Rea, situated about eleven miles from Carrickfergus. Dockwra sent a cipher letter to him, stating that five ships had come into Killibeggs, and that O'Donnell had gone towards them with all his men. Fenton hoped that as soon as Mountjoy had made the fort he was building at the Blackwater guardable, the garrisons under Dockwra and Chichester would march so as to converge upon Dungannon, the objective of the Lord Deputy, and thus that Tyrone would be evicted from his stronghold, "if he be not driven into the sea." Chichester had sent useful information to Mountjoy as to the strength and designs of Tyrone, and asked that a time might be fixed for their joint operations against the enemy. He had beaten Brian McArt over the Bann into Tyrone, whence he could not return without assistance from the Archtraitor. Brian had taken refuge in the strong fort of Killultagh. Chichester likewise made a raid into Clanbrassill, which he found "as plentifully stored with corn as any part of England, and," he adds, "I will labour by all means to destroy it, which will cut their throats faster than our swords, from which flight keeps them."

Many of the letters in this volume throw a clear light on the personality of Mountjoy. Sometimes we see him as delineated by himself; at others as those who knew him well depicted him. Take, for instance, this outburst in a letter to Cecil of November 27, 1600:—"Hitherto I desire God so to prosper my soul, as I have with an unmingled zeal and sincere affection intended to the uttermost of my power the Queen's service and the true duty of my charge; and do challenge all the world that can charge me with the contrary in the least fault or error. I am sure I can never be unfaithful to her; but for all other things wherein I have been hitherto extraordinarily precise, I will no longer

undertake for myself, for I do not see it marked, or at the least regarded, and the general infection of this kingdom is such as I am afraid of myself, if you keep me here any longer; and yet whiles I am honest (and that shews me to be so yet), I give you this warning of it." Writing a fortnight later to the Earl of Nottingham, Mountjoy says, a little more buoyantly, "If your Lordship did see the present face of the affairs in this country, you would judge it much altered from the countenance it bare at my first coming; and there be few rebels in Ireland that have not already made means to me in another style than they were wont, from the chief traitor himself even to the meanest of them. But for himself, I do not think him fit to be hearkened unto; and for the rest, I stand with them upon the service they will first do to deserve Her Majesty's grace. Yet these people, if they be not well followed, will soon take heart again, and, if they be not followed, none shall be more sorry for it than myself, to lose so fair opportunity to do my mistress so great a service. And yet I doubt not to make it appear that the fault shall not be in me."

Nothing could be more cordial or discriminating than the eulogium passed on Mountjoy by Captain Nicholas Dawtrey, in a letter to Cecil on January 31, 1601:—"I never saw any Lord Deputy take the like pains in my life, for he gives his body no rest, and although he were a very sickly gentleman in England, yet he keepeth health here the best of any man; besides that he is endued with notable virtues befitting a general in such a country as this is; for he hath excellent temperance in all things, to discern between man and man, as matter and matter, that cometh before him. He hath secrecy in so excellent a measure, that his intent cannot be discovered before it be done. Also, he hath affability to please all men of service, and severity to make the wicked live in fear of him, valour to do as becometh his place, when he entereth unto (*sic*) any action against open rebels, [and] judgment to drive any rebels or rebel to draw good blood of the rebellion he cometh from, before he will take him to mercy. As for



pledges or hostages, he regardeth them not. These virtues God hath endued him plentifully [with], and withal hath given him a great blessing, that all things that he himself, or any man by his direction, taketh in hand, prospereth and goeth forward, insomuch as his Lordship hath cast the coward out of Her Majesty's army, that sometime troubled it very much, and driven him amongst the rebels, where I hope he shall continue unto the end of this rebellion." Similarly, Sir Edward Herbert writes to Cecil on July 10, "I assure your Honour my Lord Deputy is a very honourable gentleman, and a nobleman who hath behaved himself as honourably in Her Majesty's service all these wars as any that ever I saw in his Lordship's place; and as good fortune he hath, God be thanked, to do Her Highness service as any that ever I knew. For mine own part, I protest I never got by his Lordship the value of a horse, yet according the honourable good service I see him daily do, I cannot but make bold with your Honour to declare of him my good opinion."

More than once Mountjoy craved leave to return to England, that he might personally report to the Queen on the state of Ireland. "I do think it necessary," he tells Cecil on February 4, 1601, "that all Governors employed here should sometimes give unto Her Majesty a personal account of their proceedings, before they do absolutely give over their work; and I doubt not but thereby Her Majesty should find herself much better served." Like many of his predecessors in office, Mountjoy had spent much of his patrimony in Ireland. "Believe me, Sir," he says in this same letter to Cecil, "upon the faith of a Christian, that I am, for anything I know, two hundred pounds a year worse than I was when I first began to prepare for this journey; and, for anything I can see, am likely to return a mere beggar, except Her Majesty do graciously relieve me." If he is not relieved, he asks as a favour that he may shut himself up in the walls he had made at Wanstead, and be protected "in a quiet life though poor." He adds, "this I know I shall not enjoy without her favour, after this unfortunate government." The object of Mountjoy's

policy is stated by himself (p. 254). "The scope I am at is, the absolute reducing of this kingdom to obedience, and after to be made firm and profitable to the Crown of England. For the effecting of so great a work, I think Her Majesty must continue her army as it now is, all this next summer and winter following." And, in the same paper, he writes, "If the garrisons be well chosen and sufficiently planted, I do confidently believe that the next winter will utterly end the war."

In a despatch to the Privy Council on February 6, 1601, Mountjoy expresses the following sagacious opinion:—"I must needs say that the statesmen of this country, as they that have once learned an evil accent of a language will be more hardly induced to pronounce it well than they which are new to begin to learn it, so that (*sic*) they for the most part love rather to maintain their errors than to amend them, and out of that love have gotten a habit to judge amiss." Sir Robert Cecil put the matter in a different form, when he wrote to Sir George Carew on April 30, 1601, "I never found yet but the Deputies would either follow their own projects or mislike others; and, for aught that I see, we are still the children of Adam." Carew himself, speaking of his heavy charges and small pay, told the Privy Council that he had not "any helps out of the country, as my predecessors in plentiful times had, and that I am free from taking of bribes" (p. 302). An example of a Lord Deputy receiving, or rather enforcing, bribes, is noted in a paper on "the causes of the rebellion in Ireland" (December, 1601), wherein a detailed attack is made against Sir William Fitzwilliams. The paper is a graphic tale of corruption and coercion, of division and disaster, penned evidently, too, by an Englishman. Sir Patrick Barnewell styled Ireland "a poor and worn-out country" (p. 166).

Mountjoy was as severe as anyone in his criticisms on the troubles in Ireland. He begins a paper that he wrote in March, 1601, with a glowing eulogium on the country itself, "one of the goodliest provinces of the world," and

then goes on to relate some of the causes of its distress. Amongst others, he notes, absentee landlords; "the corruptions of the magistrates sent hither, and weakness of their counsels, directed most to private and no public ends, with the continual dissension of the English inhabitants"; the sending to Ireland for members of Council, clergy, and settlers, "such as England rather refuseth to dwell in it"; an undisciplined and thus unprofitable army; and the private factions of the Irishry. Again, in a letter to Cecil, dated April 10, 1601, Mountjoy states, "the baseness and dishonesty of the English-Irish inhabitants hath been the chief cause of the hazard of this kingdom."

The Lord Deputy was clearly afraid that his intimacy with Essex might endanger his reputation at the Court, and prove a ready handle for his detractors. He tells Cecil, in a letter of December 15, 1600, that he desires him "not to impute any jealousy of mine to an inbred humour of suspicion, from the which I know myself to be more free than any man, nor to any light belief of flying tales, by which I know no man more wronged than myself, and therefore I have the less reason to believe them of others." Further, in a letter of February 24, 1601, he admits to Cecil that "although my long and inward familiarity with the principal actors of this miserable tragedy" [the conspiracy of Essex] "may give just reason to a provident Estate to look upon me in this matter with some jealousy, yet I am confident in mine own conscience, and in my Prince's favour and justice, and doubt not but my proceedings, hitherto and hereafter, shall show themselves to be fruits that proceed from a root without all corruption." He begs Cecil to ask the Queen to believe "that nothing on earth, neither an angel from heaven, shall make me deceive the trust she hath reposed in me, and when she doth think otherwise, it shall be no punishment, but a benefit, for me to die." It must have comforted the Lord Deputy to have received friendly letters from Cecil, giving some details of the trial and execution of Essex.



Sir Geoffrey Fenton, writing to Cecil on February 26, 1601, respecting the conspiracy, openly advocates "Jedburgh justice";—"You are to remember that, in practices of treason against the person of the Prince, it cannot be safe to stand long upon ordinary formalities of justice, but to provide that the punishment of the parties do precede their judgment. For, in such a peril as this, that embraceth the whole kingdom, if you begin by execution of the traitors, it is a safe course; for that, when you have prevented the danger of the State, by the death of some of the chief offenders, you may have time enough afterwards to use the wonted ceremonies of proceeding by course of law."

But Mountjoy's chief outburst, with regard to his connection with the Earl of Essex, is to be found in his letter of July 17, 1601, to Cecil. Sir Oliver St. John, who had been dispatched to the Court, had returned. Mountjoy expected some comforting message from the Queen, but did not receive it. She thought he was carried away with the glory of commanding a great army, that he had favoured Tyrone himself, and many other things which Mountjoy thought it vain to answer, "since my deeds have taken no better effect to give Her Majesty satisfaction. If anger and unkindness were not some physic to my melancholy, by God, Sir, I think it would break my heart; for it is one of the greatest curses to be mistaken and construed (*sic*) in all things, and one of the most insupportable pains of hell to labour in vain." Further on in the letter, Mountjoy desired as a favour, that whosoever was examined regarding him might be charged to say truly, whether he ever made profession of friendship to them, or to any other, living or dead, without this proviso, that himself would be the first to imbrue his hands in the blood of any person, who should at any time attempt anything against the present estate or person of the Queen. He inveighs against those who "wrest and reveal the secret though innocent meditations of an inward friendship," and he appeals to God to prosper him, as he has prayed for the Queen's prosperity, and sincerely served her. Sir Oliver St. John also writes to

Cecil on the same day (July 17), telling of Mountjoy's deep sorrow, and stating that nothing could "comfort him, or appease the greatness of his grief, which I constantly believe to be such as, were it not that his public alacrity must uphold the spirit and courage of this army, he would rather confine himself to a chamber, than be seen of any."

Many of these papers touch upon the great hope of the Irish, viz., the arrival of Spanish forces, which were to crown the rebellion with triumph. In December, 1600, Dockwra heard news that some vessels had come from Spain, and had cast anchor off the coast of McWilliam's country in Connaught. He sent three messengers to ascertain the truth, but none of them returned. "If," he writes to Cecil on December 19, "I should speak too confidently, your Honour might worthily think me either too credulous or too fearful; and to pass them over altogether in silence, I might as worthily be condemned of obstinacy or mere negligence." A few days later, it was certified that there had arrived in the harbour of the Inver, in Erris, co. Mayo, two frigates, "laden with friars and munition from Spain." Sir Ralph Lane thought they might be a "piece of a squadron of the main fleet, which so long they have bragged of." He hoped that some of the vessels had been scattered by the winds, and that others were at the bottom of the sea, "according to the usual mercy of the Almighty God to Her most excellent Majesty." Sir Arthur Chichester writes from Carrickfergus on January 12, 1601, "Tyrone and O'Donnell are yet at Donegal about the late Spanish negotiations. The two ships brought 2,000*l.* in money, arms for so many men, and some store of munitions." A week later, Sir Geoffrey Fenton had got more detailed news of these vessels, and remarks to Cecil, "your Honour may see what cold correspondence that King holdeth with these rebels, which is no other than complimental and ceremonious; for he leaveth them to stand in water up to the chin, and yet he suffereth them not to sink altogether." The very gifts brought by the Spaniards caused dissension among the

Irish, in consequence of the method of distribution. Tyrone appropriated one half, and the other half was divided between O'Donnell, O'Rourke, McWilliam, and O'Connor Sligo. Captain Mostyn, who had deserted to the rebels, was "new christened" by the Spanish bishop, who came in one of the vessels.

There was bitter anger and disappointment among the Irish leaders at the brevity and coldness of the King's letters. O'Donnell "was like a madman, when he saw no kind of news, neither of men nor money to come; and presently swore he would go himself to Spain, and would have gone indeed, if the Captain of the Spaniards had suffered him." That officer adroitly pacified the leaders by declaring that, if the King was going to send an army into Ireland, he would not tell any one, even his own Council. It was decided by all parties to send back the Spanish bishop, and with him Robert Chamberlain, Tyrone's confessor, to solicit aid in men, and that these troops should arrive in Ireland by the following May. The bishop promised to return with reinforcements, and with the news of an honourable match for Tyrone's son in Spain. Tyrone, however much he bragged of Spanish assistance in public, had small hopes of aid himself at this time, as the Duke of Savoy and the King of France were at war, and the King of Spain would help the Duke, and thus not have men to spare for the Irish cause. With the aid of the money, two horseloads of which went to Dungannon, Tyrone was able to proclaim that any soldiers, English or Irish, who would come and serve him, should receive pay at the rate of 20s. a month. He further proclaimed that the Spanish money was to pass through all the country as other money, upon pain of death to any offender. When the two ships returned to Spain, we learn from the depositions of Moriertagh McDermott McShee that the Bishop took back with him to that country Friar Peter Nangle; Robert Mortimer, priest; Connogher O'Quin, brother to O'Quin; Donogh O'Hagan; and two more, whose names he knew not, but one of whom, doubtless, was the



Robert Chamberlain just referred to. Sir Henry Dockwra, in writing to the Privy Council on May 12, 1601, states with regard to the Spaniards, "of whom your Lordships seem to be secure for this year, and so do I confidently give it out in the country, and doubt not but your Honours are sufficiently assured thereof by infallible advertisements. But Sir John Bolles can inform your Lordships what is the opinion of Hugh Boy in this matter, and what I said of it before I imparted anything thereof unto him. For he ever told me from the beginning, and so I wrote (as I remember) by Captain Vaughan, or at least he knew it as well as I, that it was the word between these rebels and the Spaniards, that when they should be advertised of a few forces ready for the Low Countries, they should be assured it was intended for them, and only so disguised to the end the letters being intercepted should not be rightly construed." That the Privy Council had good reason for their belief appears from what even the Irish leaders feared. Thus, on May 15, 1601, Captain Humphrey Willis writes from Derry :—"Tyrone and O'Donnell now with the rest are fully persuaded they shall have no help of Spaniards this year, and have for some part resolved in Council that, when they are fully put to it, they both will away for Spain, and leave their countries (as Tyrone to his eldest son Hugh, and Tyrconnell to Rory O'Donnell), with directions how they shall make means to the State, as innocents that have not offended, and so to seek to hold the countries, until they may have some relief."

Early in June news came to both Dublin and Youghal that eleven or twelve Spanish ships were in readiness at Cadiz to sail for Lisbon, there to embark 4,000 soldiers, and then to proceed to Ireland. Mountjoy was of opinion that Cork and Limerick should be made sure. Fenton considered that Galway was the port-town that the Spaniards would make for, but trusted at the same time that the news might refer to "a ship or two of advice, to be sent to Tyrone with some small bit of money and munitions," as before. Similarly, a few days later, Fenton thus expressed himself to Cecil, "I hope

all these Spanish formalities, touching sending of forces into Ireland, will turn to a mountain of smoke." Mountjoy and the Council wrote the same day, "To judge what a wise and powerful enemy will do, by that which is best and easy for him to do, we have many reasons to think that Spain will send this year, and few to think otherwise, but that he hath so oft deceived that expectation. For if the malice of Spain continue to England, they have an easy and dangerous step thereto by Ireland; and, if they do not embrace the occasion of this year, there is no doubt but the next will for ever lose it unto them." It was therefore urged on the Privy Council that they should have 6,000 of the trained bands ready for transportation into Ireland, on the first notice of the arrival of any foreign power. "And if it must needs fall out that Spain will have war with England, we shall be glad that the war of England may be made in Ireland." Tyrone had sent an agent to the Spanish court to seek for aid, affirming that without speedy help he was unable any longer to resist the English forces. Early in July, 1601, O'Donnell hastily left his camp for Killibeggs, on purpose, as was confidently given out, to meet the Spaniards. If the arrival of Spanish troops was true, Dockwra declared that the want of shovels and spades for his men would be an irrecoverable damage, and many other helps would be necessary, especially shipping.

More definite news of the approaching Spanish invasion came in July. In a letter by Richard Golborne, a merchant of Dublin, who received the news at Bordeaux, it was stated that the Spanish King had granted to the Pope's Bishop of Dublin and to two other Bishops of Ireland, 6,000 men for the relief of the Irish. The names of the commanders were specified, and that they were in readiness with fifty ships at Lisbon, with instructions to go to Cape Clear, and there open their orders.

Concerning the army in Ireland, we have the usual tale of corruption, want, disease, and desertion. The only bright

spots are, the renewed discipline established by Mountjoy under many difficulties, and a measure of care taken for the sick and wounded men. Although the forces were weakened by sickness and diminished by death, the Privy Council, in November, 1600, wrote to Sir George Carey and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, "We hope you will think it high time to fall into reduction of the huge army in Ireland, having longer continued at the height it is than yourselves or Her Majesty expected." Dockwra wrote more than once, explaining the stringent measures he had adopted to obviate the frauds in the musters, and asked for more men. Carew considered that he had brought Munster to such a state of quiet that he could spare 1,000 or 1,500 men for the Lord Deputy's operations, but declared that, if the Spaniards arrived, he himself would require a reinforcement of 4,000 men from England. All the promises and plans of the English commanders were contingent on the absence of foreign aid to the Irish. The Privy Council tried to put off the necessity of sending supplies from England, by authorising the engagement of Scotch and Irish mercenaries. It is an amazing fact that, in the martial affairs of Ireland at this period, when the fortunes of fighting were against the English, they immediately proceeded to hire some of the Irish to assist them in conquering the rebellion. It is still more amazing that the Irish were always ready to oblige. Mountjoy declared that the Irish mercenaries consumed many of the rebels, and that the rebels consumed many of them, and that both results were for the good of the service. And again, in a letter from the camp at the Blackwater, dated July 19, he says, "We hold it a very good piece of policy to make them cut one another's throats, without which this kingdom will be never in quiet." Two thousand boards were received at Lough Foyle out of the number appointed for that place, and Dockwra was asked why a storehouse had not been built with some of them, and the victuals allowed to suffer. The answer was that the wood had been used for the building of a hospital, a bakehouse, a smith's forge, and sheds for the horses. Some



barrels of meal and salt had been placed within the walls of an old castle near the water's edge, and at high tide the sea had overflowed them, and had ruined the contents. The official in charge, when examined, said that if the meal and salt had lain in the bottom of the sea, it would have taken no hurt, "being in good and sufficient cask." But it was ascertained that the greater part of these barrels had been sent as supplies to Sir Samuel Bagenall two years before, and had become tainted through long exposure to heat and wet. Beer was sent from Chester for the troops, and the contract price was 6*l.* a tun. The charge was that the beer was "uttered" to the soldier at 16*l.* a tun. It was alleged that the Captains converted it to their own uses, "whereby the soldiers were enforced to drink water." The answer to this was, "although the same beer could not be uttered at less than 2*d.* a quart by the victualler, it was neither after the rate of 16*l.* a tun, nor so bad for the soldier as to drink water." On February 4, 1601, Mountjoy writes to Cecil, "I dare undertake upon my life that by your experience hereafter you shall find it true, that what course or care soever can be invented by you profoundly there, or diligently executed here, the army will never be kept strong, until it shall please Her Majesty to pay them well, and all with money and victuals, and not apparel. For I protest, before the majesty of God, that I do believe that it is the chief cause of the weakness of the army, and that, by the incommodities that do arise thereby, the Queen hath lost far more men's lives than by the sword." Mountjoy, indeed, offered to make the war with 12,000 men in list, well paid, and with money, than with 16,000 in list, paid as then they were.

Several details are given as to the gross neglect of the army horses, and it was averred that, "for the English horse, not one amongst three will live here" [*i.e.* Ireland]. Captain Dawtrey writes to Cecil on February 9, 1601, regarding the serving men that came over with him upon the horses that their several masters sent, the "horses were exceeding good, and the men tall men for action, but the

worst keepers of horses, and the worst riders, that ever were found out. For they not only killed their horses, but themselves, with sloth, for they had not endured one month of ill weather; but they gave over either to stir to get horsemeat or shelter for horses or themselves; whereby many of them died with agues and fluxes, and some ran away for fear they should not have leave to pass into England; others that lay sick, hurt, and impotent, I gave passport unto, because they were good for nothing but to hang upon their master's beef-pot and his buttery. Insomuch as they have killed more than the one half of the geldings they brought over, and the rest are not like to recover, although that they have cost me a great deal of money, the physicking of them."

As to the men themselves, Lord Dunsany writes on February 10, 1601, "how weak our companies be, and how our Captains, for their greater profit, will have them none other," whereby the service was slackened, and Her Majesty much abused. Dockwra, in his letter of June 10, stated that his men had not been paid for five months, "as I think your Lordships are not ignorant," and declared there was danger of a mutiny. At times munition was allowed to run very low. On one occasion, there was not one barrel left in the Dublin store, whilst forty-four cartloads were waiting at Chester. There are some interesting details about preachers, physicians, and surgeons in the army, reference to which can readily be obtained in the index. Captain Humphrey Covert incurred the odium of the Captains in his attempts to repress the abuses of the musters. On April 22, 1601, he writes to Cecil, "the Captains with their officers are most violently bent against my proceedings in the musters, and daily myself, and such as in this employment for Her Highness's service I use, are boldly threatened to have our throats cut. I confess, in regard of my duty, I have been unto them as wormwood to the taste, and they, through their malice unto me, as a stepdame to her child. I have not studied more means to prevent their large musters than they have had lewd practices

to betray my life. As a Jew is among Christians, so am I with them; and as a herd of wolves watching one lamb, are they unto me."

Even when provisions were in hand, the soldiers were often defrauded. Captain Covert writes to Cecil, on May 15, 1601, "I am an humble suitor to your Honour, in the poor soldiers' behalf, that you will be pleased to allow to the several companies at Lough Foyle, being twenty-five in number, a pair of wooden scales and brazen weights, sealed according to statute, viz., of four pounds, half-pounds, and ounces, which will not rise to any great charge, but be a special mean to preserve many a man's life; for the clerks, being the Captains' servants, use stones for to weigh with, which, for want of true weights to compare them withal, we cannot disprove, but the falseness thereof is found in many of the soldiers' cheeks. When these complaints are by me urged in their behalf, the poor soldiers dare not appear for fear of worse usage; or if he do, the officers spare no oaths to avouch their dealing to be just." In the demands of Sir John Bolles (June, 1601), for the journey to Ballyshannon, we read amongst the items, "That there may be victual sent before winter for full six months, and six weeks' beer after our arrival, and that the victuallers may not be without scales or weights to deliver victuals by." Sir Arthur Chichester lays open another grievance of the men. He writes to Mountjoy from Massereene, on May 14, 1601, "We are in as great want of clothes as of money, and of them both more than ever I formerly saw in the Queen's wars. I can hardly keep our men in discipline, they so exclaim for those defects, and it is not reasonable to inflict punishment, where dues are so long withholden; their daily employment, some killing, and a little booty, puts them out of minding of these wants many times. I beseech your Lordship to think of us, for I find we are not much thought of elsewhere, and we will do you very honest service, and give your Lordship good testimony thereof, if you come into these parts." A remarkable testimony is given by Sir Geoffrey Fenton (May 25, 1601) as to the merits of



“Captain Hansard, a man of great sufficiency in his profession, and of so good rule and government of his soldiers, as, being a Commissioner in the grievances between the country and the army, I have not heard so much as one complaint against him, which is rare, and without example in others. And in truth such as he is should be leaders of men in Ireland, who knoweth what belongeth to discipline, and will not suffer the rules thereof to be corrupted. Besides, he hath a very good insight in fortifications, and so qualified otherwise in the knowledge of wars, as he may be a leader of greater numbers than of 100 men. For my part, I have not found many of his capacity and gifts in his profession, and the same accompanied with a feeling mind of the miseries of his country.” Captain Hansard had also “wounds of his body, which will be a perpetual maim to him.”

On July 2, 1601, Dockwra complains to the Privy Council that the forces at Lough Foyle had only two axle-trees to their cannon, “whereof one was clean broken at the siege of Aynogh, and the other cracked, and only holding by the bands we have given it for the present, which cannot continue. A supply thereof must be had, or the use of that piece (which is the whole force of a battery) will be utterly taken away.” He also declares that the match sent them “for the most part hath ever been rotten, and utterly unserviceable.” Chichester also tells their Lordships, in a letter from Carrickfergus, dated July 8, “I humbly beseech your Honours to give order that our tools may be of better making, and that they may come unto us directly out of England. It is long passage betwixt this and Dublin, and those we have from them we new make before we work with them, whereby the Queen is doubly charged.”

There are several miscellaneous items of interest in this volume. Sir Robert Cecil's love for hawks was remembered by suitors in Ireland. The Earl of Thomond regrets the ill carriage of some of these birds he had sent to Sir Robert, and promises others (p. 1). Sir Charles O'Carroll had long kept a cast of hawks for presentation to Cecil, but the birds were

so bruised and crushed in their feathers and wings, by the time they reached Dublin, that they were considered unmeet to be forwarded. However, Mulroney O'Carroll, Sir Charles's brother, promised better ones before the beginning of the following season. Chichester, Sir Francis Stafford, and Captain Henry Clare, also write to Cecil on this same subject, on July 9, 16, and 23, respectively.

Carew asks Cecil in one letter (p. 6), "if any tobacco or Venice glasses come in abundance unto you, I beseech your Honour that some of them may fall to my share."

In the Exchequer of Ireland, the rents due to Her Majesty from divers lands in that country were in many cases fraudulently withheld from her, often on the plea that the lands had been wasted by the rebels, and that therefore the owners were unable to pay; "yet, where habitation is, the gentlemen of the Pale make their tenants pay more rent unto them than ever they did." Records, also, were not too safely preserved in the Exchequer. Carew complains that the record of the attainder of Sir Edmund Butler and his two brothers, Edward and Piers, had been either negligently lost or falsely embezzled; "for no such act is extant in the records here, by means whereof neither the title of Ormonde or his land doth or can escheat to the Queen, as hitherto the world was of opinion that it should do" (p. 6). The Earl of Kildare, in an application for a grant of land, says, concerning the Queen, who had promised reward to him, "I believe her words to be divine oracles, and therefore do only repose my greatest felicity in this world on her princely promise" (p. 229).

Attention may be called to the papers on William Udall's case, and on that of Meyler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel; to those on the introduction of the new money into Ireland; to a long dissertation by the Roman Catholic Lords of the Pale on Tyrone's character and assumption of the rôle of defender of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland (pp. 127-136); to the examination of Dermond McMorris (pp. 296-299); and to an interesting letter of Sir George Carew, touching on his pedigree (pp. 308, 309).

There is a remarkable characterization of the Earl of Essex in a letter written by Sir William Warren to Cecil, on May 28, 1601:—"His behaviour was very well perceived here, if man durst have either spoken or written of it. His greatness was such he was called here the Earl of Excess, which name he well deserved. For, if the wealth of England and Spain had been put into his hands, he would have consumed it, winning towns and towers in the air, promising much and performing nothing. I protest to Almighty God, I would not have lost the least part of your love for his entirest affection."

On May 15, 1601, Meyler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, wrote to Cecil:—"And where your Honour did write in the said letter, that I most irreligiously suffered the churches under me to lie like hog-stys, and that I was not so bare left by the wars, but that I might remedy the same, I do confess the churches in the most parts, and within five miles to Dublin itself, to be like hog-stys, or rather worse; yet am I not in fault thereof, but rather the three sorts of people against whom I have no power, namely, the traitors, the papists, and the soldiers; and in this land [it] is hard to find so many as will suffice to build or repair a church, but the said sorts." He then alludes to the outrages committed by the soldiers in the times of previous Governors.

On July 15, 1601, the Mayor of Waterford writes to Cecil:—"For some show of gratuity, and yearly remembrance of our good wills, I have thought fit, in the behalf of this Corporation, to present your Honour with a pair of bed-coverings, and two small rundells of *aqua vitæ*, of our town's making, which you shall receive at the hands of the bearer hereof, our late and now agent, Nicholas Wyse."

There is, further, an interesting letter, on July 17, by Captain Charles Plessington, telling of his cruising on the coasts of Ulster and Connaught with his ship, the *Tremontana*, capturing or destroying any of the rebels' vessels that he came across.



Sir Theobald Dillon was much concerned at the report that Sir Robert Cecil was going into Scotland. In a letter dated July 9, he expresses the wish that it were not so, "considering how ill the people are given." If anything happened to Sir Robert, "otherwise than well, you may foresee what hurt might follow; and therefore I humbly beseech your Honour, for God's love, be not absent from Her Majesty in such a time as this is, and let some other trusty to Her Highness go thither fully and well instructed."

In accordance with the fifth instruction to Editors of Calendars, given by the Master of the Rolls, by which it is directed that "striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c., are to be noticed," the following examples may be cited, in addition to those already quoted in this preface:—  
 "gratuitie" (gratitude), pp. 2 and 431; "meanable" (amendable), p. 5; "given us the slip," p. 8; "fett" (fetch), p. 10; "come in at the nick" (in the nick of time), p. 11; "cadgehouses," p. 21; "stood at a gaze upon" (awaited the result of), p. 28; "honyng" (groaning), p. 29; "in little better taking" (in little better condition), p. 33; "decipher his inward heart," p. 54; "a forenotice," p. 55; "umperage" (decision), p. 58; "made dainty to do anything," p. 74; "filchery" (stealing), p. 83; "cavysen" (safe-guard), p. 86; "aprovements" (claims to approval), p. 88; "haggards of corn" (stacks of corn), p. 108; "easilier," p. 118; "detainment" (detention), p. 139; "umpire of my carriages" (judge of my conduct), p. 139; "with hot foot" (in hot haste), p. 139; "rype" (raise), p. 149; "bequit themselves well" (acquit themselves well), p. 156; "gravelled" (annoyed), p. 157; "imbrother" (praise, ? embroider), p. 161; "gall-house" (gallows), p. 164; "ingenerally" (in general), p. 164; "agence" (agency), p. 170; "suppling up" (fully supplying), p. 182; "curates" (cuirasses), p. 183; "stoff" (boast), p. 184; "habilments" (enabling means), p. 186; "improude him" (make him proud), p. 186; "an inkling thereof," p. 209; "necessity had no law," p. 239; "the more ticklish inhabitants" (the more troublesome inhabitants),

p. 239; "in Abraham's bosom," p. 240; "naytheless" (nevertheless), p. 247; "naviable" (navigable), p. 250; "occupantie" (*sic*; unfit to be occupied), p. 253; "a man of great commandre" (a skilled commander), p. 256; "esperance" (hope), p. 258; "more prest" (readier), p. 258; "at the next door" (in readiness), p. 266; "fending" (touching), p. 271; "gratumlle" (in gratitude), p. 275; "willines and honest meanies" (willingness and honest meaning), p. 276; "rejected" (threw back), p. 289; "I pass not of a pin" (I do not care a pin), p. 290; "innated" (innate), p. 293; "bolt out the truth," p. 293; "burdenous" (burdensome), p. 295; "to be of any apparence" (to be at all likely), p. 304; "scited" (situated), p. 315; "linger the time," p. 321; "cogging companions," p. 322; "okecome" (oakum), p. 332; "habitations and holts of Islands and Inches," p. 336; "runagates" (renegades), p. 337; "tentet to" (referred to), p. 337; "sommers" (main pieces of timber in a floor), p. 338; "to alien" (alienate), p. 344; "dainty" (slender), p. 345; "apply" (attack), p. 348; "slane," p. 355; "respectively" (exactly), p. 358; "chahst" (hidden), p. 365; "spritly" (spiritedly), p. 365; "are footed in" (have gained a footing in), p. 371; "adjoin unto them" (join them), p. 371; "fact" (deed or crime), p. 387; "acquit" (quit), p. 388; "make no bones of it" (make no fuss over it), p. 398; "fyne" (end), p. 402; "appeached" (accused), p. 411; "submissee" (submissive), p. 412; "wete" (know), p. 416; "carrecter" (cipher), p. 420; "fraught" (freighted), p. 427; "spykeholes" (loopholes), p. 435; "tickles" (is restless), p. 445.

ERNEST G. ATKINSON.

22 April, 1905.





# IRELAND.

ELIZABETH.

VOL. CCVII. PART 6. 1600. NOVEMBER—DECEMBER.

1600.  
Nov. 1.  
Mallow.

1. The Earl of Thomond to Sir Robert Cecil. Thanks him for his letter of October [? September] 28. Will always be ready to serve him. "I am very sorry of the ill success your hawks have had in the carriage, contrary to mine expectation and the care I had of them. But I hope the next shall be better for your Honour, and to amend it, I wish here one of your own, that were skilful for taking of haggards, to supply the loss of those hawks.

"To discourse of the estate of the province of Connaught were tedious, but in brief [I] do assure your Honour that it is all under the rebels, save a small portion inhabited by the Earl of Clanrickarde and his sons; and the poor county of Clare, which I hold of Her Majesty, hath of late been much spoiled and preyed by the traitor O'Donnell and his confederates (taking the opportunity of my absence in employment elsewhere for Her Majesty), and thereby is driven to great poverty for the more part, it being the only place chiefly shot at by the rebels in Ireland, and especially by the Archtraitors, who then and sithence do seek the ruin thereof. And to declare unto your Honour the estate of this province, I must leave it to my Lord President, whose great travail and honourable pains taken for the regaining of it to Her Majesty's obedience hath brought the same to good possibility, but as yet to be feared that it may be troublesome, and my doubt is, if any part of the army here for this province should be any way diminished or drawn into other parts, [it] would breed but a second charge. For Redmond Burke, John McThomas, Piers Lacy, with their associates, to the number of 1,500 or thereabouts, are in Ormonde, every day ready to invade the county of Limerick; unto whom divers are desirous and ready (notwithstanding their pledges) to join with them (*sic*), and to kindle anew fire upon the least opportunity that may be found. But; if the other parts of Ireland were so busied, as that their men could not be spared to annoy Munster, there is no doubt but those provincials would be kept in good obedience by the sword and his Lordship's provident care."

1600.

This for the present is all he has to write of. Desires much to see Sir Robert, and hopes shortly to do so, the garrisons being placed, and winter drawing on.—Mallow, 1600, November 1. *Signed.* pp. 2.

Nov. 2.  
Mallow.

2. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. "Having in my former letters herewith made answer unto the particulars of those letters which in this late passage I received, [I] do now in these trouble your Lordships with such other things as are material for the service, and to account unto you the present estate of this province. At the last passage aforesaid, the Earl of Desmond arrived at Youghal, and from thence by easy journeys, the 18th of the last, came unto me hither. What benefit Her Majesty shall receive by his late coming, until some further trial be made, I can make no judgment, for the greatest weight of the business was undergone and discharged before his arrival. But yet we doubt it cannot but produce good effects in confirming the work which by Her Majesty's forces (with God's assistance) is hitherto so well advanced. He is now at Kilmallock much followed and daily sought unto by the freeholders and those of meaner quality, and of the others hitherto but sparingly attended. I have good hope (both in his 'gratuitie' for Her Majesty's favour so highly extended towards him, and in his own inclination of a subject) that he will prove a good servant, and do no less than is expected. Of his behaviours, and of those that shall be nearest unto him, I will have a careful eye, and do presume so much upon my intelligencers, as that I will be able to prevent any ill counsels that will be given him. For the better understanding whereof, I do evermore purpose to have some gentleman of quality to be with him, and lest that he might be against his will surprised, he shall continually have a competent guard of horse or foot, or both, to attend him. As far as yet I can discern, both his speech and religion are every way agreeing with the disposition of a true and loyal subject; and, so long as he shall hold his religion firm, little doubt is to be made of him; but, if he were otherwise (whereas now the people do affect him), they would then in far greater multitudes flock about him. Lest therein he may be corrupted, I will be exceeding careful.

"The titular Earl of Desmond, ever since the late defeat given him by Captain Grymes and the garrison of Kilmallock, hath lived obscurely, shifting from one place to another, attended (as I understand) with not above two persons. His abode is for the most part in the county of Tipperary, where by his mother he hath many kindred. I have made the best means I may to have a draught upon him, but such is the suspicious folly of these people, as for no price he may be had, holding the sin to be so heinous, as no priest will give them absolution. My hope is, that some of this young Earl's followers (to advance his fortunes) will venture their consciences in that point. His brother, John FitzThomas, went into Ulster to procure aids from Tyrone, who is now upon his return, and I think will obtain his suit, which appears to be likely by Tyrone's letters in Irish, which by good chance I intercepted,



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the copies whereof I have sent to Mr. Secretary Cecil [*see October 22*]; yet, for fear of miscarrying, I do likewise with these send them (*wanting*) unto your Lordships. Thomas FitzMaurice (the pretended Baron of Lixnaw) hath of late received a good blow by Sir Charles Willmot in Kerry, in the which himself and the Knight of the Valley with great difficulty escaped; about sixty of his people killed, and all the corn (that with much pain they had hidden in the woods) burned; so as I conclude them now no better than poor wood-kern. Piers Lacy (as James FitzThomas) hath shrouded himself in the county of Tipperary amongst the Butlers, and of late (as I understand) hath gathered together of the O'Maughers, Ossory men, the Purcells, and other such loose vagabonds of Ormonde and Tipperary, to the number of 500, and is lately joined with Redmond Burke, who for this month and more hath been in Ormonde and in O'Carroll's country, with 1,000 foot and 60 horse, every day threatening the invading of the county of Limerick; their only stay (as I suppose) is for John FitzThomas and his Ulster aids. Long time this body of 1,500 foot and 60 horse cannot hold together, and must be enforced, either to make their attempt further into this Province, or to dissolve. When this cloud is overpast, I do hope to be able to spare my Lord Deputy 1,000 foot; but, until I be more secure from foreign incursion, I do humbly pray that your Lordships will favourably admit the continuance of this charge, which (as soon as possibly may be) myself will be willingly desirous to diminish. As for the provincials, having so many and so good pledges upon them, as also the poor estate of the country, which is slenderly stored with victuals, I hope assuredly to keep them in obedience with the diminution aforesaid, and also (evermore), in despite of all the traitors of Ireland, for the reasons abovesaid, with 3,000 foot and 250 horse, to contain them from such an universal defection as I found them in. But, if aids out of Spain (daily by them expected) do invade us, I do not believe that either pledges, or any other possible assurance that can be devised, will hold them subjects; and then likewise of the towns I am as little confident.

"Since my last of the 29th of September to your Lordships, a castle of good strength, appertaining (by usurpation) to James FitzThomas, hath been surprised by us, so as now he hath no other house at his devotion but Castlemaine, which by my next I do hope to send your Lordships word is in Her Majesty's possession.

"I understand by divers lately come over, that most of the corporate towns in Munster have now their agents at the Court to sue for the enlargement of their charters. I humbly pray your Lordships to be sparing in any such grant, for the people are sufficiently insolent, stubborn, and proud already, and the increasing of their franchises will increase ill-humours in them.

"Since the beginning of this dispatch to your Lordships, Florence McCarthy, after many delays and protections (in hope of present succour to subsist in a longer war) the 29th of the last made his repair unto me, submitting himself to Her Majesty's grace and mercy, protesting (whose protestations I do not much credit, for



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his submissions are only out of fear to be presently ruined by Her Majesty's forces), for ever hereafter to remain a true and faithful servant unto Her Majesty, and to merit by his future services the redemption of his late errors. To abate his greatness, I have taken from him his chief dependants, namely, the two O'Sullivans, the two O'Donnoughoes, McFinnin, O'Crowley, and O'Mahowne Carrebry, every of which are to put in pledges for their own loyalties and not to depend upon him. So as his pledge lies only for himself and his brother (who is a most wicked traitor) and those of the Clancarties dwelling upon the lands which Her Majesty hath granted unto him. The pledge I demanded was his eldest son, which (by reason of his indisposition of health) he could not bring with him, but in the meantime hath left with me his base brother, who is dearly esteemed by him, having for these ten years past spent his time in the wars of the Low Countries, France, and Hungary, and a foster-brother of his, no less by him respected. Within these twenty days he assures me to return again, and then brings his son with him. All that I have promised to confirm unto him is but his pardon and liberty, not conditioning any further assurance for his lands than such as now he hath; and for the titles which he so much affects, which is either to be called McCarthy More, or to be created Earl of Clancar, I have left him hopeless in either of them. He is now gone to prove his credit with Thomas Oge (constable of Castlemaine for James FitzThomas), to render the same into Her Majesty's hands, but I think the Earl of Desmond will prevail before him, who hath sent to that purpose; but, if they both fail, I doubt not by another stratagem to regain the same. The reduction of Florence (although I cannot judge his heart less corrupt than before) gives an assured hope of a present establishment of this province, for upon him the rebels did build their last refuge, and now that he is defected from them, strangers will be less willing (having no back in the country) to venture themselves therein.

"Amongst other things worthy of consideration (under reformation of your Lordships' graver judgments), I am bold humbly to present and to say mine opinion unto your wisdoms of the necessity in the obtaining of a general pardon for all sorts of people within this province that shall be desirous to embrace the same (the principal heads of this rebellion and now in action, and traitorly townsmen in Corporations that have relieved them or their associates, only excepted, namely, James FitzThomas, and John his brother; Thomas FitzMaurice, the pretended Baron of Lixnaw; Edmund FitzThomas, called the Knight of the Valley; and Piers Lacy, of the Bruff, in the county of Limerick, whom (as children of perdition for example's sake) I have refused to accept upon any conditions, and so mean evermore to persevere towards them, unless I be by your Lordships otherwise commanded). The reasons that incite me to move your Lordships in this particular, is the infinite multitudes of all sorts of people that in this general defection are fallen into the danger of the law, the most of them being poor people, neither having means, friends, or ability to sue out their pardons, whom in number I cannot judge to be less, of all sorts, as men, women, and children, than 100,000 persons, the greatest part whereof are now upon protection, which is a great impediment to the government of

1600.

the same, for that during the time thereof they are not 'meanable' to law, as were meet. Their poverty is so great, and the procuring of pardons so excessive[ly] chargeable, as within the time prefixed upon their protections, it is impossible for those poor creatures to procure the same. This hath been in former times in the like case (in this province and others) used, and the same is now here by the provincials both wished and expected. But because that in the interim between the writing hereof and the publishing of the general pardon (if any such shall be granted), it is not unlike but some lewd and ill-disposed persons among them may commit some such heinous offence as that they shall not be worthy of so great mercy, I do humbly beseech your Lordships that upon such occasions there may be a power left in me, the President, with the consent of the Council here, or any three of them, whereof myself, or the President for the time being, to be ever one, to exempt and disallow of any such offenders from the benefit thereof. The principal cause that moves me to wish this authority is especially in regard of the traitorly priests, who are the chiefest firebrands of these unnatural treasons, and who to take benefit of this general pardon I hold (under your Lordships' correction) to be very unworthy. And in like sort, to make exceptions of men of their function (this country people being so much devoted unto them as they are), for many respects not unknown to your wisdoms, I hold to be very dangerous, and therefore far better to be left in the power of the President and Council, to be rejected or received. If it shall please Her Majesty to be so far forth graciously merciful to this undeserving people, I do wish and humbly pray that expedition might be used therein, as the speediest means for the well settling of this province.

"Now that it hath pleased God to give us good hope of the re-establishing of this province, I do humbly beseech you that your Lordships will be pleased to direct forth strict commandment unto all the undertakers to make their present repair hither to re-inhabit and repair their lands and houses, whereby the country may be in the better sort defended, and Her Majesty's rents (towards her extreme charge) answered; or else that you will be pleased in your grave wisdoms to take some other course for the repossessing of those lands, that they may not lie waste, to the hindrance of Her Majesty's service and profit."—Mallow, 1600, November 2. *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall the 26 of the same. *Signed*. pp. 4½.

[Nov. 2.] 3. Document endorsed by Sir George Carew, "A draft for a general pardon for the province of Munster."—1600, [November 2]. *Two and a half sheets*.

[Nov. 2.] 4. Document endorsed by Sir George Carew, "A note of the pardons that have been granted to the provincials of Munster, and the numbers since the last of March, 1600." Total, 10,706.—1600, [November 2]. *Draft*. pp. 2.

1600.  
Nov. 2.  
Mallow.

5. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "This bearer, Edward Fitton, my servant, and cousin-germain to my mistress, having been a Lieutenant, which place he did well and sufficiently discharge, thinking that a better employment may as well fall to his fortune as to others not so well born and of less merit, hath desired my letters of recommendation to your Honour." Fitton desires a foot company either in Ireland or in the Low Countries when occasion shall be offered. [*Postscript.*] "If any tobacco or Venice glasses come in abundance unto you, I beseech your Honour that some of them may fall to my share."—Mallow, 1600, November 2. *Holograph.* p. 1.

[Nov. 2.]

6. Sir Anthony Cooke to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Captain Fitton.—1600, [November 2]. *Holograph.* *Seal.* p. 1.

Nov. 2.  
Mallow.

7. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "It is here credibly reported that the Countess of Ormonde is dead, which in my judgment is a great loss, for, while she lived, those parts were better settled than hereafter they are like to be. It is very requisite that the young lady her daughter were sent for into England, lest she be married here to the prejudice of the service. The cause which makes me to suspect the same is a late favour which the Earl of Ormonde hath done for his nephew Theobald, son and heir to Sir Edmund Butler, who of long time hath been by the State held prisoner in Dublin Castle; and now, as I understand, hath by the Earl's procurement obtained the liberty of the town, with his keeper to attend him. Moreover, whereas in Sir Henry Sydney's government, Sir Edmund Butler and his two other brethren, Edward and Piers, were by Act of Parliament attainted, and unto this hour never restored, I am credibly informed that the record of that act is either negligently lost or falsely embezzled, for no such act is extant in the records here, by means whereof neither the title of Ormonde or his land doth or can escheat to the Queen, as hitherto the world was of opinion that it should do. But Sir Edmund, if he overlive his brother, or his son Theobald, are to be Earls after him, unto whom some are of opinion that the young lady shall be married, when he shall be fully enlarged. If this were not the Earl's meaning, it were no policy in him to permit by any means the enlargement of young Theobald Butler, who will oppose himself against any man that shall either assume the name of Earl of Ormonde, or possess the land, the greatest part whereof, with the goodliest houses and manors, by fine and recovery are conveyed over to the use of the young lady and to her heirs. There is a statute in this realm that any Act of Parliament which shall be exemplified under the seals of the four Courts, viz., the King's Bench, the Chancery, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer, that the same shall be of as great force as the record of the Act itself. As I am informed Sir Henry Sydney, doubting lest corruption would be used in embezzling the record of the act of the attainders of the Earl of Ormonde's brethren, caused the same to be exemplified under the



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seals of the four courts aforesaid, but what he did with the same I know not. But it is meet to be brought to light, lest the Queen may be defrauded of her right. The liberty of Tipperary, whereof the Earls of Ormonde have of long time been Palatines, hath ever been, and is, a great hindrance to the service, being too great a regality to be invested in a subject. If the attainder do not take place, the liberty will still live. During this Earl's time it may be permitted, but, after him, it were expedient that it might be dissolved. Although the matters I now handle do not punctually concern my government, yet the liberty which you have ever given me makes me bold to deliver unto you my opinion over all the parts of the kingdom, beseeching your Honour, when you have read the same, to commit my letter to the fire." [*Postscript.*] "Before I sealed this letter, I heard from Kilkenny that my Lady of Ormonde is not dead; nevertheless the points I write of are worthy the consideration."—Mallow, 1600, November 2. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 2.

Nov. 2.  
Mallow.

8. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "Suits for money of all other are most unwelcome unto you, for I know they are distasteful to our great mistress, who is not at the best leisure to pay old scores. Yet, nevertheless, I do humbly beseech you to give Sir Charles Wilmott's suit the best and favourablest aid you may. The substance of his suit is in this enclosed letter. The gentleman, I do assure you upon my credit, is of great worth, and absolutely the discreetest and sufficientest man of war under my command. Moreover, I think he bears me true affection, and gives himself over to be shrouded under your wing. He is an exceeding honest man, and I do heartily wish his well-doing." [*Postscript.*] "My words and desires are coupled in this letter, wherefore as much as good manner may entreat, I do beseech you to be good to Sir Charles Wilmott."—Mallow, 1600, November 2. *Holograph.* p. 1.

*Encloses:—*

8. i. *Sir Charles Wilmott to Sir George Carew. Craving his assistance in obtaining 400l. of arrears. Is renewing his suit for the same in England. Has cashiered Captain Hugh O'Reilly's company as directed. Had already disposed of that of Sir Richard Masterson, distributing the English amongst other companies. The Irish in it he is sending to his Lordship. "I beseech your Lordship to be as liberal with us for money as conveniently you may spare it, for the often sending so far will breed inconveniences."*—1600, October 30. *Holograph.* pp. 2.

Nov. 2.  
Derry.

9. Sir Henry Dockwra to the Privy Council. "I have stayed a bark of purpose after the rest were gone, to the end that, all other shipping being past away, I might the better take another perfect and exact muster of the companies, which in no measure I could do so well while they were here, both in respect of the aid [that] would be gotten by the sailors, as also that I knew it was not to be prevented but [that] upon their departure many would be conveyed

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away amongst them ; and so I am most assured there were. Notwithstanding, I appointed the Marshal and two others in whom I reposed special trust to lie at Culmore, and make as diligent search as was possible. But their way is for the most part through the rebels' country, where (and from whence) they are assured of free passage by public proclamation ; so that, having made their bargain beforehand with the ships, they were (many at least) taken in upon the coasts, past our reach for searching. But the next day after their departure, I caused a muster to be taken with as much advantage, secrecy, and shew of rigorous proceedings against any that should commit abuses as (God is my judge) I could possibly devise. From which what effects have proceeded, your Lordships shall see by the rolls and certificates thereof made by the Commissioners ; by which, conferred with the other that have been taken heretofore, I think it will appear there hath a greater check been raised than in any other place, upon like numbers, and yet (I know) not such as (could all things be freed from corruption) there might have been. But the state of the troops being indeed exceeding weak, I have neither gone about to conceal the same, nor wilfully (as God knoweth) neglected the husbanding of all things the best I could, for the profit and benefit of Her Majesty's service. Yet I cannot deny but divers companies stood longer in pay than in any reason they ought (their extreme weakness considered), but I forbore not long before, and that in time convenient, to advertise my Lord Deputy of as much, and to crave his Lordship's direction accordingly for reformation of the list, and reducing it to a lesser number. But the perverseness of the winds was such, as in three months together I could receive no manner answer ; and therefore, though I knew it were an office properly belonging to his authority, and might be construed as too much presumption, and forgetfulness of that due respect I owed him, for me to take it upon me, yet in mine own discretion (seeing the necessity of Her Majesty's service required it), I adventured to reduce the number of 4,000 foot to 3,300, and of the 200 horse to 100, by casting all such Captains as I knew were wilfully and without just cause absent from their companies. I know your Lordships will think it requisite to have been done sooner, and the reduction to have been yet made lower, but whether your Honours will approve it in me or no, I may be doubtful, but am most assured it will be laboured to be taken in ill part by others (to whom I forget not the acknowledgment of a duty) that I did it either so soon or at all.

“ Now touching my proceedings with the war, after the receipt of this supply of men, I must acquaint your Lordships that instantly as I had clothed and divided them, Neale Garve came in (a man of whose disposition thereunto I have formerly written to your Lordships), and one that from the very first of my landing was recommended unto me by my Lord Deputy, with like expectation and conditions that Sir Arthur O'Neill had. He brought with him 30 horse, 120 foot, and only three score nine, but had affected matters of far greater importance, had not a man of Sir Arthur's, that had been used long before in writing an Irish letter to him, given us the slip, and discovered his intent, whereby he was forced for the safety of his life to come away two days before the time appointed, when

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all things should have been brought to perfection. Upon his coming, we conferred what business we should first take in hand, and because O'Dogherty had lately before made many fair offers and promises of submitting himself to Her Majesty's obedience, so his country might be defended from O'Donnell, I thought it the fittest time to draw forces upon him then, when he might both see the strength of our supplies, and the affection of other great men of his own nation, and besides (if he would not otherwise) that I had means and powers to waste and destroy him. Thither therefore was I resolved to make a journey, but, having passed some eight miles into his country, was encountered with so cruel a storm, as by no means our men were able to endure marching, but were forced to stay and encamp ourselves in old houses such as the place afforded, where setting (*sic*) down, and having taken divers churls of the country, I thought good to use one with this message unto him, that he might see we were now entered his country with an army; that he had long been forborne, in hope of his honest inclination, and remembrance of his former affection and loyal carriage; that now I was come where I might utterly ruin him, by wasting and spoiling his houses and corn; that notwithstanding I would forbear, till I might know his mind and full resolution, and that then it should be his fault if the country were spoiled, and so many other mischiefs ensued as must of necessity; that I would expect his answer from that evening till the next morning, ten of the clock, in the mean time lying close by Lough Swilly, and having certain knowledge of a prey of 6[00] or 700 cows in an island therein. We made ready ourselves to get over and to fetch them away, there being only one passage, at which, by direction of those guides we had, we might put over at a low water. But the storm continued so violent all that night and the next day, as, do what we could possibly, we were repulsed by the waves and raging force of the seas, and so were forced to alter our course, and (the hour being past that O'Dogherty's answer should come) thought best to continue our purpose of making a road into the country. By that time we had passed four miles further, we met with his messenger that brought me a letter protesting his honest meaning, and desiring me to retire to our camp, where he would come, and yield himself upon such terms and conditions as he doubted not but I would well and easily agree unto. Our men were now almost tired with that little march; the prey of cattle, we understood, was driven away (the night whiles we lay still) far up into the mountains; O'Donnell, we were advertised of certain, was coming down to possess himself of the Lifford (which was a place always intended to be taken and held by me); these reasons easily induced me to yield to his request, and so [I] did. The next day, according to his promise, he came. Many demands he made which I utterly rejected, as composition for liberty of conscience, men in pay from Her Majesty, and restitution to his lands in as ample manner as ever he held it before from the Queen. I put him in hope of all (saving men in pay), but by way of condition assented to none. The conclusion was (after he had made large discourses of his former fidelity and service to the State), that I would procure him his pardon, the restitution of his lands so far as were requisite, the Queen holding Culmore



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only for a ward, and what other graces and favours Her Majesty should find his service to deserve; whereof he accepted, with an absolute promise of receiving his pardon, without further conditions or delay, whensoever it should come; in the mean space to yield us the commodities of his country, as beef and other provisions, for money, and not to declare himself until such time as his pardon should come.

“These were the conditions we agreed upon, and, for first confirmation on his part, he was to deliver in 100 beeves for 100*l.* which he is in hand to do. If it be thought I did ill in using him so favourably, I acknowledge it was in my power (so I would have neglected all other services and bent myself wholly to ruin him) to have brought him to his present and entire submission, but your Lordships have heard partly the reasons before, that made me incline to any offers that should not be too unreasonable, that I might prevent O'Donnell in taking the Lifford, and partly I was induced to take beeves for money, in that our state for victual was at that time even almost desperate, the winds having for six or seven days together been exceeding fair, and yet no supply come but that which Captain Fleming brought from Knockfergus, which would hardly have lasted us a month; and now the weather changed so, as there appeared no hope of speedy supply to relieve our necessities, which moved me further to deal with a Dutchman, that was by chance in the harbour to fett (*sic*) from Scotland such other commodities of victual as that place afforded. Who brought us within fourteen days as much beef, herring, cabbages, and other roots, as amounted to the value of 200*l.*, which the Captains bought of him, without which we had, even ere this, been in a hard case.

“There was in company of O'Dogherty during all the time of parley one Hugh Boy, a man belonging to O'Donnell, and, as I hear, much trusted and employed by him. He craved likewise his pardon, and swore many oaths and protestations of his honest intent to do Her Majesty true and faithful service. I promised to move it in his behalf, and so have done to my Lord Deputy, to whose pleasure and consideration I refer the granting or denying of it.

“Upon my return from this journey, I drew out the most able of these men we had left, and the fresh men that stayed at home for guard of the quarter, and presently dispatched away Sir John Bolles to possess the Lifford (our numbers at either time not exceeding 500, and yet we drew out all we could possibly). Our men and O'Donnell came just before it together, but ours with a little advantage, for we had surprised the place, and put the ward which were in it (being of 24 men) to the sword, even as their forces appeared. Which O'Donnell perceiving (and not having yet all his men together), retired for some two days, wandering and fearful to lodge in any place above an hour or two, lest we should have surprised him. In the end (his men being all come together) he drew near again, encamped within three miles, and made a show before the town. Our men made out, and fought in light skirmish, with little or no hurt. The next day, he came again, and our men likewise sallied and fought, chased them away, killed of them for two miles' space together, [and] slew one of his brothers and some five horsemen of good account beside the common soldiers.

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Of ours, Captain Heath was slain, a lieutenant, and some three soldiers, and hurt about forty, amongst which were two of Neale Garve's brothers, and himself hardly escaped, being thrice stricken upon his shirt of mail with a staff, and no man more forward to execution than he. Of what importance this place is to be kept, I doubt not but your Lordships will conceive out [of] your own knowledge and situation of it; that I drew not up the forces at first to take it, the reasons were, the narrowness and shallowness of the water, that afforded no commodity for victualling it, neither could the place be inhabited, except it had been taken unburnt, as we should never have done, had it not been by this means on the sudden. To prevent the inconvenience of victualling, I have now built one of the barges with her sides of musket-proof, so as she shall pass at all times, and am building another to like purpose, which two shall ever supply that defect. If your Lordships now please to second us with a supply of men, so as we may be able to draw forth 1,500 by the poll, or near it, I doubt not but in short time to see the long-expected fruits yielded of this plantation; and what service I shall be able to do with less, I beseech your Lordships consider, that have an enemy on each hand able to bring the like number or a greater into the field at all times. And even now am I affronted by O'Donnell, with at least 1,200, beside greater supplies which he daily expecteth; and of those I have not above 500 at the most able to be drawn to service, and yet these daily decaying, and that I should expect any relief from my Lord Deputy, though I have written unto him thereabout, I see not any likelihood, considering the decays and weakness of his own men, which must of necessity follow upon this northern journey.

"Sir Arthur O'Neill (as I wrote unto your Lordship) hath long been sick; he is now dead, and immediately after, another brother of his, called Cormack, came in, with expectation to succeed in Her Majesty's favour and intended bounty to the other. He came in unlooked for, and without conditions. He seemeth a man discreet, and (as they say) stirring, of good credit in the country, and promiseth much of his fidelity, and the good service he will do Her Majesty. I have sent him away to my Lord Deputy, because I knew not what terms to entertain him in. I have written in his behalf because I see no man more fit to be raised than he, nor think but it is a matter of great consequence, and almost of necessity, that some one or other should be entertained, both to draw the country, and to keep these men together which Sir Arthur left behind him.

"Our clothes are not yet come, saving a few stockings, shoes, and shirts. The soldier is extreme naked, and much discouraged for the want of them. Our victual comes as slowly, for had not a ship of Alborough, of 120 tons, come in at the nick, as that was spent which Captain Fleming brought, we had not held out till this time, nor can now, with all the helps we have, both from O'Dogherty's kine and the ship that came from Scotland, for above six weeks.

"Artificers I have often written unto your Lordships for, and how much their want hath endamaged us, I am not able to say.

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Those that came with the supplies were but nine carpenters and four masons; of which how little use I could make, this bearer knows. And yet I selected them apart, promised them wages and immunity from the duties of other soldiers, gave them in charge to one man specially to look unto, and yet within two days were they all gone, and never (by any means I could use) to be found or known where they were become (*sic*). To Captain Ardry Yorke I disposed the company of Captain Hales, partly moved thereunto by his desire of leaving it, but specially that Captain Yorke assured me he had your Lordships' letters to my Lord Deputy for the first company that should fall; and partly besides for that the company was exceeding weak, and no man so well able to reinforce them as he (for that he had divers voluntary gentlemen, which would have gone back, if he had not had employment for them under himself); and partly in regard of the honest account he made, both of the surplus of victuals, arms, and clothes, which were left of such as were deficient by runaways, all which he delivered into the store, and was employed to the Queen's use. The provisions appointed by your Lordships to come in the *Samaritan* are arrived, but much short of that which, it seemeth by Sir John Bolles, was intended, as may be seen by the bill whereby she was laden, and that whereby she should have been. Of the fifty horses, likewise, that should have come in supply, there were seven missing, whereof four, I hear, were lost at Knockfergus, and what is become of the rest I cannot learn.

"Of Scottish redshanks there are lately landed 180 in O'Dogherty's country. They are passed up to O'Donnell, and as I hear, make offer of some greater numbers, if they may be entertained. I have caused Captain Thornton to lie in wait, both for their return and the passage of others that should come; but his defects are so many, and his ship so ill endures the seas, that he complains he is not able to lie out in a storm, nor can do good upon those galleys; they are so swift of sail, and he so slow. The other ship of Fleming's I can never spare from fetching of victual from Knockfergus, whither he is forced to return for more by that time he hath unloaded what he brought last. Of anything else wherein your Lordships expect to be satisfied, the bearer knows as much as I am able to say, as one that hath seen and been a witness to all that hath passed, and therefore may supply whatsoever the weakness of my memory may have failed in."—Derry, 1600, November 2. *Endorsed*:—Received at London the 11 of November. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 9.

Nov. 2.  
Derry.

10. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. Refers him to the preceding letter on many points. "There remaineth to acquaint your Honour what use may be made by the plantation at the Liffer, and Neale Garve's coming in, and the hopes of service I conceive from them both. For the present we had these benefits by taking the Liffer; our men conveniently lodged in houses (which we wanted extremely before), our horses accommodated with the like, and well stored with provisions (of which we stood in no less want). Of firing for winter it is passing well furnished; the seat of it is in



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the heart of the country, compassed about with the richest and most fruitful soil of all the north; the fishing is wholly gained for the next year; and we are always ready (so we have strength of men) to enter either O'Donnell's country or Tyrone's at pleasure. A good part of it is Neale Garve's proper inheritance; himself is a man of a singular spirit, forward (no man more) upon all services, severe against all that hold out, and already engaged in blood so far, as I think there needeth no better hostages for his fidelity, for he hath slain with his own hands (in fight and open view of our men that saw him) O'Donnell's second brother, and there have passed beside many arguments of extreme and irreconcilable hatred between them. His love and credit with the people is little inferior to O'Donnell's, and may easily be more, if he be backed and strengthened by Her Majesty; for the one is known and commonly reputed timorous and fearful, and the other valiant and hardy as any man living. Divers of his friends have offered to come to him themselves in person, but so as they must abandon their goods. But because they are rich, and would be but a burthen to be maintained by Her Majesty, I was content at his request to dispense with their present coming, taking their words to shew their honest meaning, by giving intelligence and carrying themselves as little offensively as were possible in the mean time, and it should suffice. Sir Arthur's brother seemeth likewise to be much more stirring than himself was. He desireth but tools, and he will rebuild and fortify Strabane, and keep it with his own men. He is well esteemed (as I hear) in the country, and, being gone to my Lord Deputy by sea, intendeth to return by land, and do some special service (as he hopes) by the way. If these things could be followed, I see no appearance but of singular good success, but what our state is for men I desire your Honour should rather be thoroughly satisfied by others than informed by me. Sure I am of this, that upon the very first landing of our supplies, the uttermost I could make from all garrisons was but 500. Since they are decayed, and when Neale Garve or any other desire to have men to go abroad upon service, they require no less than 1,000 or 800 at least, imagining our numbers to be such as were able to afford them. At Neale Garve's demands I know your Honour will be offended, neither was I senseless that they savoured of too much arrogancy; but, conferring with Captain Willis (in whom I find singular use and honesty) of the nature of the man and fashion of the country, I was induced to impute it rather to ignorance than pride. Now he is come, I find him much more tractable, and so he may have such men in pay as shall resort unto him, and be viewed at musters as ours are, there is no other condition he precisely standeth upon; and that I might safely grant that in such manner as I did, I thought myself sufficiently warranted by my instructions from my Lord Deputy, which I received at first concerning his coming in and Sir Arthur's. If the Queen's charge be increased by their entertainment, it may be diminished in the English, for the regiment of St. Matthew Morgan being cast, there remaineth 1,000 less in list than before; and more than my first allotted number of 3,000 foot, so they may be made anything proportionable in strength, I seek not to hold. Only the 100 horse, which I have cast for their extreme

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weakness, I desire may be made up, by the next summer, towards the end of June. For much sooner we shall neither have great use of them, nor means to feed them; and without them we shall be ill able (those we have being imagined to decay much before that time) to make fair roads into the country. How wholly our treasure is spent I have (a good while since) advertised my Lord Deputy. If we be not supplied, we are undone; and, whether any have been wasted or no, I desire it may but be thoroughly examined, and I think there will rather appear error in accounts than misgovernment thereof; wherein also I have written to my Lord Treasurer, and humbly beseech your Honour to consider of, with a favourable respect to the service.”—Derry, 1600, November 2. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Nov. 4.  
Dublin.

11. Sir George Carey and Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Privy Council. “Thomas Smith, Commissary of the victuals at Galway, being repaired hither to make up his three half years’ accounts, ending at Michaelmas last, we have caused him to deliver an estimate of such provisions as are there at this present under his charge, which we have sent to your Lordships herewith, testified under his hand, being (as we take it) a remain of the two contracts made in the months of March and May last, and not of any other. And as in our opinions this is a large proportion, inasmuch as out of that magazine of Galway, three companies at the most are to receive their victuals, so the quantity being large and the issue small, Her Majesty may receive no little loss by keeping the provisions long in the store, which upon so few allowances cannot be avoided. And therefore (under your Lordships’ reformation) we wish that not only some part of these provisions may be converted to Lough Foyle, to help that garrison, and some portion brought hither, specially of the meal to help to answer the companies in Leinster, as Percival the Commissary doth desire, but also that the later contracts made for Galway since, to serve 550 men’s allowances for two months, as we find by the main contract, brought hither by me the Secretary, may be stayed, or diverted to some other magazines, where they may more requisitely answer the army, which we know is the thing that your Lordships are most careful of; otherwise Her Majesty may be greatly prejudiced by the long keeping of so great provisions at Galway, before they may be issued, humbly desiring your Lordships’ direction by the next, to what other places we shall transport the overplus, or in what other sort your Lordships will dispose of them, which, God willing, we will see performed, immediately upon notice given of your Lordships’ pleasure therein.

“In two of our former letters, lately written to your Lordship the Lord Treasurer, the one of the second, the other of the 18th, of the last month, we advertised your Lordship what provisions were come hither, being part of the last contract, and did send to your Lordship the particular invoys of every ship, that your Lordship might see both the quantities and the natures. And since that certificate, some other victuals have arrived in several barks, all well conditioned, the invoys whereof are herewith sent, in sort as

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Percival (now established officer in the victualling causes) hath delivered them to us; out of which, with the remain of the other provisions brought before, we do still supply the Lord Deputy at the camp, according the proportions he writeth for, being careful not to have his Lordship disfurnished in any sort, lest some hindrance may grow to the present service now under his Lordship's hand.

“Touching his Lordship's proceedings against Tyrone, for that we understand he hath made a late despatch by Sir Oliver St. John from Carlingford, we assure ourselves his Lordship hath advertised at large of all his progressions in the north, to the which we humbly refer your Lordships, being very much set on work for our parts, to supply him from hence with victuals, munition, money, tools for fortification, and all other things requisite for that great service, of which, considering how plentifully provisions do fall in here by your Lordships' honourable providence, we hope his Lordship shall have no lack, if it please God to favour us with wind and weather to send them to him. Touching Leinster, being left to the charge of the Earl of Ormonde in the Lord Deputy's absence, we see opportunities taken by the rebels to break into sundry parts of that province, to make havoc of the good subjects, as lately in the English baronies of Wexford and in the heart of Westmeath great hostility hath been committed, both almost at one time, and not so much as a rescue made, nor any resistance offered, that we hear of. Upon which pitiful sufferance, it is not unlike but the rebels, taking greater boldness, will conspire afresh to set upon the English Pale, of which we have many advertisements, all agreeing that they await to take their time to put their attempt in execution within few days. Against them we have no other force to oppose than some rural companies gathered of the country, which we know is not a strength to repose the defence of the country upon. Only we have written to the Earl of Ormonde of all these matters, being, as we understand, about Trim or the Navan, who we hope will draw down some of the garrison companies to stop these intended incursions into these parts, if it may be. The Lord Howth, having charge of the county of Dublin and the marches thereof, is very forward to put the country in arms, and in his own person very stirring to go from place to place, to see the straits and passages manned, using all diligence he can to defend the country, according the trust reposed in him. In which course we wish that others of his rank in the Pale would follow his example.”—Dublin, 1600, November 4. [*Postscript, signed by Fenton.*] “Since the writing of this letter we understand by the Commissary of Galway that the full quantity of the three contracts made for that place in March, May, and June last, is arrived there with an overplus, which, together with that which was before, we have caused the Commissary to digest into this certificate now sent; whereby your Lordships may see how large the proportion of that magazine riseth, in respect of the few allowances that are to issue from it. And therefore we humbly pray your Lordships' direction for the disposing of the whole.” *Signed. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil.* pp. 2.



1600.

*Enclose:—*

11. i. "*An estimate of the remain of victuals in Galway, the last of September, 1600, together with this in two ships lastly arrived.*" Signed by Thomas Smythe, and annotated by Sir Geffrey Fenton.—1600, November 4. p. 1.

11. ii. "*The invoyes of Dublin, and the remains, the last of October, 1600.*" Signed by G. Percival. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Nov. 4.  
[Cork.]

12. John Meade, Mayor of Cork, to Sir Robert Cecil. Prays for a continuance of his favour. "For particular news happened within the franchises of this city, one William McMiles Goggan, who was reported to have been a great malefactor, and hath hanged one of McTeig's two sons, was lately apprehended near the franchises, and executed by martial law. This Corporation was lately charged with carriage of powder and munition to the garrisons abroad, and they are not paid for the same by the Clerk of the Munition, who hath allowance for such causes, as I am given to understand. Wherefore I pray your Honour to write unto my Lord President to take some good order herein."—[Cork], 1600, November 4. *Signed. Endorsed:—*Received at Whitehall the 26th. p. 1.

Nov. 5.  
Tralee.

13. Sir Charles Wilmott to Sir Robert Cecil. Apologises for writing to him. "I take this boldness the rather upon me, that my Lord President of Munster (who since his coming hath used me with favourable graces, and whom the world notes to be your Honour's devoted servant) hath been pleased to employ me into the parts of Kerry and Desmond. The state I went in, my observances to him, and the proceedings in the service since that, I will not presume to lay them down to your Honour, since he that commands me here in this place I know is never remiss to give your Honour true knowledge what happeneth under him; and in which myself hath not been undutiful from time to time diligently to acquaint his Lordship. I can attribute little to myself that may challenge much thanks, for from his former wisdom sprang the prosperity, though I was willing at his command to cast myself into the adventure. But if it may be but allowed of by your Honour, my pains therein have their measure of due, though my estate doth now urge me to become an humble suitor to your Honour for some money of old account due to me by Her Majesty, for which in mine absence those of my friends in England have been (I fear me) tedious suitors to your Honour's table." If Sir Charles obtains it by his own suit, he will be for ever tied to Sir Robert.—Tralee, 1600, November. *Holograph. Endorsed:—*1600, November 5. pp. 2.

Nov. 5.  
Richmond.

14. The Privy Council to Sir Henry Dockwra. "It hath pleased Her Majesty to resolve to use some Scots at Lough Foyle, whither she doth send them, the rather because she hath understood from yourself that they will do her very good service. It hath pleased her therefore to cause an accord to be made between her agent, Mr. Nicholson, and one Mr. Archinross, who hath undertaken to levy

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them, and transport them upon such conditions as you shall understand from Her Majesty's agent aforesaid, from whom we are assured you shall receive letters together with these from us, which we do only write, to the intent you may know who he is, and by what warrant he writes to you. When they come, they are to be employed as you think fit, and there to remain as long as you have use of them. We have done the best that we can to make good election of such a Commander as shall carry over men that do bear malice to the traitors, out of their own private quarrels; for otherwise it might be their service should prove to little purpose. But whosoever they are or shall be, we pray you be never so secure of them, as to place them in any place, where they may be superiors to any numbers that you shall join with them. We have also written unto you, by the way of Ireland, of this purpose, and therefore forbear to touch this any further, knowing that Mr. Nicholson will acquaint you with the orders that we have taken for their payment, upon such certificate as you shall send from time to time unto him; for which intercourse of letters between you, you may be sure you have Scots there that will be very good messengers between you and Edinburgh, so as you may peradventure find opportunity to write that way some letters to us. For, if such a correspondency be once settled between you, when he shall receive any letters, he will convey them to us by post with great expedition. But this is not intended to make you forbear all other good means that were before accustomed."—The Court at Richmond, 1600, November 5. *Signed. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"This is a short letter to be sent to Sir H. Dockwra by Nicholson." pp. 1½.

Nov. 4/5.  
Richmond.

15. Minute for the preceding. pp. 1½.

Nov. [5].  
[Richmond.]

16. The Privy Council to Sir Henry Dockwra. "We have of long time entertained an overture from a Scottish gentleman born in the Out Isles, between whom and Tyrone there is a mortal feud, that if Her Majesty would be pleased to have two or three hundred Scots entertained, he would bring them upon reasonable conditions to *Lough Foyle, to be disposed as you think meet. In this matter we have* forborne to make any conclusion, until we might hear from you whether such a matter *would be of use to Her Majesty's service in your judgment.* Having now therefore received from you by your letter a confirmation of our opinions *herein, and perceiving by you of what great use they may be unto you, we have taken order with the Queen's Agent, who lieth at Edinburgh, to proceed as appeareth in our letter to him, wherof this is the copy.* You shall perceive thereby what order we have taken for payment to be made upon your certificate; a matter which we are forced to do for the present, although we persuade ourselves that, when the reckoning shall be made of the treasure and victual that we have sent you for the full pay of 4,000, there will be in the paymaster's hands sufficient treasure to answer these men's pay, if their numbers were five times greater. *But therein we will expect hereafter to understand somewhat from you. Having now thought good for the present to settle this matter otherwise, to make*

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*a beginning, we do now very earnestly* hearken after the arrival of those great quantities of victuals which must needs be with you since your last letter, hoping to receive some confirmation of those likelihoods which those letters *then* promised, with some good certificate of Her Majesty's checks, seeing we receive account of so small numbers.

"We have understood from Dublin of a ship that is sent from thence to serve for a store for victuals; but when we remember that we have likewise sent a great flyboat from hence, to Her Majesty's great charge, we doubt not but you will ease Her Majesty of one of them, considering what means we have sent you for all manner of fortifications. There is likewise a postbark settled to convey letters between you and Dublin, whereof we are glad, because we may hear from you more frequently than we do, having daily out of Scotland and from other places so many flying bruits of losses and perils that befall you, as we are glad to find that Sir Arthur O'Neill continueth so well affected, although we think it strange that he is no better followed. As for his discontentments, whereof you formerly wrote, we do not conceive *from* whence they should grow, seeing we did signify, both to the Lord Deputy and to you, Her Majesty's *resolution to bestow honour and lands upon him, besides present maintenance, whereof (by the reckoning sent us) it appeareth in that point that he hath no cause to complain.* If you have not *therefore* already signified *unto him* Her Majesty's resolution in the other circumstances, you may now confirm it, as you shall find it necessary. But if you do think that he is a man that *will be so little respected as not to advance her service,* then use your own discretion as seemeth best to you every way. We do desire likewise to know what you have already bestowed upon him, and how the charge he puts Her Majesty to is ordered. *For it must be one of your great cares to make best use of the coming in of such persons, as that they may not only come in and lie still and spend upon the Queen within the English garrisons in that place, where already the charge hath been so exorbitant; but to devise, as they grow strong by followers that do come in, so to place them and back them in garrisons which may command more countries, and so bear part of the charge of their maintenance. For we do see it a common thing nowadays, that when such a one as Sir Arthur O'Neill or O'Dogherty is a rebel, they are able to live and infest the Queen, but when they come in, the Queen is put to an extreme charge, as though she did command no country beyond the trenches.*"—[Richmond.] *Endorsed:—1600, November [5]. Rough draft, with alterations (italicised above) in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.* pp. 6.

Nov. 5.  
Dublin.

17. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "Forasmuch as I am uncertain what my Lord Deputy resolves, and because I will give all the helps I may to further the service, I purpose to make some longer stay here than I am willing, but in respect of Her Highness[s] services, I will do that which in duty it becometh me. The last treasure is now all issued, for I have sent my Lord Deputy, sithence his Lordship went this journey, 7,000*l.*; 1,000*l.* to Knockfergus, and 1,000*l.* to Lough Foyle, for that those two garrisons, as



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I was informed, were in some want; and the rest of the forces in Leinster and Connaught must be supplied, and therefore [I] do humbly beseech your Honour hasten away some more treasure.

"The last advertisements that I received from the Lord Deputy your Honour may perceive by his Lordship's letter herein enclosed.

"For the safer and better passing over of my accounts, I do now send away Charles Hewett, whilst the weather is fair, and before the dead of the winter come, with all my warrants, acquittances, and matters of greatest weight touching my accounts. My ledger book I have caused to be twice written. The one I will bring with me, the other I will leave here behind me. I hope in Christ I have done all for the best; for, if God be pleased that Charles Hewett land in safety with his charge, whatsoever happen of me, yet shall Her Majesty be truly informed how her treasure hath been issued, which hath come to my hands."—Dublin, 1600, November 5. *Holograph.* p. 1.

*Encloses :—*

17. i. *The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir George Carey.* "God knows with how many unexpected difficulties we are come hither, and with how many we shall be able to go forward. But, God willing, we will leave nothing undone that our hazard, sufferance or endeavours can accomplish; but what we shall be able to do, we cannot as yet promise you. It is true that, by the concurrence of all our intelligence, Tyrone never received so great a blow; but how he will be able to repair his force, or we to maintain ours, considering many impediments, I cannot write as assured of it. If your occasions be not great presently to leave us, I do much wish your abode in this country till we are drawing backwards. For I find a great comfort in your care, which I fear we shall miss when you are gone. I have written to you already touching the main of our provisions; but it may be we shall have occasion to use whatsoever you shall send us, and the worst is but to send it back by sea, which may be easily done. I hope to write to you more amply and more particularly before your departure, and therefore I will now no longer trouble you, but end with my affectionate well-wishes to yourself, and my prayers to God to enable us to do the Queen the best service."—"From the camp some three miles beyond the Newry," 1600, October 26. [Postscript.] "We have already been within six little miles of Armagh, to view the ground, for I think we must needs build a fort between the Newry and Armagh, before we plant that garrison." *Holograph.* p. 1.

Nov. 5.  
[Cork.]

18. John Meade, Mayor of Cork, to Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England. "This province now groweth to some quietness, but would to God their duty and obedience were fixed in their hearts. For I fear as they have lately most unnaturally revolted, so will they be apt hereafter to do the like, if some good course be not held to restrain them of too great force. Wherefore in my own poor opinion, which I submit to your Honour's censure, I would it might be enacted by Act of Parliament that any having of weapon, powder, munition, or any such, by any of those which

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have in this last rebellion revolted, or by their heirs hereafter, or carrying of the same, might be adjudged felony, and that the bringing thereof to this realm, other than to such as shall be licensed by the State, might be also enacted to be felony. And where a great number had no trade to live upon, but depending of their ancestors' titles or vain names, professing themselves to be gentlemen to maintain their pride, live only by the spoil of their neighbours, I would all such were employed in some remote wars, and some strict laws made that every one, not having sufficient to live upon, might either employ himself in service, or exercise some honest trade of life. And withal I could wish that all course of martial law were abolished, and that the strict sincerity of the common law might be used. For if there be order taken for the confirming of the people in their duties, and justice in the magistrates, I doubt not this realm will flourish. I hold the Lord President to be a very politic Governor, who, I doubt not, will have care to execute any good course to be set down by the grave censure of Her most excellent Majesty or the State."—[Cork], 1600, November 5. *Signed.* p. 1.

Nov. 8.  
Newry.

19. Sir Griffin Markham to Sir Robert Cecil. "After I had received your honourable despatch, I was much crossed and detained in England, first by the sickness of my mother in the country, afterwards by a bruit of some extremity my father was in, which drew me from Chester almost to London, and lastly, by the crossness of the winds so long, as by no means I could arrive at the army at Dundalk, before my Lord was ready to rise to go forwards towards Armagh; so as whatsoever passed before that time I was no witness of, nor dare undertake to relate. But since that till this day, and so far as I may presume by your Honour's favour to guess at a sequel, I will (so far as I can in this haste remember) truly set down.

"The 21 October, my Lord rose from Dundalk and encamped in the Moyerie, where Tyrone lay so long to fight with him. There he lay all night unfought withal, and the next day removed near to the Newry, where we lay in camp attending victuals, and providing necessaries for a further journey, till the first of November, upon which day we marched seven or eight miles from the Newry. We encamped upon a hill, on the top whereof my Lord Deputy found a piece of ground anciently raised in a round form in the nature of a fortification, which might save some labour in the work, and gain so much time, which in this season of the year, our men every day weakening, is very precious. Finding the situation in his opinion at the first view very commodious for wood, water, and discovery, not far from the high way betwixt the Newry and Armagh, and fit for the relief of any forces that should be sent from the Newry to prey the country, [he] resolved there to settle the garrison, and made Captain Hansard, who beareth the place of Trenchmaster, to draw divers plots for such a ground, but whilst those plots were drawing, the Council being called, some of them being by their long continuance better experienced in these parts, drew

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my Lord the next day, being the third of November, about half-a-mile back again to another hill with a round fort, whereof there are very many, as it is thought, made by the Danes. This being upon view held the better place, as well watered and better wooded, was by general consent elected, and order given to the camp to retire thither; where we were no sooner beginning to settle, but skirmish was entertained of both sides, coldly, by the enemy, as it should seem rather to hinder us from working, than with any opinion to do us hurt. This day, Tyrone, belike determining to make his men show their bravery, armed them so heavily with drink as some of them were so unable to retire, that one of our guards of horse with very small hazard to themselves and hurt to him, took one Neale O'Quin, one of his best trusted servants, who, it is known, may do as good service to the State as almost any towards him, having long had command of some of his islands, and been trusted with most of his prisoners. Upon his taking there was no examination of him, drink had made him both so senseless and speechless. Since, he hath been examined, and, as it is muttered, hath promised something, whereupon he is yet preserved. From that day till the seventh of November we lay still, little troubled with skirmishing, and diligently working. The fort which we found was double-ditched, both deep enough, and easily made defensible against this enemy. The quantity of the plain within the second ditch was about thirty yards every way, and by casting down some parts of the inner parapet as it shall be found convenient to fill the ditch, it will be made spacious enough to lodge four or five hundred men. The form is reformed, not much altered, being cut to carry a show of eight angles, which we are driven to perfect with eight 'cadgehouses' set upon poles fastened in the ramparts, which will make it both proportionable and defensible.

"I was determined at the end of this journey to have presented your Honour with the plots, but my Lord being enforced (for want of victuals, both for the present and to leave behind him) to come to the Newry the seventh of this month, and unexpectedly finding a messenger here, I thought it my duty for so many obligations to show my diligence, and having nothing here to draw a plot, to send this, and omit the other till our return. We were no sooner come to the Newry, but word was brought that Tyrone had followed us all day, and was gone to repossess the Moyerie, as it should seem wanting true intelligence of our return, and meaning to fight with us when he hath fortified himself. He had need seek advantages, for the numbers he sheweth are very small. We found yesternight, upon our arrival here, part of the victuals, and this day arrived all the rest, so as to-morrow, being the ninth of this month, my Lord determineth his return to finish the fort, and that done, to view the place at Armagh, and so return to Leinster. The conveniences of this fort are many, as to win intelligence, to subject the whole country betwixt it and the Newry, a retreat for any forces that prey thereabouts, an excellent step to victual the fort at Armagh, whensoever it shall be planted, and a means that Tyrone dare not employ all his forces upon Lough Foyle. So as if Ballyshannon were strongly planted to dissever O'Donnell from him, I leave to your honourable judgment with what facility Ulster may, with the help



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of the other garrisons, be supplied. If it please God to send us but reasonable weather for this small time we have to tarry, that our men hold in any measure their willingness to fight is so good, and the fortune of our general so great, as we need not fear all the force the enemy can make."

Trusts the foregoing particulars will be pleasing to Sir Robert. "I sent your honourable and favourable letter to my Lord by one of my servants, which he promised to answer at my coming. This made me hope well, but when I expected to have found an increase of my fortune, I found myself much disgraced by an absolute cast. My Lord giveth me good words, but my sole hope is in your honourable favour." Begs Sir Robert to think upon him, as he shall find opportunity.—Newry, November 8. *Endorsed* :—1600. *Signed*. pp. 3½.

Nov. 8.  
Barry Court.

20. David Barry, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry, to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have employed this bearer, William Coppinger, a merchant of Cork, a very honest man and special friend of mine, to repair into England, to buy some corn for my own use and the provision of the poor inhabitants of my country, whose corn and haggards, with most of their cattle, the traitor Tyrone this last summer altogether burned, foraged, and spoiled, so that without relief from thence we cannot but suffer extreme distress." Prays Sir Robert to grant licence to Coppinger to transport to the harbour of Cork some good proportion of wheat, malt, and other grain, "which, as it shall be a great relief to me and mine, so shall it also be a help for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service and comfort of her army."—Barrycourt, 1600, November 8. *Signed*. *Seal*. p. 1.

Nov. 14.  
Dublin.

21. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. "As the particularities of my Lord Deputy's fortunes, that he hath run with Her Majesty's army, in the late endeavour of the passage of it through the pass of the Moyerie, strongly barricaded by the Archtraitor, yet for a time (for the refreshing of his rascals) abandoned by him, and in that time passed by his Lordship with Her Majesty's army to the Newry, and from thence to the Aughenegrane, at the eight miles church midway betwixt the Newry and Armagh, where his Lordship hath raised a fort, are, I am sure, better made known to your Honour by Sir Oliver St. John, who was a personal actor in it with deserved good commendation, than I, being absent from it, will take upon me, upon any report of what good credit soever, to be an advertiser of to your Honour; forsomuch nevertheless as, since his departure from my Lord Deputy, by him left in possession of the ground where he meant for this time to set down his plantation, his Lordship was enforced by the Archtraitor's return with forces into the Moyerie, and his new reinforcements of his overthrown barricades, for his return with the army, to gain with celerity by passage in boats the pass of Carlingford, possessed by the rebel with 1,500 shot and pikes, whilst the army was in march and in passing by boats over the river. Whereupon grew a strong fight, the rebels being laid at rest, and our men at random charging

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them; and in the end with fine force (in the mercy of the Almighty) won their passage, with the loss of some ten special men of mark, and of 80 others. Whereof I thought good to advertise your Honour, principally to the end humbly to remember the same, that the said pass of the Moyerie, remaining as it doth unsecured by two forts in it, which once this journey my Lord Deputy meant to have raised, but by some other hope changed his purpose for that time, as that it stayed my Lord Deputy's proceedings with Her Majesty's army to his designed plantation at Armagh so long, till the time and means for it was passed, and now diverted our army in his return; so the same pass not secured with the forts as aforesaid, the next time that Her Majesty's service shall enforce my Lord Deputy with Her Majesty's army out of Leinster to march to the Blackwater, will offer the like difficulties, loss of time, and dangers, if not greater. But to secure the place with two forts will ask both an army to countenance the work and to defend the labourers, and also a good time and a good season for the making of entrenchments and other works; and all this costly in great measure. But sithence cost cannot now be avoided, without the kingdom utterly to be lost, if with far less charge a back door may be found, and still kept open, to give entry to any force of Her Majesty's, without hazarding the same with any great fight, or rather without fight at all, to dwell perpetually by him within five miles of Dungannon, to the northward of the Blackwater, to give way to all Her Majesty's garrisons north and south, at one instant in all quarters at once to assail him; and his garrison may be termed the port garrison, because it is to keep the gates of Tyrone open for the rest upon all quarters to enter; if, I say, such a garrison may be raised, as though to surpass the chargeablest garrison in validity of service, yet to be inferior in charge to the meanest garrison in all Ulster; by great odds it were a project not to be rejected. And forasmuch as there is such a plot, and the same (with the favour of God) most assured and infallible, which by reasons (even palpable) may be made apparent; and for that the same hath never hitherto been in project, but once in some part by myself offered to my most dear Lord, your most reverend noble father, in the first year of Sir William Russell's government, when I, by his honourable favour, was by Her Majesty's letters made a Privy Councillor here for the wars, and the plot in his profound wisdom approved for very sufficient, and fit to have been undertaken at that time, if it had not drawn with it a new charge of 300 foot and 50 horse, which now may be raised out of the main charge, without increase of the same; I am, in my devoted inheritable affection to your Honour, most humbly to offer the first fruits thereof in this age to the same, when I shall be advertised from my special friend, Mr. Maynard, of your Honour's favourable disposition to accept of it."

Safe arrival of the Lord Deputy at Dundalk. Good news at Dublin of the proceedings of all Her Majesty's services in Munster.—Dublin, 1600, November 14. *Signed.* pp. 2.

Nov. 16.  
Whitehall.

22. The Privy Council to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council. "We find as well by letters from your Lordship and

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the rest, as from you the Treasurer in particular, to some of us, and from Robert Newcomen himself to me the Lord Treasurer that you have conceived a mislike in us towards the said Newcomen, as a man either insufficient to serve, or not honest to deal in the matter of victual; growing, as it seemeth, in respect that, with the rest of the Commissaries for victual there, we have discharged him for Leinster, and committed the same to such one as by the purveyors of victual here is chosen and appointed in that behalf. In which regard, as well to make clear to your Lordship and the rest our full meaning therein, as likewise to manifest that good opinion which we retain of the said Newcomen, far contrary to that which you seem to mistrust, we do assure you, first, that no other cause hath moved us to make this alteration than for that\* corruption and evil distribution and want of preservation being bruited and cast upon the matter of victual, and we thereupon charging the victuallers here with all evil accidents that might fall upon the same, they did still excuse themselves, that there belonged no further charge nor trust to them than only to provide and deliver the same, good, sound, and safe, according their contract, into the hands and custody of the Commissaries there; so as whatsoever inconvenience should afterwards ensue, they alleged how they were free thereof, and that the Commissaries there are only and wholly to be charged with the same. Now forasmuch as by these means we saw that the purveyors on the one side casting the fault upon the Commissaries, and the Commissaries on the purveyors, it fell out a matter full of examination and difficulty to find out where the fault was indeed, whilst in the mean time the Queen's service suffered prejudice; we, to make the way plain and easy how to reform this mischief, have thought fit (and so we doubt not but that you also will concur with us therein) that the best course is to commit the whole charge unto the purveyors here and their deputies there, even from the beginning to the ending; for as when not only the providing and delivering, but also the keeping and issuing, passeth through one hand, which is themselves and their deputies, they shall thereby from henceforth be utterly excluded from all further allegations and excuses, if the same shall not be managed and executed in that good sort as appertaineth.

"Now, touching our opinion of Robert Newcomen's sufficiency to serve, and of his good desert in that behalf, we are well informed of his long service, practice, and experience in the matter of victual for that realm, in the which place and office he hath been used, and hath performed and executed the same with fruitful success to Her Majesty's service and his own good credit and commendation, so as we are of opinion that in all causes concerning provisions of victuals for that realm, and within that realm, or for making of proportions or estimates of victuals to be provided for the furnishing of any service, or for any such like matter, according to the place he holdeth, he is very fit to be used, and in our opinions will perform it both skilfully, discreetly, and honestly, so as therein if it should be needful for us to add power to your authority for the

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\* After "that" the word "therefore" has been erroneously interpolated.



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appointing and employing him in that sort, we would be ready and willing to conjoin with your Lordship and the rest in that behalf, as for a man whom we hold and esteem both skilful, honest, and very fit to be used.”—The Court of Whitehall, 1600, November 16.

[*Postscript.*] “If it should be conceived that, while Her Majesty’s provisions are unissued, Mr. Newcomen in such cases should be appointed to make new provisions there, that would bring so great a loss and prejudice to Her Highness, as were unanswerable. Therefore in due consideration thereof, the matter being so important and necessary for Her Majesty, we think not amiss with these few lines to remember and recommend unto you.” *Certified copy.* pp. 3.

Nov. 17.  
Dublin.

23. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. Has lately heard from his servant Leycester of Sir Robert’s good favour in his causes. Thanks for the same. Is advertised that the Queen and Council mislike the grant lately passed to Sir Anthony Sentleger, Master of the Rolls, of the castle of Askeaton in Munster, seeing there was a special restraint from Her Majesty, forbidding the passing of any castle of like importance in any grant. It is true that the said castle was passed to the Master of the Rolls, and from him conveyed to the writer’s son-in-law, Sir Francis Barkley, without the knowledge of Sir Francis. The latter presently disclaimed the conveyance, and refused to pay the fifty pounds for the same. Thinks the Master of the Rolls will rather restore the money received by him, and accept the grant of some other place, than incur any dislike. As to the special restraint, the writer never heard of it before this month now past. “When any restraints of like nature are sent over to the Governors of this realm, they do use, either to keep them private to themselves, or else do deliver them over to Mr. Secretary, who keepeth them in secret, without imparting of them, either to me, or others of the Council, who in all good reason should be made acquainted therewith.” Good service of Sir Francis Barkley in Munster, where he has “with great credit endured the brunt and heat of those rebellious uproars.”

Begs that his own case may be considered “when any such castle or manor of Her Majesty’s is passed by fiant from the Lord Deputy, and such as have authority to grant the same under Her Majesty’s privy signet, and under the hands of the Auditor, Surveyor, and Her Majesty’s learned counsel (no manner of notice being to me delivered of Her Majesty’s pleasure of any restraint), whether of myself it be meet for me to stay the sealing thereof, when the grant is made to a Privy Councillor, or to [a] servitor of good desert. It may perhaps be suggested that either my children or sons-in-law have reaped some benefit by my keeping of Her Majesty’s seal, and readiness to affix the same to any grant that may redound to their commodity. But in this behalf I crave no favour, but do most willingly submit myself to any trial that shall be thought convenient, none of my children or sons-in-law holding other lands of Her Majesty now than such as they enjoyed before my having the custody of Her Majesty’s seal, and all their estates and mine (God help us) being such at this present as had more need to be pitied

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than enjoyed; as I doubt not your Honour would judge, if there were any as charitable as they are envious to inform you aright of us; humbly beseeching your Honour, in regard I am even as it were overladen with the malicious informations and devices of mine enemies to this effect, tending to impair my credit with Her Majesty and their Lordships, without any just ground, cause, or desert, by your countenance to protect mine innocency from these imputations, mine age, my travail, and continual endeavours in Her Highness[']s service, with the daily adventures of my life, requiring, as I conceive it, even of right, this favour at your Honour's hands, for the which I shall ever remain your beadsman."—Dublin, 1600, November 17. *Signed.* pp. 2.

Nov. 17.  
Newry.

24. Henry Bird to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends a view (*wanting*) of his musters and of the checks he has raised for the last half-year out of the garrison of Newry, which at his first coming was fully supplied out of England, so that doubtless the profits of this next half-year will prove far greater than that already past.

"It hath pleased the Lord Deputy, upon the erection of the new fort between this and Armagh, contained within my circuit, whereof Captain Blany hath the command, to place therein 500 of the old companies, viz., 200 of Sir Samuel Bagenall's, 150 of Captain Blany's, and 150 of Captain Aderton's, and instead of them, at his Lordship's departure, to leave in this place 400 of the new companies with the rest of the wonted garrison, viz., 200 of Sir Francis Stafford's, 100 of Sir William Warren's, and 150 of Captain Bodley[']s, being in list 1,000; but they are so over wearied with journeys, and become weak by sickness, as they are not able to make much more than 300 able fighting men. There were also left here a very great number of sick men of the camp without officers or others to attend them, as that it would have grieved any Christian heart to see so many perish for want of looking unto. And the Lord Deputy, upon my attending on him to the Narrow Water, very honourably gave order to his Secretary, Mr. Cranmer, that, at his coming to Carlingford, he should appoint some money to be sent for the sick here in garrison. But it fell out so unfortunately as that in the way, skirmishing with the enemy in the pass, Mr. Cranmer was shot in the head and slain; so as, by that means and the Lord Deputy's speedy departing homewards, the poor men were left without means, to the general hazard of them.

"At such time as the Lord Deputy departed hence, there were drawn out of this garrison (to attend his Lordship to Carlingford) all the ablest men [that] could be had, not leaving any guard or officer to take charge thereof, insomuch as the gates stood wide open all the night following, and at the next day by noon Tyrone, after he had fought with the Lord Deputy, presented himself before this town with all his forces of horse and foot, and took away such cows as were on that side the water, encamping himself very near, with purpose to make some attempt on this town that night, which, if he had, might easily have been surprised. But myself with others in the town caused a couple of drums to beat at the shutting of the night, thereby gathering all the ablest of the town together,

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and setting convenient guards and sentries on the walls, the enemies imagined that the garrison was returned home, which put them in such a fear as they immediately departed without doing further harm. Your Honour may hereby conceive what an oversight it was, at such a time of danger, to leave this place of [so] great a consequence in such hazard, which hath in it Her Majesty's magazine, and from whence the forces left at the new fort are to be relieved."

Will not discourse of the success of the Lord Deputy's last journey in the north, as others will have informed Sir Robert.

"There are many disorders and abuses here committed by captains and officers which I heartily wish might be redressed, and that this place might afford me convenient means from time to time to inform your Honour thereof."

Although the Lord Deputy has augmented his poor fee out of the checks, in consideration of his increase of charge, prays that he may be employed in some other place.—Newry, 1600, November 17. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

[Nov. 19.] 25. "A brief journal of my Lord Deputy's second voyage into the north; 1600."

"My Lord Deputy, having left a sufficient force to defend the English Pale, and to offend the rebels thereof, set forth toward the north on the 15th of September with 2,400 foot and 300 horse, purposing to plant a garrison at Armagh; that Tyrone, being pushed at on every side, might be tied to a necessity of holding an army together, which will quickly work his destruction. On the 27th (*sic*, 17th), his Lordship came to Dundalk, where (it being the rendezvous for the whole army) he stayed till the 20th, and then marching forward, sat down that night on the hill of Faugher, within two musket shot of the pass of the Moyerie, which Tyrone with all his forces had possessed six or seven days before our coming, and had fortified in many places with barricades and trenches to hinder our passage. At which first camping place we were constrained to fight both for wood and water; in which skirmish about five of our men were shot, and one of the O'Neill's with some few others were slain on their side. That night and the four days following we had rain without any intermission almost, which caused the brooks so to swell, as that his Lordship was enforced to make his stay there till the fall thereof. In which time we were not idle, for on the 21st, being braved by twenty of the rebels' horse, within a little more than a musket shot of our camp, about eight of our horse made toward them, one of whom, in the view of the whole camp, struck down two of them. Upon which success they followed on so far, till, coming within an ambuscade laid by the enemy, they had a volley of shot discharged upon them, whereby one of our horsemen was slain and another struck from his horse, who having seven wounds, and feigning himself to be dead, suffered them without resistance to strip him of his apparel; by which means they struck not off his head, as their fashion is, but leaving him naked, within half-an-hour after he returned into



1600.

our camp, and, being now very well recovered, is ready to requite their courtesy, when he shall find them at the like advantage. On the 22nd, certain of the rebels lay between Dundalk and our camp to intercept the passengers; of whom we killed one, hurt two, and took the chiefest prisoner, one Murtagh McShane, a man of principal note in that country. Most of the rebels of other parts stood at a gaze upon this journey, and according to the success thereof intended either to submit themselves to mercy or to continue in their former rebellion. Therefore lest the enemy either of those or of other parts should wax proud, imagining our stay was caused rather through fear of them than by the bad weather, his Lordship determined to enter the pass the first dry day, which fell on the 26th of that month. At which time his Lordship, leaving the camp sufficiently guarded with other regiments, marched into the pass so far as that we were within the fortifications before we were discovered, by reason the day was so misty, as that we could not discover a butt length before us. Some of those on whose quarter we fell we there slew; others (whom the suddenness of the fact had amazed) running away, left many of their arms behind them, all which were brought into our camp. At our retreat they entertained us with a round skirmish, in which we lost about twelve men and had thirty hurt; the greatest part of which harm (as is guessed) we received from ourselves, the grossness of the mist disabling us to distinguish friends from foes. This blow they imputed rather as given by stealth than by force of arms; therefore, on the 2nd of October (which was the next dry day) his Lordship drew out his regiments toward the pass, and assaulting them with his foot in three several places, and disposing of his troops of horse in the most convenient ground, both for their own security and for the countenancing of the foot, if they should need their help, he betook himself with some few horse to the top of a rock within musket shot of their barricadoes, from whence he might see how the fight was maintained in all places about him, and send his directions (as he often did) accordingly. At his Lordship's first coming up, Mr. St. George, one of his gentlemen, was shot between the shoulders and killed. The fight grew hot, so soon as our foot approached near the barricadoes; but with such resolution they were invaded, that the rebels were forced to quit them, and to leave them to us, who (till our voluntary coming off) made them good with continual fight. One of our regiments being overmatched, partly with unequal number, partly with great disadvantage of the ground, began a little to waver until Sir William Godolphin (upon my Lord's direction) charged the rebels with his troop of horse. In which charge of them some were killed, and the rest compelled to take [to] their heels; of ours six were shot, two killed, and Sir W. Godolphin's horse shot in the head, so that the brains dashed about his master's face. This bickering continued about the space of four hours, in which we had not full forty men killed outright, and had near 120 hurt, of whom there died about fifteen. The men of note hurt this day were Sir Thomas Burke shot in the leg; Sir Oliver Lambert in the side; Sir Christopher St. Lawrence on the neck bone; Captain Harvey

1600.

on the knee pan; Captain Gainsford on the hip; Captain Rush, having his horse first killed underneath him, was afterwards killed himself. Four Lieutenants were hurt, one killed. As for the enemy, the constant report is that there was slain 400; the which we do believe, both because the same intelligence came from divers parts unto us, as also in respect that wounded men were not sent home into their towns to be healed (as ours were, for thereby Tyrone should have much weakened his army, in regard that every wounded man must have two whole men at the least to carry him), but were left in their cabins, having no other salves applied to their sores than (their country salve) butter. It is affirmed by those who, in respect of their long continuance and continual employment in this service, should know something, that this was the greatest fight made since the beginning of these wars. The fifth of this month [October], his Lordship, desirous soon to be stirring and to give the enemy no rest, made up to the pass again, where finding them not to fight in loose wings, as their manner is, but to have taken their stand with their whole body in a place of greatest advantage for themselves and disadvantage for us, his Lordship likewise charged them in gross, and instantly routed them, whereby many of them were slain, and two of their leaders' heads brought into our camp, for whom we could hear crying and honyng all that night. In this fight we lost of name only Sir Robert Lovell, who, charging with a pike in the head of our troops, was shot through the body, and presently died. The seventh day being rainy (as all the former were, either in part or in whole, and therefore the fords continuing still unpassable), his Lordship (of a mind to refresh his weather-beaten army) purposed to dislodge from the hill of Faugher, and to that end sent Mr. Doctor Late-warr, his chaplain, to Dundalk, there as well spiritually to comfort the sick and hurt men, as to distribute daily unto them his Honour's bounty in meat, broth or money, as their several necessity required; which thing (besides the great encouragement it gave to them who were in health) wrought so good effect, that many of those weak and wounded men were enabled to the next service. The 8th day the camp broke up, and his Lordship came back to Castletown within a mile of Dundalk, where he abode twelve days. In which interim Tyrone being not able to hold his army longer together, partly by reason of their scarcity of victuals and plenty of wounds, partly upon discontented minds for their bad success, he left the Moyerie, possessing his army with great hope of giving us a blow at Armagh. Which thing no sooner came to our ears, but three several days together we entered the Moyerie, threw down their barricadoes, piled with stones and sods of earth, so that we had only their heads for our marks, they our whole bodies for their butt. We mended the overthrown causeys and cut down the thickest wood, by which means the way is made far more open and accessible than it was. The 21st of October our army was on foot again, and (after many days' stay three miles beyond the Newry, caused by want of victual, which was coming thither by sea), we removed and encamped in the mid-way between the Newry and Armagh; where his Lordship built a large and strong fort near unto

1600.

Tyrone's chiefest fastness, which was no sooner made defensible, but there arose such a boisterous tempest, that all our tents, being rotten with long foul weather, were torn and overturned; amongst which his Lordship's, being broader and higher than others, led first the dance. Whereby all possibility of going to Armagh being taken away, his Lordship having manned the fort with 400 men, whereof Captain Blany hath the charge, and having victualled it for six weeks (after a solemn proclamation with promise of 3,000 marks to any who could bring in Tyrone alive, and of 2,000 marks to him or them who could either bring in his head, or make sufficient proof that they had slain him), his Lordship returned unto the Newry on the 11th of November, and on the 12th came to the Narrow Water, three miles on this side; where (both to make trial against his next coming that way, what he might do, as also that it might appear to the enemy that there was no necessity of his last passage through the Moyerie, but a will) he transported his whole army with the baggage by boats in one day. But, lest we should be thought to steal home, because Tyrone had given forth that he had willingly given us leave to go forward, but would make us dearly buy our return, his Lordship, during our being in the camp, often and openly professed in my hearing, that he would go home by Carlingford way, and wished that some would acquaint Tyrone with his purpose therein, as no doubt some did; for, while we were transporting our army, we could easily discover Tyrone, with his forces both of horse and foot, passing by us on the hill sides, to possess the pass before our coming. The way by which we were to pass lay betwixt an arm of the sea on our left hand, and (on our right) a thick shrubbed wood growing at the foot of a steep hill, on the ascent whereof he made many trenches and half-moons, one higher than another; from which, as from so many castles, without any annoyance of themselves, they might play upon us, who could not possibly pass above them, in respect the thickness of the wood afforded no entrance. And, if it had, the steepness of the hill made it unpassable for men, much more for horse and carriage; and to pass the highway beneath them (as we did) was to subject ourselves to the danger of every bullet, unless we would have run into the sea and been drowned. No sooner had our vanguard entered this pass, but they pour their shot upon us, and we upon them; and thus continued our fight about two hours in that vehemency, as that many times neither could they see us nor we them, by reason of the cloud of smoke between us. Notwithstanding, both theirs and our bullets had their passage, for of the rebels (besides a great many hurt) were slain 80, of ours not above 10, of whom Mr. George Cranmer, my Lord's chief secretary, was the only man of note, who (to the unspeakable grief of all that knew him) was shot in the head and died, before the next unto him knew that he was shot. And about sixty of ours were hurt, amongst whom Sir Henry Davers was shot in the thigh, Captain Hansard in the back, Captain Trevor in the arm, Mr. Done, one of my Lord's pages, in the leg, and (had not God, whose providence stretcheth even to the bullets that fly, been, as at sundry times before, so then especially my gracious protector)



1600.

I had been of the number either of the slain or hurt men, for I was shot through the cloak, and my horse was shot underneath me and slain. On the 13th we came to Carlingford, on the 14th to Dundalk, where his Lordship stayed one whole day for the disposing of his army and sending them to their several garrisons, and on the 18th we returned safe unto Dublin. *Laus tri-uni Deo.*"—1600, [November 19]. *Unsigned.* pp. 8.

Nov. 20.  
Dublin.

26. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, to Sir Robert Cecil. Upon the last vacation of the Bishopric of Ferns, they recommended "one Nicholas Stafford, a gentleman by birth, born in the county where that living is seated, trained up in the University of Oxford, and very well known unto" them "to be a man of good worth and sufficiency for that place." But another was appointed on the recommendation of the Lord Deputy. The Bishopric is again void "by the pitiful drowning of the last incumbent," and they have been suitors to the Lord Deputy on behalf of Mr. Stafford. His Lordship being favourable, they again crave the appointment of Mr. Stafford. "The Bishop of that see is a suffragan, under me the Archbishop, in the province of Dublin; therefore I hold myself in conscience bounden to be very careful that a meet man may be preferred to that dignity, there being so few Churchmen in this decayed kingdom, to yield unto me their faithful assistance in the service of God and Her Majesty." And as the Bishopric is of very small value, and now much more decayed than formerly it was by the late burnings committed in the county of Wexford, they pray that Mr. Stafford may hold in *commendam* two small livings which he now has in that diocese, viz., the Chancellorship of Ferns, and the parsonage of St. Mary in Wexford.—Dublin, 1600, November 20. *Signed.* p. 1.

Nov. 22.  
Naas.

27. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Ever since the Lord Deputy's going northwards, has bestowed his time in these parts in stopping the Leinster traitors from burning and spoiling the Pale, which the Lord Deputy has now found in as good state as he left it, "saving some burning and spoiling done by Redmond McFeagh and others in the county of Wexford, which I was no way able to prevent, considering the weakness of the companies left me for defence of the Pale, and those for most part new soldiers, who could not be drawn to one head, unless other places had been left open to the spoil." The county of Wexford, at the Lord Deputy's departure, was left without any garrison. If the gentlemen of the same had joined their hearts and hands together, as they ought, and as Ormonde had often commanded them, they had been able to beat a greater force than came amongst them, the traitors being not above 240. "Since that time Owen Grana, Keadagh O'Meagher, the Moores, with a great number of other traitors, taking the advantage of my absence, made an incursion into the county of Tipperary towards the borders of the county of Kilkenny and burned a manor of mine called Bowlicke, and divers other villages upon my land. But before they had gathered the spoil of those

1600.

places unto them, my nephew, Sir Walter Butler, whom I left to guard both the said counties, with some of my own men and other the country forces, joined and fell in skirmish with them, and in pursuit of them rescued a great part of the prey, and killed there in the field thirty of their best men, drowned sixteen, and ten more were found dead the next day after of their hurts received in that conflict, whereof Tumultogh Murrey and John Oge Bourke were two, and chief leaders amongst them; and also Owen Grana, a notorious traitor, and Gillernewe O'Meagher were sore hurt, with many others, besides the getting of so many arms and furnitures as would have furnished eighty men, with no more loss of our side than three men slain of my said nephew's, and some six hurt. Now that my Lord Deputy is come hither, I am returning back unto those parts, to settle the remote places of the county of Tipperary the best I may, where (I am informed) in my absence the supposed Earl of Desmond, Thomas his brother, Piers Lacy, and other the traitors, are drawn, burning and spoiling that country." Purposes upon his going thither to have a meeting with the Lord President, who for those causes is very desirous to confer with him. Prays for the letter to the Lord Deputy and Council remitting rents due by him to Her Majesty for those of his possessions wasted in this rebellion. Such letter was granted when his servant Sherwood was last in London. Prays also that the Treasurer may have order to pay him such money, due upon his entertainment, as he hath stayed for the said rents.—The Naas, 1600, November 22. *Signed.* pp. 1½.

Nov. 23.  
Dublin.

28. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Mr. Stafford for the vacant Bishopric of Ferns.—Dublin, 1600, November 23. *Signed.* p. 1.

Nov. 26.  
Dublin Castle.

29. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council to the Privy Council. "We certified your Lordships by Sir Oliver St. John, who left us encamped at Carrickbane, about the 29th of the last month, what difficulties and oppositions we had then encountered, and how we purposed notwithstanding to go on, so soon as our victuals should come to us from Carlingford. In part anon after they arrived, but in such sort as we were not able to rise, with four days' provision for the army only, until Sunday the second of this present month, when we set forward, and that night encamped eight miles from the Newry, hard by the highway toward Armagh, and near to a lough where we then thought fit to fortify; but hearing of another place within some quarter of a mile, which Sir John Norreys had specially chosen, we went early the next morning to see that, and, preferring it, drew the army thither, and there sat down, with purpose presently to begin the work. The rebels perceiving that there we meant to stay, did thrust their shot into the wood hard by, to cut off such as we should send thither for it, as well they might without danger of our horse, for neither ours nor theirs could get into that place, by reason of the bog that parted it from us both, and us from them,

1600.

though each in view of other, and that so near as we might hear them call; but, after a regiment of ours was put down thither to them, there soon began a very good round skirmish, till our men beat them off, having killed divers of them, and others in the mean time gotten and brought away with them great store of corn and wood. Their scouts on the other side being there somewhat busy with ours, Neale O'Quin was taken prisoner, the chief favourite unto Tyrone. Thus was that day spent without working, and the next day when we were busily entered, the rebels, to impeach it, began skirmish with us on both sides, which was very well entertained by those sent out on our part, for we saw divers of them killed, and heard they lost a great number, whereof many were horsemen of the best sort, that to encourage their men did then fight on foot, and were so well beaten for their labour as they would never after offer to meddle with us, till our return by Carlingford, but suffered us to apply our work so hard that day and the two next following, as the fourth being the 7th day of that month, the fort was made fit to receive our baggage, and therefore leaving it and 400 men there, we marched with the rest to the Newry for more victuals, urged thereto by necessity, for we had not then remaining in all the camp one day's victual for those 400 men (and yet we gave them all our private provisions), which caused some of them before our return to eat the garrans that were left there dead. At the Newry we were enforced to stay a day, because the victuals were not come thither, and the 9th being Sunday when we returned, the whole proportion there would afford no more but three days' bread for the army, and of other victuals but for one day, and provision for some six weeks for the fort, which yet we found so hard a thing to carry, as all our carriage garrans would not do it (our tents and baggage being left at the fort, of purpose that we might bring the greater store, if we could have it), but that we were fain to use the hackneys of the army, and cause their owners to go on foot, and made our own servants do the like. Yet all was not sufficient for that proportion, but that some small part was left behind. It may thereby appear unto your Lordships how impossible it was for us to have gone further, or to stay out any one day longer, the weather besides growing so extreme, as our tents were beaten down and torn in pieces, our horse many of them died, and the rest in little better taking. Resolving therefore to return the 11th, being Thursday, we put all the army in arms, and (leaving Captain Blany with 400 men in the fort) with all the drums, trumpets, and a great volley of shot, we proclaimed Tyrone's head, in the face and view of part of his own army, which stood on the next hill over against us, and presently we rose and lodged that night at the Newry. If our victuals had come about in any time before the winter weather overtook us, we might no doubt have planted at Armagh, as easily and as safely as where we did; but as it is, we are clearly of this opinion, that unless we had been able to plant at both, of the two this is the better place, and every way fitted for the service; for without this the other could not have been victualled but by an army, whereas this may conveniently upon the sudden at any time from the Newry, and join with that



1600.

garrison upon any occasion of service. Besides this is situated as commodiously to annoy the rebels; for on the right hand hard by, towards the east, is O'Hanlon's country, which we found full of corn [and] cattle, and well-inhabited; and a little beyond, somewhat toward the north, is Maharylogheoo and Loughlurgan, the two strongest places that Tyrone doth trust to, for it is well known he keepeth his munition there, and all such things as he doth most esteem of, and for the most part lieth there himself. O'Neill land likewise is fast by, a country that finds him many bonnaughts, which he would be very loath to part from. On the other side westward, and somewhat towards the north, lies part of the Fews and the county of Monaghan, all which countries are so subject to this fort, as the garrison may at all times much annoy and waste them even to the side of the Blackwater, especially joining with those of the Newry, as we find they may do at their pleasure, being so near them; and by that means, whensoever we shall be fitted to go on with planting at Armagh, we shall find the same easier for our army, than now that the ground was fed so bare, as it is thought would have starved all our horses. Being thus returned to the Newry, where the army (all day fasting) looked for victuals, we found that there was none, and the treasure we had sent us issued, and heard that Dundalk was in the like case, the place that next we were to go to; and therefore, though before we had a purpose to pass by Carlingford, to view that passage, and to see whether that way or the Moyerie might be best assured, to pass an army with least advantage, yet now our lack of victuals did enforce that course, otherwise we should have fasted two days more, our victuals being at Carlingford, or coming up the water, so uncertainly as we knew not when nor where to have them. The next morning early we set forth, and marched along to the Narrow Water, where the foot were carried over in boats, and took the pass on the other side, which made a safe way for our horse to come about. In the mean time we might see the rebels' forces draw over the mountains toward the pass of Carlingford, coming close by ours that were first landed, yet never offered them any skirmish, though at first we had not above thirty over. That night we encamped directly over the Narrow Water, between the pass of the Fadom and the pass of Carlingford, and, refreshing our men with victuals, which were by good hap then come thither, with purpose to have come to us at the Newry, but with a northerly wind stayed there, in the morning early, the Scout-master brought in word that Tyrone with all his army was lodged in the pass before us, and, as it seemed, meant to stop our passage. Notwithstanding we held on our course, and, to trouble your Lordships with no more circumstances, after a sharp and hot fight, wherein our men behaved themselves exceeding well, we beat them out of their trenches and barricadoes, which they in that space had made very strong, and within some half-an-hour we had made our way so easy as our baggage and carriage passed as orderly as in reason we could wish, though long after they continued skirmish with our rear, until there also they were very well knocked. In this fight we lost not full twenty men, but had hurt above threescore, and of the rebels we heard there for certain, that fourscore were killed outright, and within these two

1600.

days we hear further by a man of Maguire's, that was of late amongst them, that they lost 200 at the least, whether true or no we know not. In this sort the army is returned (God be thanked) hearty and full of courage, and the rebels much discouraged and dismayed, and, as they now speak among themselves, the heart of their rebellion is even broken. The greatest inconvenience that we find is want of treasure for the present, to relieve those poor men that have done so well, and yet many of them hurt and much worn out in this long and very hard journey. We are therefore humbly to pray your Lordships that treasure may speedily be sent hither, without which they cannot be provided for, neither we do the service we desire, and yet the country spoiled and discontented. The victuals remaining in the port towns might be spared and preserved for best occasions, and the soldier paid in money where it is most difficult to bring victuals, and all soonest that way ready for new service, which we think upon, not meaning thus to leave the rebels, but to follow them as soon as we be refreshed."—Dublin Castle, 1600, November 26. *Endorsed* :—"By Mr. Treasurer, after the northern journey. Received 3 December." *Signed*. pp. 6.

Nov. 26.  
Dublin.

**30.** Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Mr. Treasurer is this day to embark for England, who I know reserveth to describe to you the state of this Government at full, and I think he will deal absolutely and faithfully therein, for that I find he oweth to your Honour greater love and duty than to any other there. His absence from his charge (if it be long) cannot but disadvantage Her Majesty in her general service and in his private charge, for that time hath made him to understand this realm in reasonable measure, and by his industry and toil he hath overcome the knowledge of his particular office, which at the first was both strange and dark to him. If your Honour question with him particularly of the proceedings and success of Leinster, I know not that he can make report of any service done there during the Lord Deputy's absence in Ulster, no not so much as a stroke stricken worth reporting since the cutting off of Onie McRory. [With] O'Neill a temporising course hath been used, which was not the way to ruin the rebels, but to relieve them; specially, the head of the monster being cut off before, the work would have been easily ended in the members, if their prosecution had followed. But of this it will be more safe for Mr. Treasurer to speak than for me to write, considering how many things committed from hence by writing are returned hither again to the reproof and danger of the writer. I humbly beseech your Honour to spare me at this time to write at more length, seeing I can say little more than Mr. Treasurer beareth in his breast, and the business of the government aboundeth more at this present to me than of long time, which taketh all leisure from me."—Dublin, 1600, November 26. *Endorsed* :—"By Mr. Treasurer. *Signed*. p. 1.

Nov. 26.  
Dublin.

**31.** Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Mr. Stafford for the Bishopric of Ferns. "For my particular, I

1600.

think the gentleman is qualified fit (*sic*) for that charge, both being able to teach in Irish, and having a settled interest in the good-wills of the people of the country, whereby he may sway them, as well in causes of religion as in matters of the country, which in this broken time he may use, to the great advantage of Her Majesty, in working her subjects to obedience. As he is now in his private calling, the State maketh good use of him, both to contain the good subjects in order, and to temporise with the rebels in those parts, to serve Her Majesty's turn. But being graced with this preferment to the Bishopric, it will be a countenance to him to do higher offices as well in the church as in the commonwealth of that country. In which respects I humbly refer the gentleman, being a native of that place, to your honourable furtherance in this his suit."—Dublin, 1600, November 26. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Nov. 26.  
Dublin.

**32.** Sir George Bouchier to Sir Robert Cecil. As to the munition received and issued in the Earl of Essex's time by certain officials of the Ordnance.—Dublin, 1600, November 26. *Signed. p. 1.*

Nov. 26.  
Dublin.

**33.** Sir Arthur Savage to Sir Robert Cecil. Craves pardon for not having written before. Daily expected more forces, to enable him to perform more worthy service. "In July last, immediately after my departing hence, the Lord Deputy took his journey to Offally, and although I had then but some two or three companies under my command, which was no force to answer his Lordship, yet I got Sir John McCoghlan to join with me, and performed the service to very good purpose. I began to burn in the McGeoghegan's country, being for the most part a plain champaign, and very well inhabited, and I ended in the Foxes country, which was likewise well inhabited. By this burning and other spoils there made upon them, those two septs have ever sithence been forced to the woods, and to quit those kern who before were in bonnaught upon them. I durst not linger there for above four or five days, understanding of John Burke's sons being (*sic*) gotten together some 500 men, and within six miles of Athlone, but drew homewards the nearest way, and through such a fast[n]ess as had not sithence these wars been passed by any of Her Majesty's army, and brought thence 400 cows, with the loss of some twenty men hurt and slain. At my coming home, I found that those Burkes by her sufferance were grown very insolent, and had committed many outrages and spoils upon those parts. Whereupon I wrote to my Lord of Clanrickarde to draw down with the companies under his command, and that I would join with him to the banishment of those traitors. His Lordship was thereto very willing, and so we appointed a meeting; on which very day, although something late in the afternoon, we gave upon them, slew some of their men, took their small quantity of munition and all their carriages, and put themselves over the Shannon, where they have sithence remained, and those parts continued without disturbance, till now that Moysten who is become a traitor, and beginneth a new commotion. By my



1600.

former journey on the Geoghegans and Foxes, my neighbours the Omalaughlins began to fear, insomuch as three principal gentlemen and forty good fighting men submitted and put in their pledges. Because I understood they were the valiantest men and greatest enterprisers, foreseeing that their men must needs otherwise have returned into action, their masters having no means, I gave themselves and all their men entertainment, not as from Her Majesty, but as part of mine own companies. They have sithence behaved themselves so with me, as by their means chiefly I have banished those ill neighbours on Meath side, and have not lost from the town of Athlone to Mullingar the value of five shillings this four months, only some burning Tyrrell made on Sir Francis Shane now in my Lord Deputy's absence, neither hath there been any passenger interrupted, but have passed very safely and quietly without any convoy at all.

"Your Honour may perhaps conceive by this my relation, which is no more than truth, that I take upon me to have done great matters, but I protest to God I do not, although I have done more than could be expected from one having so small means, neither do I think myself fit to hold any place in Ireland, especially that to which I stand yet named. For there are some ambitious of it that are wholly in the Deputy's favour; and for any man that shall hold a public place, and not be very assured of that, his seconds will come so slow as that the effect of his business will ever be suspense, and his poor reputation daily in censure. I beseech your Honour therefore, although for no private respect to me, yet for the public good of this poor kingdom, that I may be dismissed; for I do otherwise already feel the burden under which I must sink. I protest to God and to your [Honour], I speak not this in complaint of the Deputy, for I never had better words of any man, whatsoever his deeds have been."—Dublin, 1600, November 26. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Nov. 26.

**34.** "The list of the forces in Munster, reduced by the Lord Deputy the 26th of November, 1600."

Horse, 250; foot, 2,800. Total, 3,050. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

Nov. 27.

Dublin.

**35.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "In all my journeys, which it hath pleased God to crown with good success, and especial[y] in this last, I have been much importuned even by the gravest sort to make some knights. I was so backward in it, that it was generally conceived that the power to do it was absolutely taken from me, which I held no small disgrace unto me, since all before me, and every mean Justice that held the sword but for the time, have had both power and practised it. I looked upon my instructions, in the last clause whereof concerning that matter I am commanded to be advised how I give that honour to any, but upon some notorious service done, which, if we do not all exceedingly flatter ourselves, hath been performed in this last journey, if not in the others; and to honour the success, which, believe me, amongst the rebels and ourselves is counted extraordinary;

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upon the last blessed seventeenth day of November I knighted three English and one Irish, though of English blood; Sir John Foscue's [Fortescue's] son and Mr. Rotheram, who in all my journey had followed me with great charge and forwardness; Sir James Dillon that had done the like, being one of the greatest men of living in the Pale; and Captain Berrey, who was one of the first that turned the fortune of these wars by a notorious valiant part he played, wherein he received himself five wounds, with so great admiration to the rebels themselves, that to use their own words, they would not believe but he was a devil. In this journey he hath continually carried himself with extraordinary valour and judgment, and, believe me, Sir, he is as capable of a great command as most men I know of his profession. I presume the deed itself, but more by your good favour, will keep me from any dislike, whereof I am so jealous that I do and desire to defend my doings with the greatest caution I can."—Dublin, November 27. *Endorsed*:—1600. Received 3 December by Mr. Treasurer. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

Nov. 27.  
Dublin.

**36.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I am full with the apprehensions of the estate of this kingdom and of the war that must be made here. I find myself unable to express them as I would by writing, much less to make you believe them as I conceive them; but, if you will send over for such as you are confident know best the affairs of this estate, and let me dispute with them my own projects, I think we shall agree and make apparent a way unto you (which yet we are not in) that may save the Queen the expense of many millions, which perchance she may otherwise be at in this kingdom, and establish this estate in a more assured quietness than is hoped for. If I may come over, I will depart hence in as private manner as you will have me, and return as speedily to my work, if her Majesty think me fit for it, or else to my power rest to serve her with my prayers. Hitherto I desire God so to prosper my soul as I have with an unmingled zeal and sincere affection intended to the uttermost of my power the Queen's service and the true duty of my charge, and do challenge all the world that can charge me with the contrary in the least fault or error. I am sure I can never be unfaithful to her; but for all other things wherein I have been hitherto extraordinarily precise, I will no longer undertake for myself, for I do not see it marked, or at the least regarded, and the general infection of this kingdom is such as I am afraid of myself. If you keep me here any longer, and yet whiles I am honest (and that shews me to be so yet), I give you this warning of it."—Dublin, November 27. *Endorsed*:—1600. Received 3 December. By Mr. Treasurer. *Holograph. p. 1.*

Nov. 27.  
Clangibbon

**37.** Edmund Gibbon, the White Knight, to Sir Robert Cecil. His former service and the favours he has received, "whereof I cannot be forgetful. Yet I have been constrained to break from my duty, as well by the sudden invasion of this country, as also by the rising forth in action of the late Lord Roche, the Lord of

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Mountgarrett, the Lord of Cahir, with the rest of my neighbours round about, in sort as I could not brook any safety for myself nor my poor people, but by entering into that action; as also for that Her Majesty at that instant had not forces then in these parts sufficient to prevent the great mischief happened to her subjects. Consequently seeing the Governor to draw back from Kilmallock and other holds which Her Highness had in this province, whereby every man was compelled to shift for himself, nevertheless when I saw my opportunity, not knowing how to give better trial of my willingness to live dutifully, upon the first coming of this Lord President, I have been the first that made submission of myself, for example to all the rest to do the like, as his Lordship and Sir George Thornton can witness. Since which time I keep in all dutifulness, and will do (God willing) while I live, yet not knowing under whose wings I might better convert myself to have ease and forgiveness of my fault herein, than to make choice of your Honour, as my only good Lord and patron, from whom I will never sequester myself."

Prays that the sinister informations of his adversaries may not work any alteration until he and his loyalty have been further tried.—Clangibbion, 1600, November 27. *Signed.* p. 1.

Nov. 27.  
Dublin.

**38.** Captain Edward Fisher to Sir Robert Cecil. Presumes to write of the Lord Deputy's coming from his newly-erected fort. Would do the like of the rest of his journey, but that he knows Sir Robert has already.

"The 8th of November my Lord with his army went from the Newry to the fort, and carried with him such proportion of victuals as conveniently he might for the provision of the soldiers left there; which when he had performed, he intended to march to Armagh, and there to encamp for one night, and so to return. But the weather was so extreme foul, as by no means he was able to perform the same, but fain to return to the Newry the second day. Tyrone perceiving our army to be much weakened, and withal thinking that my Lord Deputy would have left the fort of the Newry behind him, prepared himself to give my Lord fight at his departure out of his country, and for that purpose held the principal of his force together. And, because it was thought by some of our Councillors that it might prove dangerous for my Lord to return home the same way he came, it was resolved that means should be made at a place called the Narrow Water for our army to be transported over, being so far onward of the way toward Carlingford, as freed us from the places of greatest danger. For which purpose I was sent with some 150 foot to clear that passage, which being performed, my Lord with the army came thither, and ferried over his men and carriages, and encamped that night right over against the castle. But the rebels no sooner perceived my Lord Deputy's resolution, but they drew all before betwixt us and Carlingford, and there in the places of most advantage, they spent all that day and part of the night in making of barricadoes and such slight works as they imagined might most impeach our passages. The 14, we marched toward Carlingford, where we no



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sooner confronted their works but the fight began. My Lord Deputy's regiment, having the vanguard, forced them to quit their barricadoes, and had the killing of some; which the rebels no sooner perceiving, and what great troops came towards them to give our men second, fell off, and gave quiet passage to Sir Christopher St. Lawrence['s] and Sir Richard Morrison['s] regiments to march by. And when they saw Sir Samuel Bagenall['s] regiment come up, who had the rear of all, and in which were four of our new companies, they fell all upon us, and maintained a very good fight, coming up so close as we were fain to charge, colours and all. The fight grew so great as it caused some of our horse to draw from the vanguard to us, with whom came Sir Henry Davers, who in a charge there was shot through the thigh, and some three or four more of our horse. We had the killing of above three score and twelve rebels, and after forced them to make their retreat, carrying off their hurt men, which were in number above four score. Their horse did never offer to serve, yet Tyrone was once close to our rear, and his trumpet in the head of his troop; they were in number above 300.

"In this fight we lost some sixteen soldiers, besides hurt; Cranmer, my Lord's secretary, some three Lieutenants and ensigns, Captain Trevor shot, Captain Haunsor [Hansard] shot; and this was all the hurt that we had in the rear, and in our passage to Carlingford, from whence we went to Dundalk, where the army was dispersed, and sent to their several garrisons, in number most exceeding weak. For all this fight was thus maintained by the rebels, we could never discover their foot to be in number above 400, but those were all of his own followers and of his best men. Other matter of moment there happened not, fit to acquaint your Honour withal." His indebtedness to Sir Robert.—Dublin, 1600, November 27. *Endorsed*:—Received 3 December. *Signed.* pp. 3.

Nov. 28.  
Chester.

39. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "Being now come from Dublin and landed at Chester, and myself a bad seaman and not very well at my first landing, I thought it my duty to advertise your Honour that my Lord Deputy returned to Dublin from his northern journey the 18th of this present very well, notwithstanding the great extremity of the foul and stormy weather, or the force of the arch-rebel, which is now held a scorn to Her Majesty's army. His Lordship hath built a fort eight miles beyond the Newry towards Armagh, and therein hath placed Captain Blany with 400 foot in list, and victualled them for two months. And in his return from the Newry to Carlingford, Tyrone fought with his Lordship at the Narrow Water, where the traitor had barricaded and entrenched himself to the most advantage. But he was enforced shamefully to quit them, being beaten from them with the loss of 200 of his rascals slain and hurt, and himself escaped very narrowly, for he that stood next him was shot and slain. His head is proclaimed, as by this proclamation your Lordship may perceive, and I assure your Honour that the heart of this rebellion is broken, if it be followed. In this last fight of Her Majesty's army, there was slain twelve, and six at the least hurt, of which

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Sir Henry Davers hurt in the thigh, Captain Hansard hurt in the back, one of my Lord's pages in the leg, and Mr. Cranmer, my Lord's secretary, shot in the head and died presently.

"I will shortly attend your Honour with the particulars of my Lord's proceedings, as also with a declaration of my own charge until the 22nd of this present, unto which day I shall make known to your Honour how Her Majesty's treasure hath been issued, and how in the meantime I have engaged myself to supply the army, until more treasure come, which I humbly desire may come with all speed."—Chester, 1600, November 28. *Holograph.* pp. 1½.

*Encloses:—*

39. i. *Proclamation by the Lord Deputy and Council, offering 4,000 marks to any who shall deliver up the Earl of Tyrone alive to them, and 2,000 marks to any who shall procure his death.*—Dublin Castle, 1600, November 22. *Printed.* One sheet.

Nov. 28.  
Dublin.

40. Sir Henry Power to Sir Robert Cecil. Complains that the Lord Deputy has taken fifty of his company from him, "which is so much the more grievouser unto me for that I have hitherto endeavoured to have had my company in that state which now I had them, and now expecting to have reaped the benefit of so many good men." Craves redress. Begs for some horse for the better prosecuting of the service in Leix. Has borne as great a burden in these wars as any, and greater than most. Much taken from him at his coming out of Munster. "A commander who intends to follow the wars honestly cannot well uphold himself upon less means than at that time was allotted for me." Sir Robert has furthered former requests made by the writer.

"The news which Leix affordeth is that the rebels in those parts are grown to a greater force than they were, which cometh to pass by reason that Tyrrell hath lately married the sister of Onie McRory; since which he hath taken assurance and pledges of the inhabitants of the country which are in rebellion to assist him in his actions. For their dowry they have given him Stradbally and some other parts of that country, and he hath promised to defend them one year. How he will be able to perform that promise, by my next letters your Honour I hope shall have notice."

Again craves redress, and for that cause has sent his brother to attend Sir Robert.—Dublin, 1600, November 28. *Signed.* Seal. pp. 2.

Nov. 29.  
Dublin.

41. Sir Richard Wingfield to Sir Robert Cecil. Refers to the letters of the Lord Deputy and to the relation of Sir George Carey for the occurrences of this late northern service. The Lord Deputy's good example to his men.

"I understand that Her Majesty and your Honours have resolved of some course for the answering of such Her Highness['s] debts as grew due in the late governments of Sir William Russell and the Lord Burgh, and left unpaid by Sir Henry Wallop." Prays that he may be remembered for a debt of 389l. 19s. 9d., due to him in

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those times, or at least for a portion thereof on the first assignment. The Commissioners for these causes have taken notice of the said sum.—Dublin, 1600, November 29. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Nov. 30.  
Cork.

**42.** John Meade, Mayor of Cork, to Sir Robert Cecil. Received a letter from the Privy Council concerning the informations of the Earl of Desmond against his manner of entertainment at his unexpected coming to Cork, without any notice delivered in what acceptance he was with Her Majesty. Has answered that letter most humbly and truly. "And forasmuch as I know by experience that upon any discontentment there will never want those which will aggravate matter against this corporation," prays Sir Robert to patronize him against all unjust accusations, as heretofore he has done. Recalls Lord Burghley's kindness.—Cork, 1600, November 30. *Signed.* p. 1.

November.

**43.** Memoranda on treasure, victuals, and arms, brought over by Sir Oliver St. John.

Opportunities of service lost through want of treasure. It gives occasion of great discouragement and calamity, "as did appear by the miserable condition of the army at Newry and Carlingford, after the last long and painful journey of the north, where many soldiers did perish even for want of means to relieve them."

Victual to be provided in good store for the armies and garrisons. The greatest use of victuals is between Christmas and Midsummer. The Lord Deputy's prosecution of the war in Leinster will occasion a great dearth, whereof the army is like to taste, if they be not supplied out of Her Majesty's store. "And specially that good store of bread be sent and cheese, for though, for the garrisons, fish may very well serve, yet my Lord being resolved to prosecute the enemy in the field, he cannot possibly carry fish with him, the soldier having neither time to water it, nor vessels to dress it in."

The Lord Deputy prays the Privy Council "to send present order that such arms as are broken in service, upon certificate of the chief officers of the field or garrison, may be supplied out of the store without any payment to be made by the soldier, so as the broken ones be given up to the officers of the munition."

Concerning garrans for carriages, "at my coming to Dublin I found my Lord in debate of that business with the country, and had brought it to this issue that, for 20s. a garran, the country would provide 300 very good garrans, and keep them without demanding any allowance; and, if any of the garrans miscarry in the keeping of the country, to be by them made good again, if upon any service or journey by the army, and the company to provide the carriage saddles; which course his Lordship desires to be imparted to your Lordships, and craveth your Lordships' allowance as a thing which undoubtedly will advance Her Majesty's service, and benefit the country more than ten thousand pounds a year."

The Lord Deputy, through the multitude of other affairs, and being diverted upon necessary occasions from daily attending in



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one place," can hardly descend into the particular care of everything belonging to the exact discharge of all he has laid upon him, and therefore has given several commissions for looking into matters of victual, munition, and musters.—[1600, November.] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"Sir Oliver St. Johns." pp. 2.

November. **44.** Minute from the Privy Council to the Treasurer and Secretary of Ireland, with corrections and additions by Sir Robert Cecil.

Not knowing how to convey a letter to Lough Foyle, they send it to them, that they may inform the Lord Deputy what course is taken and upon what grounds. Are very sorry to hear of the small numbers at Lough Foyle, and hope the Lord Deputy has given order to Sir Henry Dockwra not to keep a list of 4,000 there, where Her Majesty never meant to pay more than 3,000. "We hope you will think it high time to fall into reduction of the huge army in Ireland, having longer continued at the height it is than yourselves or Her Majesty expected." Know this has been occasioned by the difficulty of the northern journey. It appeareth by the books that a great store of Irish are entertained above the list by concordatums. Have thought it very unseasonable to trouble the Lord Deputy now, but direct them to adopt some plan for the reduction of the army, which can be put in execution when his Lordship returns. Her Majesty expects a diminution both of the horse and foot; the where and how she refers to the Lord Deputy and the Council.

Concerning the collecting of rents due to the Queen. Wasted lands. "Although Her Majesty is so gracious as to dispense in that kind with some meaner persons, who have tasted of such miseries, yet we hold it a great absurdity, and so do set it down for a general rule, that whosoever hath Her Majesty's pay and entertainment, must find means to pay his rent," or else it will be defalked out of his entertainment, saving in some such case as the Lord Deputy and you of that Council will on your words advertise that you have had good proof that his wastes are such as are pretended. For who doth not know that most that are farmers to the Queen had as good pennyworths as, although peradventure some quillet of land may be spoiled in some corner, yet some other portion, worth treble the rent, lieth safe, and so may countervail the loss which is thereby received; so as, if all shall go from Her Majesty, and nothing be left unrecommend[ed] which may take from her anything, Her Majesty shall have cause to think herself ill served by some of you, to whose place and office the true inquisition of such things doth belong." Have thought good to give knowledge hereof, because Her Majesty is informed that there are divers persons coming over, in the absence of the Lord Deputy, with recommendation from certain of the Council in these suits. Hold this no way reasonable, except in the case of some poor people deserving compassion, who never had any of Her Majesty's forces wherewith to save themselves. *Endorsed*:—1600, November. *Rough draft.* pp. 4½.

1600.  
November. 45. Statement by Henry Dillon of services lately done by Lord Dunsany. *Endorsed*:—1600, November. *Signed*. p. 1.

[Nov.] 46. P[atrick Plunkett], Lord Dunsany, to Sir Robert Cecil. Three places of employment in Ireland void, with any of which he will hold himself "apaid."

1. "Knockfergus. It is needful that the Governor there do accept such revenues as Her Majesty hath in Clandeboy, for part of his pay; so shall his care of his charge be increased, and Her Majesty's disbursements for that service lessened, to the value of eight or nine hundred pounds per annum.

"It is the only place of conveniency to work the Scots for to prejudice the Traitor by sundry ways, and to make a party of the Neills against him by means of Brian McBrian Ferto, the principal man of Clandeboy, and so to weaken him; as also to engage and corrupt his nearest followers and friends, yea his very wife by the acquaintance she had before his knowledge of her. Then also means can be best contrived for the delivery of the sons of Shane O'Neill, which is to be compassed by the Duynylls, which are a numerous people and the prime horsemen of Ulster, the trusted fosters of Shane O'Neill, and the sept that killed the Traitor's father, and of all others now most pressed and hated by the Traitor. Their factions and feuds, their alliances and aptness to be employed, are to be well understood of him that shall manage that place. If Sir Thomas Smith's patent be brought in question, or the heirs thereof be put in authority there, it will breed rebellion.

"To effect the premisses I have all the helps and means that any other man hath, and I have the language very well for advantage."

2. "The Cavan. The great O'Reilly married my mother. The last O'Reilly married my aunt, by whom there liveth five sons, that are well followed. Edmund O'Reilly's son is also married to my sister. My followers and tenants have ever conversed with them, whereby I have good means to draw in O'Reilly and all that county from the Traitor to obedience. The last that possessed that place was Captain Street, who quit the place, as not being able to defend it. I dare compare with any man in Ireland, for fitness to serve there."

3. "Leix and Offally. For the forts being left desolate by the inhabitants, they are, by persuasion or constraint, as also by the planting of forces sufficient to join with them for their own defences, to be brought back to their dwellings, to the strengthening of that place, and to the rooting out of the enemy. Of the Moores, Connors, and Dempseys, which claim the rights of the said counties, there be a very few, though for mischief such may always have many followers in Ireland; which few may be made contented with some certainty to live on, and to leave arms aside to the quiet of both those counties. For the effecting whereof I shall have as good means as any man."  
—[1600, November.] *Signed*. pp. 2.

November. 47. Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield to Sir Robert Cecil. Finding no other employment in the Lord Deputy's last Ulster journey, he

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played therein the part of a poor private Captain, which he had not done for almost twenty years before. Thought it better to attend his Lordship so, than to be left behind an idle person. Was promised by the Lord Deputy the command at Dundalk, in place of Sir Richard Morrison. Describes how he was disappointed in this, and has no employment. Tirlogh McHenry has sent divers times to him, that he would gladly speak with Sir Thomas, and deliver his mind as to coming in. Has acquainted the Lord Deputy with this, but the prosecution has been committed to one who will rather hinder than further it. Craves that the money due to him may be paid. Has no means to discharge his brothers of such bonds as they have entered into for him. Has written to one of them to attend Sir Robert, and asks that he may have leave to come over himself. Hears credibly out of the north that Tyrone has sent one Patrick Baath three weeks since with letters into Spain, and that he expects his return the same way before Candlemas. *Endorsed:—1600, November. Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

[Nov.]

**48.** Offer of service in Ireland. The writer asks for fifty horse and two hundred foot, which he will maintain in Ireland one year without any charge to Her Majesty. Requests only three months' imprest for the officers and two months' victuals for the soldiers, with munition convenient for the service. Will annoy the rebel more than any two garrisons in Ireland. Asks that the Queen will give him a lease for 31 years of that part of ground he purposes to possess. If this be done, will within one year repay the said three months' imprest and two months' victuals, putting in sufficient sureties, and will victual one ship and one pinnace at his own charge, to be employed upon that service. Upon private conference will declare how to perform the above, and will engage his life therefor. For the command and trust he has had in the wars in Ireland, he has certificates under the hands of Sir John Norreys, Sir Anthony Shirley, and Sir Charles Blunt.—[1600, November.] *Unsigned. p. 1.*

[Nov.]

**49.** Offer by A. Blackcadell of divers services, which he undertakes to perform upon his life, "so far forth as I may."

The fortifications of Calbeg [Killibeggs] at the enemies' cost, and withal to win Donegal and Ballyshannon with little cost to the Queen, and to make them all sure, and bring the country to contribution and obedience.

To discover the secret practices between the rebels, the Scots, and the Spaniard, "or any of their country people, and will do my best to sow dissension amongst them, or to induce them to any purpose whatsoever, as I shall be directed; and in time, if my designs take place, to take or cut off O'Donnell, McWilliam, O'Rourke, or O'Neill himself." Will procure employment and credit from them to treat with the Scots or the Spaniards in their affairs, and will discover their designs, as he shall be directed, or advertise their purposes and intentions from time to time, so that



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if his directions be followed, their treasure may be intercepted, or their purposes and intents be diverted. Will put in bonds for his loyalty.

Will likewise undertake the service propounded for Brittany, and attempt Belleisle, the fort of which is defended with 30 soldiers, divers of them Irish of his acquaintance.

For the fort Dordones [Dordogne], the hold of Monsieur le Fontenelle, the Governor of it in Fontenelle's absence is Captain le Bulle, whose Lieutenant is one Lecomte, an Irishman of the Burkes, called Edmund Oge, and Le Branche, a gentleman of good account. The most of their company are Irish, and such as have served under the writer, who can induce them to deliver the place. Begs that he may be set to work at once.—[1600, November.] *Signed. p. 1.*

[Nov.] **50.** Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of Captain Malby, who has no present employment in Ireland, and who holds it some disgrace to lie still when others are in action. He is enforced (for want of means to support him in the wars) to repair into England, hoping for further employment in Ireland or elsewhere. "For here in this rebellion his land is merely wasted, which did yield him as much rent or more than any English gentleman in this country did receive. His father was in his time a great commander in Ireland and Governor of Connaught, whose service doth yet merit the remembrance; and this bearer his son, from the time he could wear a sword, hath served Her Majesty, and hath hitherto borne charge of horse and foot. But this Lord Deputy, having given offence unto sundry of good desert, whom necessarily he hath discharged, albeit he had a good disposition to restore Mr. Malby, yet for the present he could not conveniently do it, whereby his hopes are frustrated." Recommends Captain Malby to Sir Robert's favour.—[1600, November.] *Holograph. p. 1.*

[Nov.] **51.** Sir Thomas Burke to Sir Robert Cecil. Desires his favour and employment by him. Begs a speedy answer by bearer.—[1600, November.] *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

[Nov.] **52.** "A plot of Lough Erne in Maguire's country."—[1600, November.] *One sheet.*

**Dec. 1.** **53.** Sir John Bolles to Sir Robert Cecil. "I was bold in my last letter to acquaint your Honour with what I conceived of Neale Garve upon the short knowledge I had then of him, but now time and his own actions might make him better known, were there not such extreme contrariety betwixt that which he hath done, and that which is avowed by the concurrence of divers several testimonies he hath contrived to do. His known actions have hitherto been such as can breed no jealousy of him, for he hath spared none of

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O'Donnell's people that fell into his power, he hath slain one of his brethren with his own hands, and endangered another of them, and within these four days missed his head but a little (for which some of his secret friends about O'Donnell have been hanged since). He seemeth never to rest plotting, nor sheweth much discontent at any time, but when he is shortened of means sufficient to do him the hurt he would. He hath known this great while that upon the suggestions of his greatest enemies he hath stood suspected, and, having since been at liberty and no pledges upon him, hath voluntarily put himself, his son and his brother's son into my Lord Deputy's hands to make shew of his fidelity. Yet is this man accused to have made his peace with O'Donnell, and hath promised, as is said, to betray the Derry or Lifford, and to deliver to him Sir Henry Dockwra's head.

"The way to this accusation was in general terms prepared by Cormack, Sir Arthur O'Neill's brother, but the particularities Sir Sir John O'Dogherty and Hugh Boy his foster brother revealed; and they have been since confirmed by one of O'Donnell's own men that ran from him to the Governor here, and by Lieutenant Robartes, an Englishman, all which concur in the discovery of his disloyalty. The great opposition betwixt what he is charged to have conspired in secret, and what all we here know that he hath done in public, breedeth that intricacy which is fitter for your Honour in your deep wisdom to determine of, than for me any way to censure. And yet the end of his coming in, which was doubtless an ambition to be Lord of Tyrconnell (which he cannot be without O'Donnell's ruin), and the exceptions which may justly be taken to all his accusers, do draw me very far in hoping the best of him. For, as for Cormack, he is one so devoted to Tyrone, as he took his part against his own father and brother till their deaths, and hath as yet given no other testimony of his honesty than that he is gone to my Lord Deputy to try what conditions he can get. O'Dogherty is known to be his mortal enemy, and one that hath ever since our first arrival annoyed us to his uttermost power, till he saw his country on fire, and O'Donnell not near to succour him. Since which time he hath entertained us with a dilatory parley, whereof I pray God temporising be the worst end. Hugh Boy is a pensioner of the King of Spain's, and hath been both there an agent for the Irish and here for the Spaniard, and is one of the dearest men to O'Donnell of all that follow him. Now for O'Donnell's man that ran from him to discover Neale's treachery to the Governor, I can say nothing of him but that in my small judgment it is easier for such a fellow to be suborned to say anything than to come to the knowledge of such a secret. Lastly, Lieutenant Robartes is one that hath now about these six weeks lived sometimes with O'Donnell, but most with O'Dogherty, for which though I do not much suspect him as one ill-affected to the State, yet can I give no great credit to any advertisements of his, that hath been so small a time amongst them, and wanteth the understanding of the Irish tongue. Thus much, though I have been tedious in unfolding of it, I could not yet in duty but signify to your Honour, because Her Majesty's service might receive great prejudice by having a man of that fulness of power to do good or evil, which he is, misjudged of.

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"I have not thought fit at this time to be troublesome to your Honour with signifying either what this poor garrison hath done, or in what state we have stood and still do, but rather beseech you to command this gentleman, Captain Sidley, to attend your honourable leisure for the relation of them, who is one much devoted to your Honour's service, and hath been a very well-deserving actor in what we have done, and hath also borne his part of our sufferings, whereof might it stand with your honourable pleasure now at the spring to free me, I should think myself a very happy man; for I protest seriously I do not think that we here are yet in the way to do Her Majesty that service which is expected, whereof when we fail, the disgrace unto us all will be greater than we shall be able to bear; the fear whereof maketh me still to importune your Honour for this favour, and that it would please [you] to dispose of me in any other place."—Dunalong, 1600, December 1. *Holograph. pp. 3.*

Dec. 1.      **54.** "The list both of the foot and horse at Lough Foyle." At Derry, 1,800 foot, 50 horse; at Dunalong, 1,050 foot; at Lifford, 950 foot, 50 horse. Total, 3,400.—1600, December 1. p. 1.

Dec. 2.      **55.** Sir Charles Wilmot to Sir George Carew. "This day, being the 2nd of December, the castle of Listowell is yielded into Her Majesty's hands, our last Moyerie came to good effect, without impeachment of water or any other hindrance. We had made the bed ready to place the powder, when they called to us earnestly and very humbly for composition. I would by no means hearken to it but upon their knees to my mercy, which they yielded to. There were eighteen soldiers in the castle, besides women and prisoners. Of them I have hanged nine, for at the siege I lost so many killed by them. I have disarmed them all, taking from them in the castle thirty pieces, six swords, six targets, and six graven head-pieces. The constable, Gerrott Roe Stacke, his eldest son I hold with me prisoner as a pledge upon his father but have given him, by great intercession of all the country, a promise of his life. The priest I likewise keep him prisoner, to be disposed as please[th] your Lordship; but in my life I was never so entreated for any man, as all manner of people doth entreat for him. But for the fellow that killed Morris Stacke, being one night upon his watch in a rainy dark night, as they all swear unknown to any of them [he] stole out of the castle, and made his escape by that means. The prisoners that were in their hands were to the number of six or seven, but all of them but one, whose name is Morris Begg, were men before by me protected. I received a letter concerning him, that I should not condescend to any ransom for him. I have obeyed your Lordship's commandment therein, and do reserve him still as I found him.

"I have sent your Lordship here enclosed (*wanting*) a copy of those men that, since my coming this journey, I have taken in; the armed men amongst them are distinguished. There is likewise in that note how many Connaught men I have, since my coming this



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journey, sent out of this country. Thomas McMorris hath none now with him but eight horsemen, who with himself, as I am informed by Owen O'Mailly, who last came from him, is presently to go into the north; so that I assure your Lordship he is now utterly banished, and this country now as well reduced as any other part of Kerry. But for the better assurance, I purpose for some time to leave here a company of 150 men, that by stealth nor any way he shall look no more hitherwards. The Knight of the Valley, as I wrote to your Lordship in my last letter, I have cast him off, and will no more deal with him, since I find it unpleasing to your Lordship. I wrote to Florence McCarthy concerning his pledges, as your Lordship willed me. His answer I have sent your Lordship here enclosed (*wanting*). The brief of the poor service I have done in this journey is, the taking in of sixty armed men who aided McMorris, the excluding from this country 120 Connaught men, the taking of Listowell, the detaining and hanging all the ward, the utter banishing of McMorris himself, and the reducing of his whole country to Her Majesty's obedience; all which, it merit if anything, I dedicate it to your Lordship."—1600, December 2.

[*Postscript.*] "I have likewise here enclosed (*wanting*) some papers found in the castle, where you may perceive the love they carry towards Her Majesty and us all."

*Endorsed by Sir George Carew*:—"These letters I do send your Honour that you may the more fully understand the manner of the taking of Listowell Castle, and also with what difficulty McMorris['s] son was gotten." *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Dec. 3.  
Kilkenny.

56. Captain Laurence Esmonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Captain James Tobin, "who about three years past, when we lay at the siege of Amiens [*'Amyance'*] was by Sir Arthur Savage's means and wine drawn from the enemy. What service he did in his coming, and what offers of service he then made, I then made your Honour acquainted withal, and again put your Honour in mind of him, when you went into France; and now, being requested by him to write unto your Honour, I could do no less than let you understand of his good desert. The gentleman is of good quality, and fit to be employed whensoever your Honour shall have cause."

Would often have advertised Sir Robert of their news, but feared it would be unpleasing, as others of greater judgment had done so.—Kilkenny, 1600, December 3. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Dec. 4.  
Callan.

57. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Captain James Tobin, who is desirous to repair to England for a pension, which was promised him when he had the command of Her Majesty's forces in Picardy. Tobin was drawn into Ireland by Ormonde's means, and was employed by him as one of the Corporals of the field.—Callan, 1600, December 4. *Signed.* p. 1.

1600.

Dec. 4.

**58.** Draft of a letter, corrected by Sir Robert Cecil, intimating the strict injunctions of the Queen to Lord Mountjoy for giving satisfaction to Lady Burgh in the matter of the corn that was due to the late Lord Burgh at the time of his death. The Queen censures the delays that have taken place in this business.—[1600.] *Endorsed*: December 4. pp. 3.

Dec. 5.  
Dublin.

**59.** John Lye to Sir Robert Cecil. After his return to Dublin, he sent for the cast of hawks that his cousin Sir Charles O'Carroll had long kept for presentation to Sir Robert; "which hawks with great difficulty came hither, but were so bruised and crushed in their feathers and wings, as I thought them very unmeet, and besides the season being so far spent, to be presented unto your Honour, they being also hawks of a coote, and therefore refused them. Nevertheless, if God permit, I will have a special and singular care to remember O'Carroll to fit your Honour's turn against the next season with better hawks, and have given special charge already thereof to him."

When he was in England, he had something to tell Sir Robert, tending to the furtherance of the service in Ireland, but could not see him, and was unwilling to press too far on his want of leisure. "The service here will be much the better performed, that some of the country gentlemen dwelling on the borders may be employed therein; by means whereof the rebels will be much weakened by drawing from them sundry able persons to perform services, that may, and I doubt not will, do great exploits against the rebels; which I take upon my knowledge and by mine experience to be a very good course. And to induce your Honour to think the better thereof, your Honour may understand that many gentlemen of good worth hath their living on the borders wholly wasted by the rebels, some five hundred pounds by the year, others more, and some less, the re-inhabiting whereof will be more profit unto them and more ease than either Her Majesty's pay, or to follow the wars, and besides [they] will venture themselves, their kinsmen and followers, to end the wars, they having good experience how to prosecute the rebels, and are able to travel and [a]bide both hunger and cold in the said prosecution, who I doubt not will adventure much, whereas others, having no living but that (*sic*) dependeth on the wars, and not able to [a]bide the like sorrow, will not care to prolong the same."

Does not know what will be the effect of the letters he brought with him through Sir Robert's means.—Dublin, 1600, December 5. *Signed.* p. 1.

Dec. 5.

**60.** Sir Charles Wilmot to Sir George Carew. "Since the dispatching of my last messenger to you, wherein I gave your Lordship true notice of the taking of Listowell (circumstantially of the carriage of it, both before it was taken, and of the conditions they received of me afterwards), I have now taken the eldest son of McMorris, but had like to have been very cleanly cozened of him; I never understanding all my enquiry after him of all the country gentlemen then with me in the camp, of his being here within. The manner of it I will a little at large lay down to your Lordship.

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"After all the soldiers had submitted themselves unto my mercy upon their knees, and delivered up all their arms unto me, the women remained still all within, myself having no regard or thought to make stay of any [of] them. Some small time after, within two hours, I gave order to the Marshal that he should only go take the names of them, and, after notice given to me, to give them their liberty, I giving express charge to all the officers in the army not to suffer any soldier to either touch them or speak to them in any rude manner, having no suspicion or imagination of any such matter concerning the child. Amongst them, at their coming out, came this child, at a poor woman's back, stark naked, only wrapped in a sheet, all his face, body and hands besmeared with black and dirt, like a poor child of no account. The women came into the camp to their husbands, lodged with them all that night in the Marshalsea, with this child, and there stayed till next day noon. James Oge, the Sheriff, very honestly (for which I beseech your Lordship return a letter of thanks) told me that he had some inkling that McMorris his son came out of the castle the night before with the women in the fashion as before I spoke of. I presently sent for all the women, and examined them strictly upon it. They all forswore it in a very impudent fashion; notwithstanding I commanded them all presently to close prison, all with bolts, hoping of their confession upon it. One of them confessed unto me that indeed the child came out, but protested it was conveyed away she knew not whither, but she was assured the child was gone into the woods upon a poor woman's back, hoping to make an escape. Instantly upon her words, I caused the drums to beat, and put my men all in arms, laying hand of all the gentlemen of the country whom I thought to love McMorris, protesting to them a deep revenge, if by their means I did not recover the child. They fell all much amazed, and at last desired me they might have but conference with the priest. I granted it to them. The priest upon much urging made confession that the child was made away by his own appointment, but protested and kneeled down to me that, unless I would promise him the child's life and his own, he would sacrifice himself to all tortures I could devise to inflict upon him, before he would tell the way he was gone. Finding him so devilishly bent, and the time far spent, it being almost night, in hope by his means to get the child, I granted it him. Before this conversation with this priest, I had sent two hundred of my foot in six parts divided to search all the woods between that and Carrickfoyle, but, in conclusion, the priest promised me, if I would go with him myself, fearing lest the soldiers should offer violence to the child, he would bring me where he was. I took with me 100 soldiers, and bound himself, and went along afoot, for no horse could go that damnable way where he was hidden. After the marching of some six or eight mile[s] in the vilest way that ever man went, we happened upon him, and the poor woman with him, in a little cave in the ground, in that fashion as I told your Lordship before, stark naked.

"I have been tedious to your Lordship in the relation, but the scandal of losing him in that fashion I would have chosen to have avoided with the loss of mine head; but now he and I both are at your Lordship's service, my self especially."—1600, December 5.



1600.

[*Postscript.*] —“The wars of these parts, for your Lordship’s honour, I have laboured to bring to an end. I do seek to satisfy none in it but your Lordship, and now it is finished. I hope your Lordship will account of me no worse than before, though by that means my occupation grows to decay.” *Holograph.* pp. 4.

Dec. 6.  
Dublin.

61. Sir Griffin Markham to Sir Robert Cecil. “By reason of some accidents that happened in our last day’s fight, I was left at Carlingford at the least fourteen days, which caused me to neglect my professed duty in writing the occurrents of the last part of our journey.” Will hereafter be careful to make no more omissions. His stay at Carlingford was so sudden, that he had scarcely time to entreat the Lord Deputy for “some place which he assuredly promised and withal protested I should be the first cared for. Yet notwithstanding at my arrival here I found three, all cased in the same kind, restored, and myself not thought on.” Upon this he went to the Lord Deputy intending to take leave, and to ask for his Lordship’s letter to Sir Robert on his behalf. The Lord Deputy excused his forgetfulness, and asked wherein he might give him satisfaction. Markham asked for the first companies of horse and foot, and to be nominated to the first government that should fall by accident or be established. All this it pleased his Lordship to grant, and he also promised his letter to Sir Robert, whensoever Markham went to England. This he means speedily to do, having no command in Ireland. Will attribute any favour he receives to Sir Robert. Will go wherever he shall dispose of him, and doubts not to find many, “and those not of the insufficientest,” desirous to go with him.—Dublin, December 6. *Endorsed:—1600. Signed. Seal.* p. 1.

Dec. 6.  
Dublin.

62. Mulroney O’Carroll to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the cast of hawks long kept by his brother, Sir Charles O’Carroll, for Sir Robert. Promises better ones against the beginning of the next season. Thanks for the letter in his favour brought over by his cousin Lye from the Privy Council.—Dublin, 1600, December 6. *Signed with a mark.* p. 1.

Dec. 7.  
Clonmell.

63. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. “At such times as my nephews, Piers and James Butler, sons to my brother Sir Edmund, were in action, I caused their brother Theobald (being then of tender years and a scholar with the Bishop of Ossory) to be committed to Her Majesty’s Castle of Dublin, there to be safe kept, lest by ill counsel he might be drawn to join with his brethren in that unnatural action, as formerly I have written unto you. And forasmuch as he is not to be charged with any undutifulness, I earnestly pray you to be a mean for his liberty, the rather for that he may be a help unto me to do Her Majesty service, now that he is of ripe years, and able to be employed in the same.”—Clonmell, 1600, December 7. *Signed.* p. 1.

Dec. 8.

64. A note of such ships as are and have been entertained in pay at Lough Foyle, whereof two remain to preserve the victuals and munition, for want of storehouses for the same ashore.

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The two ships discharged are the *Peter* of Drogheda and the *Hoy* of Dublin. The two remaining are *The Grace of God* of Newcastle and the *Samaritan* of London. *Endorsed* :—1600, December 8. p. 2.

Dec. 10.

65. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England. "For the particularity of our services here, I desired Sir Oliver St. John to wait on your Lordship, to impart so much as he knew before his departure, and since desired him to do the like of what I had written to him by Mr. Treasurer, being loath to trouble your Lordship with a long discourse thereof, which perchance might not be worthy the detaining of you from your more weighty business. But upon my return, although I found the rebels generally dismayed and broken in the confidence of their own strength, yet I found so great inconvenience in the want of treasure, whereof we were utterly destitute, that I found it impossible for me to intend a present prosecution in such sort as I desired, nor so much as to find means to relieve our poor hurt and sick soldiers, who with a little cherishing at the first would have been soon again enabled; whereas many of them since, even for mere want, have perished. And now very lately, there being some treasure arrived, endeavouring with the advice of the Council here to make such a dividend thereof as might longest keep us from want, by appointing such as were to be possibly relieved with victuals, to live only thereon, and the rest with money, we found that the money borrowed for former charges being deducted, it will hardly serve us for one month, after which, if we be not relieved, we shall again find unavoidable difficulties to do the service we all desire. But in the mean time I will not bridle, and desire God to enable me to send you word of some happy success of our endeavours.

"I will not go about to impart unto your Lordship my full conceit of the present estate of this kingdom, which I find I can hardly do in such sort as I would by writing, which hath made me so earnest a suitor to have leave to come over, either by some courses which I think might be taken, to be enabled to give Her Majesty a better account of her great charge here, or else to be delivered of so heavy a burthen, as to be counted the unprofitable expender of so much treasure. But if your Lordship did see the present face of the affairs in this country, you would judge it much altered from the countenance it bare at my first coming; and there be few rebels in Ireland that have not already made means to me in another style than they were wont, from the chief traitor himself even to the meanest of them. But for himself, I do not think him fit to be hearkened unto; and for the rest, I stand with them upon the service they will first do to deserve Her Majesty's grace. Yet these people, if they be not well followed, will soon take heart again, and, if they be not followed, none shall be more sorry for it than myself to lose so fair opportunity to do my mistress so great a service. And yet I doubt not to make it appear that the fault shall not be in me. I must still continue a thankful remembrance how much I esteem myself bound unto your Lordship for the

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many honourable favours you have vouchsafed me." [*Postscript.*] Recommends the bearer, Captain Blessington, as "a very sufficient, careful, and honest man."—December 10. *Endorsed* :—1600. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.*

Dec. 10.  
Dublin.

66. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "The Treasurer, at his repair thither, carried with him a report of the estate of this government, and how things stood there both for martial and civil affairs. To whose despatch little is to be added for matters happened since, other than the taking in of Donnell Spainagh, who, upon his submission, hath delivered his son as pledge for his loyalty. It was to good purpose to take him in, for that, by separating him from the rest, there is a way made (if he stand firm) to break the main knot of this strong confederacy in Leinster, which with force could not be done in many years before. For he being a capital man drawn from them, the Lord Deputy may with an easier hand scatter the residue, when he shall set upon them, which I think his Lordship will do ere it be long, now that the army hath had a time to be refreshed, and I hope the action will be short, if the prosecution be sharp. I dare make no assurance of his continuing in obedience, till time make it good, and his own actions; for, to a man so far gone in treason, it is not the trial of a day or a month that can decipher his inward heart, having run so long a degenerate course in his outward doings. But, if he stand fast, I doubt not but others of the combination will seek by his example to make their peace apart, whereby the rebellion of Leinster falling into declining, the Lord Deputy may with more safety abate the army to a lesser list, and so ease Her Majesty's present charges.

"The treasure arrived here three days past, and nine or ten barks with victuals, both those helps falling upon us, as it were, at one instant, which is a presage of the well prevailing of the service, for that out of those two comforts the soldier is thoroughly relieved, and no occasion left him to murmur or complain of wants.

"Connor Roe Maguire, who ought to be Maguire, being expelled his country by Tyrone, is withdrawn hither, and Tyrone hath put up another Maguire of a contrary faction, who now usurpeth the country. Yet Connor Roe's son, being prisoner with Tyrone, and escaping from him, hath made a party in the country against the usurper, and in a late skirmish hath taken prisoner Cormack McBaron's son, being commander there in chief under Tyrone. The prisoner is now brought to this castle of Dublin, being the best pledge upon Cormack, and the second best pledge upon Tyrone himself. We are now in hand to return Connor Roe and his son into their country, with some help of men at half-pay, the better to enable him to recover the country, and to curb the O'Reillys and McMahons, between whose two countries he lieth. But the secret purpose of sending him thither with some small means from the State is, that he may take opportunities to entangle O'Donnell and Tyrone severally, against whom he may be a good instrument by the aptness of his country, and to carry correspondence with the forces at Lough Foyle. Connor Roe hath made suit to the State to



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surrender his country to Her Majesty, and to take it again by some English tenures and limitations. But here is no warrant to pass such a grant, and therefore, to content him in the meanwhile, the State is determined to give him under the Great Seal a *custodiam* of his country, till warrant may come from Her Majesty to perfect a further grant. Of this I think the Lord Deputy and Council will write more particularly by the next despatch, and this is but in the meanwhile to give your Honour a forenotice of it.”—Dublin, 1600, December 10. *Signed.* pp. 2.

Dec. 11.  
Dublin.

67. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. “I will forbear to write to you of the estate of things here, until I hear farther from you, for of long time I have not received your pleasures, and my desire and hope is to be the relator of it myself; but in the meantime I will endeavour to make the uttermost use I can of Her Majesty’s forces. Only being importuned by Sir Arthur Savage, in respect of his own urgent occasions, to give him leave to go over, having continued here so long, I could not with any reason deny him, but refer unto their Lordships whether they think it fit to continue such as upon their own private business require some time for the dispatch thereof. Although in general I must say that it hath pleased their Lordships to allow the like in all other wars; as namely, by their instructions, as I remember, in the Low Countries, every Captain may be licensed for two months in the year. And in particular I cannot but recommend this gentleman to have deserved very well, both here and in his former services to Her Majesty. The relation of his own province I leave to himself, wherein I must do him this right, that he hath carried himself with very good sufficiency. He hath desired me to have as his deputy Sir John Barkley, who, I presume, will discharge the place to the uttermost that can be expected from him, for he is a very worthy gentleman, and hath commanded in good places. I pray, Sir, let Sir Arthur know that I have been willing to do him right unto you.”—Dublin, 1600, December 11. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Dec. 11.  
Dublin.

68. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Council to the Privy Council. “Amongst some other things to be remembered since our last despatch, we have thought good by this to acquaint your Lordships with the present condition of Connor Roe Maguire, and with our purpose to make use of him for Her Majesty’s service, as well in Fermanagh as in other Irish countries adjacent. By the death of the late Maguire slain in Munster, this Connor Roe stands to be chief of that country, and by right we think we ought to have it, as he is most worthy of it, for that he seeketh to receive it from Her Majesty, where another of that sept is raised to the place by the traitor Tyrone, and by him maintained as a party against this man. And besides, his coming in to Her Majesty freely, without condition, and his son kept in strait prison by Tyrone as a pledge for his father, yet that son, making an escape from Tyrone, hath of late done good service against the usurper of the country, where he hath slain sundry of them, and taken prisoner Cormack McBaron’s

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eldest son, who commanded there in chief under Tyrone. This prisoner, though he might have had for him a very great and large ransom, yet upon means made to him by me the Deputy, he hath very faithfully delivered him here to the Castle of Dublin, being in our knowledge one of the best pledges in Ulster. In consideration of which service, we have gratified his son with a small recompense of fifty pounds in money, to buy him arms and other furniture, and have dismissed him into his country, to work the followers as much as he can against the usurper in the mean while, that his father may be sent after him, who having made unto us probable offers to do service, as well in the Brenny as upon the McMahons, if he were a little enabled and countenanced from the State, we have to that end given him 150 foot and 25 horse at half pay, which as we did both in respect of the present purpose of service to be had of him, and to encourage him and others by his example, so this charge is but provisional, and to be withdrawn from him when we shall see cause, neither shall it continue longer than according his further deserts in service. Only he hath instantly pressed us to pass unto him his country, that he might hold it after an English manner, with some reasonable limitations and provisions, indifferent for Her Majesty and him, a matter which we think very requisite, in respect of his own deserts, and other good consequences depending thereupon. And therefore, if your Lordships shall give allowance of him in this course, we pray your Lordships to procure Her Majesty's warrant therein, whereby we have power to pass to him such a grant of his country under the Great Seal of this realm, as we shall think requisite for Her Majesty's service, and to content him; which warrant we desire may be sent with all possible speed, for that, till it come, he will remain here, to the end he may return into his country thoroughly invested by Her Majesty's letters patent, which it seemeth he esteemeth more than any other thing.

"Donnell Spainagh hath been lately here, and, upon his submission, hath desired Her Majesty's pardon, which we have granted to him, having received for assurance of his loyalty one of his sons, who is in the Castle, and another of his sons is to remain in the city of Dublin, to be brought up at school. His submission was voluntary, not tied to any conditions, though afterwards he preferred some demands touching old claims to lands, and other duties, for which he offereth to be ordered by the censure of the Council table, or such other Commissioners as we shall appoint, whereupon he is returned into his country, with promise to do service, and continue a firm subject to Her Majesty though we dare not as yet make any settled assurance of him, till time have made a further trial of his doings.

"The fort of Maryborough is revictualled by the Marshal without any resistance, and now we are in hand to do the like to Philips-town, which are the two things that I the Deputy have specially projected to be done since my return from the north; and now (God willing) I will see what I can do to rouse these traitors of Leinster, after a while that the companies that came out of the north shall be refreshed."—Dublin, 1600, December 11.

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[*Postscript.*] “Here is one Iriel Omalaughlin, chief of his name, now taken in, who desireth to receive his country as Maguire doth, and therefore (if your Lordships so like of it), it were good the Queen’s warrant were for those two in particular, and generally for others of the Irishry, that should seek to have a state of their countries from Her Majesty in this manner, with such reservations and provisions as we should think meet for Her Majesty’s service, and to tie them faster to their loyalty. O’Malaughlin’s country is in the furthest parts of Westmeath, towards Athlone, which, being brought back again to obedience, will be a good mean to secure all the tract between Mullingar and Athlone.” *Signed.* pp. 2.

Dec. 12.  
Dublin.

69. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. To hasten the authority for passing to Maguire and others grants of their countries by letters patent. Maguire “first came in upon no conditions, and although he were put from the chieftery of the country by Tyrone, yet he did and might have enjoyed a great part of the country, and possessed much goods, which he quit. At that time two of his sons were pledges with the traitor. The eldest brake from him at the Faugher, when we lay in camp, and came to me in the Moyerie. Both the father and son served exceeding forwardly. The father had his horse killed under him, and the son was seen to kill two or three with his own hands. From thence the son went into Fermanagh, where presently a great part of the country joined with him, and he with them performed many good services, and diverted all the force of that country and of Cormack from assisting Tyrone at our return. In one of his conflicts he took Cormack’s eldest son, a young man of the greatest hope in all the north, whom it is thought they meant to choose O’Neill after this man, and a better pledge than any of Tyrone’s sons. I can assure you Maguire might have made with him what conditions he could have desired, and it was beyond all expectation that ever he did deliver him, but the father ever told me his son should bring him unto me alive or dead, which he hath honestly performed with great hazard, to convey him through the rebels’ country hither. The old man is the only honest Irishman that I have yet found since my coming hither, and believe me, Sir, the wisest man that I have known of his nation. I think with a little help he will be established in his country, which if he be, I think he will be as available to the service as a garrison of a thousand. In the only service of bringing Cormack’s son he hath deserved very well, for I can assure you there would be two thousand pounds given for his ransom.

“Farther, Sir, I find in the petition exhibited by the Lords and gentlemen of the Pale that, beside divers requests wherein we have laboured to give them all satisfaction, they move to have some of this country of the Council here, wherein I can give them no other contentment but in humbly delivering to Her Majesty by you what I think. And yet, because I may err in my present opinion I desire that I may not be charged with the consequence of this counsel. It is true that I think myself highly injured by the country, and in particular by their agents, that by their manner of



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complaint have laid an imputation upon me of doing or suffering wrong to be done, the contrary whereof is my chief scope and greatest ambition; and seeing they could not but perceive but that I did, as much as any Governor, labour to do them right, but without any spleen, I think it fit that this table were strengthened both with respect and sufficiency, and not amiss that some of this country were members thereof. My Lord of Howth is a gentleman well regarded, and as I think very well affected, and Sir Patrick Barnewell of as good sufficiency; in the which point I desire very much in your choice to be relieved, for here is matter for the strongest wits, and, except I be the simplest of them all, that I can judge nothing, we have not so many wise men amongst us as you think. I do know the string that I could touch to draw them all my ways, and to make some use (if I were privately bent) of their weakness; but I have prefixed to myself constantly this end, to effect the public good of this country, wherein I could be well content with better assistance than I have, especially with such as, for a time at least, would forget their own private ends.”—1600, December 12. *Endorsed*:—From Dublin. *Holograph*. pp. 2.

Dec. 12.  
Dublin.

70. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Touching the grant to him of Clontarf. The conduct of George King, the lessee. “He spake in a rude and high style against me, saying that he would never acknowledge me for his landlord, nor pay me rent, with other words of great stomach, such as I might take great advantage of by law, if I would seek that course.” Offers of arrangement made to King. His obstinacy. At length Fenton brought an action of ejectment against him, and the action is now *coram judice*. Since the term, King petitioned the Lord Deputy to have the cause revoked from the law, and judged at the Council table. “The Lord Deputy and the whole table thought not meet to change the course, but remitted him to the trial of the law, ordering unto him one of my counsel, who had taken my fee, and was made privy to the secrets of my cause; to the which I agreed for quietness sake, though I saw how much it was to my disadvantage to lose a man, in whom I did specially repose the whole estate of my cause.” Sends this true declaration, lest King should slip over, or some other for him, to seduce the Privy Council with contrary informations. Begs Sir Robert to favour his cause, Clontarf “being the recompense of my twenty-two years’ service spent in this cursed land.” To verify his good meaning the more, “I am content, notwithstanding all his rude behaviours towards me, to abide the arbitrament of two chosen by him and two for me, and the ‘umperage’ to be left to the three Judges of the realm, or any other that the Lord Deputy shall appoint, for I had rather buy my quietness at first than maintain a long quarrel for it.” His devotion to Sir Robert; *cui multum debeo, ei plurimum cupio debere*.—Dublin, 1600, December 12.

[*Postscript*.] King pretends to be the Lord Treasurer’s man. Would not write to his Lordship until he had first acquainted Sir Robert with the case. “And yet I know his Lordship is of an honourable sincerity, rather to countenance the Queen’s gift towards

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a faithful servitor, than to support a wicked malignant Papist, under colour that he is a foreign retainer to his Lordship, and hath sundry ways dishonoured him by his ill dealings both there and here.”  
*Endorsed* :—Received at Whitehall, 28 December. *Signed*. pp. 2.

Dec. 13.  
 Whitehall.

71. Abstract of the contract made between the Privy Council and John Wood, victualler for the forces in the province of Munster. The victuals are for 3,250 men for two months; two parts to be sent to Limerick, and one part to Cork.—Whitehall, 1600, December 13. p. 1.

Dec. 15.

72. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. “Since the writing of my last letters unto you by Sir Arthur Savage, he hath been driven back from the sea, and with the same wind Sir Oliver St. John is arrived. I do defer to return the humble and thankful acceptance I make to my infinite comfort and encouragement, of Her Majesty[’s] especial grace, and of their Lordships’ most honourable favours unto me, that must acknowledge myself much unworthy of the satisfaction it hath pleased them to make me, although I held myself bound as near as I could to leave them unsatisfied in nothing, until Sir Oliver St. John’s return, who desireth that it may be shortly, at what time I will make you as particular an account as I can of the estate of all things here. In the mean time I am bending all my spirits to make the war of Leinster; only to yourself I will conclude with this addition, which I had forgot to insert in my last letter, though I meant it, that my letters may not give you any farther occasion to trouble yourself with any farther satisfaction to me, that do not repent anything I have written unto you, because I have received thereby so good reason to do that which I have an exceeding desire to do, to love you both with confidence and contentment, and only desire you not to impute any jealousy of mine to an inbred humour of suspicion, from the which I know myself to be more free than any man, nor to any light belief of flying tales, by which I know no man more wronged than myself, and therefore I have the less reason to believe them of others; but moved thereunto by some speeches especially I received from the bringer of the packet, unto whom I might think you would speak with more poignancy and confidence than to many others. But, if all the offices you may look [for] from an honest man may assure you of my true affection and service, I beseech you, Sir, to be assured that I will not in anything undervalue your favours.”—[1600,] December 15. *Holograph*. p. 1.

Dec. 15.  
 Mallow.

73. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. “I have received from you (being then at Limerick) two letters, the one concerning the cashiered company converted to the maintenance of the Earl of Desmond, dated the 10th of November, the other of the 29th of October, concerning Captain Grymes; and, since that, a third letter, bearing date the 25th of August, in the behalf of the Lady Norreys, the contents of every of which shall be satisfied according your Lordships’ commandments.

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“By the last despatch unto your Lordships, sent by a gentleman appertaining to myself, called Edward Phitton, dated the 25th of October and 2nd of November, I related unto you the estate of this province, as then it stood ; and now in these will account unto your Lordships in what sort it now resteth. Having intelligence (which after proved false) that the enemy with 1,600 foot and 300 horse assembled out of Leinster were entering into this province, I gathered the better part of Her Majesty’s forces here to a head, but being on my way at Kilmallock (understanding the contrary that those that were come into the province were not above 400 and retreated), did think it meet to spend some time to the best purpose I might before the companies were dissolved. In consideration whereof, finding it expedient for the furtherance of Her Majesty’s service that sessions of gaol delivery should be as often held as might stand with conveniency, to inure the people unto the ordinary civil course of justice, with the which of late they have not been accustomed, the 18th of November I departed from Kilmallock towards Limerick, where I kept sessions. From thence I went to Cashel, where likewise for the county of Cross I held another, and thirdly the like at Clonmell, for the county palatine of Tipperary, where I met with the Earl of Ormonde, whose weak estate I wish were answerable to his willing desires to advance the services. Soon after his coming thither (having intelligence of the Countess[’s] death) he returned infinitely grieved, and (I fear) will not tarry long behind her. During this time of my being abroad, which was from the 17th of November until the 13th of this instant, the day of my return to Mallow, having in my company the better part of the army of Munster as aforesaid, no time was omitted to prosecute our fugitive traitors, or to plague their relievers. For James Fitz Thomas and his few associates (who walk but by night in places of strength, not having either power or courage to appear openly in any part of this province) are now harboured only by pretended subjects ; wherefore to the terror of others, and to take all means away to relieve traitors in these parts of Munster during my time of being abroad (as aforesaid), I have burned all the corn and houses, and taken all the cattle in Owhny O’Mulrian and Killequige, a strong country, not far from Limerick. The like hath been done in Muskerryquirk and Aherlo, inhabited by Bourkes and Brians, so as in none of these places they can now have further relief. In this time, by a boy of James Fitz Thomas (who chanced to be taken prisoner) a part of the army was guided into the woods of Kil-Barry (part of Drumfinnin, adjoining Sir Walter Raleigh[’s] lands), directly upon James Fitz Thomas[’s] cabin, supposing he had been there, but, the cry being raised in the country, he made a narrow escape, as also the Romish Bishop Cragh, who, being clothed in a simple churl’s habit, passed unknown, the soldiers pitying so poor a creature ; but the corn and houses ran the like fortune of the fastness aforesaid. In these services very few of ours, but many of their people, weaponed men and others, have fallen by the sword, and I doubt not but the order which I have left, and the sureties which I have taken, in all those places (being the chief receptacles of traitors) is such and so good, as that in them hereafter they shall be debarred relief. For the



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getting of James Fitz Thomas, living or dead, no mean hath been left unassayed that (in my judgment) was thought probable; but seeing neither promise nor reward, nor yet love unto the young Earl, can move these people to serve the Queen, or to free themselves from trouble, this last course of burning and spoiling underhand relievers of traitors I do mean to continue, laying heavy inflictions upon them, in hope thereby at the last for their own ease to enforce them to do service upon them. James Fitz Thomas is never accompanied with above two persons, rests in no one place a whole night, dares not trust Piers Lacy, or few or none of his associates, but sequesters himself from them all; which fearful life he resolves to hold, until he may be aided out of the other provinces, whereof (if the north be in those terms as is here reported but better known to your Lordships) I hope his hopes will fail him. John Fitz Thomas (brother to James) is now with Tyrone, soliciting that business. If he bring many (which I wish he may do if he bring any), the country is so unable to relieve them, as of necessity they must perish if the aids be small. I hope to yield your Lordships a good account of their heads.

"In my last unto your Lordships, I wrote that Florence McCarthy had submitted himself, and for his security hath left two pledges in my hands until his eldest son were brought unto me, who being visited with sickness, unable to be removed, is for a time forborne, so as he yet resteth upon his said two pledges. In the same I did likewise report unto your Lordships that the castle called Castlemaine in Kerry was by Thomas Oge (Constable to James Fitz Thomas) to be delivered up unto the Earl of Desmond, which is now accordingly effected, and a Constable for Her Majesty placed by me therein.

"The day I left Mallow, being the 17th of the last, Sir Charles Wilmot, with the forces he hath in Kerry, sat down before the Castle of Listowell (McMorris his strongest house), which was victualled for six months at the least, well stored with munition, and sufficiently guarded with a strong ward, being a place without the cannon (as they held it) impregnable. But after sixteen days' siege, one or two mines being made, which failed by reason of the many springs that resorted unto them, they found ground fit for their purpose; and, having wrought under the foundation of the castle walls, into the midst of the seller, and placed their powder ready to give fire, those of the ward in the castle made humble submission upon their knees to have their lives spared. Unto the which although Sir Charles was somewhat unwilling to consent, yet respecting the place, and how fit it is to be kept for Her Majesty, and which otherwise with the powder would have been ruined, did accept of their submission, so as they would simply render themselves unto his mercy; whereunto they gladly yielding, he presently executed nine, himself having lost the like number at the siege. The rest (if his promise be no further engaged than yet I understand of) I have given direction to be in like sort executed. In the said castle (unknowing (*sic*) to Sir Charles) was the eldest son of McMorris, a child of five years old, carried out stark naked, and all over smeared with dirt, in a poor rag at a woman's back, like a beggar's child, and by that means for the present made an escape;

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but afterward, by the good industry and endeavour of Sir Charles (when the same came to his knowledge), he so sifted the matter as he recovered the infant, who by the woman that carried him forth was conveyed six miles off into a wood almost impassable, and there kept with herself in a cave under the ground. This escape of the child was practised by a priest, called Sir Dermott McBready, who was then in the castle, and could not be induced, for fear of torture or otherwise, to discover the same, until Sir Charles was enforced to give promise that both their lives should be spared. The priest and child I have sent for, out of whom my hope is to wring some good matter towards the advancement of Her Majesty's services. McMorris himself is made a fugitive, and associates Piers Lacy, having with them both not full 100 rogues, and now they, seeing themselves beaten out of the fastnesses (which as aforesaid I have burned and ransacked) are fled into Ormonde, where (if they cannot procure Redmond Burke to join with them to raise a new head), they purpose (as I understand) to pass into Ulster, to attend Tyrone's leisure, until he shall be able to give them aid.

"The Knight of the Valley (as James FitzThomas) leads a poor life, shrouded under the favour of pretended subjects; who (when I may understand what they be), shall pay well for their kindness. By him, McMorris, and Piers Lacy, I am daily solicited, to receive them into Her Majesty's mercy, but (without service meriting so great a favour) I do yet reject them, and so will do, unless I be from your Lordships otherwise commanded. To hold these men in this low and poor estate I know to be within my power; nevertheless, it is very probable that they may for a long time continue that manner of life, by reason of the favour, which generally is borne them by the country, and, so long as they shall live there, will evermore continue a hope of new flames in this province. For fear whereof Her Majesty shall be enforced to keep a strong garrison against a weak enemy. Wherefore, for the more speedy determining of Her Majesty's charge, if these three last recited men (whom with James and John FitzThomas I have hitherto for example's sake left as children of perdition) will be humble suitors for safeties of their lives, and desirous to put in good security for their future loyalties, and leave their lands and inheritances at Her Majesty's disposition, under reformation of your Lordships' more grave judgments, I think it were not amiss (upon condition of life only) to receive them, for otherwise the gaining of their heads will be purchased at too dear a rate. But for James and John FitzThomas (who have as well by act as writing declared themselves so infamous traitors) I do think that no pain or charge can be ill bestowed for the extinguishing of them. This is but a project of mine own, not knowing whether they price their lives so far beyond their lands, but, if they should become suitors in that form, I do humbly beseech your Lordships that for this particular I may understand your further pleasure. For the meriting of their lives and lands by any service upon James FitzThomas, or otherwise, I am yet altogether hopeless.

"There is not at this present (I thank God for it) any one castle or hold within this province of Munster, that is kept against Her Majesty, and all those which I have taken are guarded without increase of charge to Her Highness; only the castle of the Glan (being a place of that great importance) hath for the Constable an

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extraordinary pay of 2s. 6d. *per diem*. The rest of the warders (in number 20) are parcel of a company; and such as are not guarded by soldiers are left in the hands of such (upon good recognizances) as will be assured at all times safely to re-deliver them.

“Albeit that in this relation it appears there are no other rebels in this province than these five above recited, and such as follow them; yet that your Lordships may the more clearly understand the state of the same, there are divers other loose men of meaner quality dispersed in every part thereof, for whom no man undertakes, and live only by night spoils, to the disquieting of the good subjects, which kind of life they willingly continue, not knowing how to live like subjects, and therefore do withhold themselves from being entered into, or undertaken for, by any others’ books. These vagabonds are evermore the relics of these rebellions, apt to join with any that shall continue these broils, and cannot either presently be banished or extirped, but the reducing and shortening of them must be done by time, wherein my uttermost endeavours shall not be wanting.

“In all my former letters unto your Lordships I have written evermore doubtfully of the relapsing of the late protectees in this province, of whose faith in hearts unto Her Majesty, and soundness to the State, I am yet no better persuaded than heretofore. Nevertheless, by observations which I have lately collected, I am now more confident in opinion of their remaining in subjection than before, verily believing that those which now have put in security, will not start into new rebellion, but will (at the least) remain externally subjects, unless Spain invade us; and that although Tyrone, and the other parts of Ireland, do infest Munster with bonnaughts, that none of any quality, but those aforementioned, which are kept out, will personally assist them. So, on the other side, better than neutrals I cannot account them; yet, notwithstanding, I dare boldly conclude that with the forces which are now in Munster (albeit they are diminished in list, 500 foot; namely, of Sir Henry Power’s, 200, returned into Leinster; 100 discharged for the earl of Desmond; 150 discharged by the Lord Deputy’s commandment out of mine own company, the Earl of Thomond’s, and the Lord Audley’s; and 50 which from the beginning were never turned over unto me), I will (by the help of God, against all the rebels of Ireland) hold this province in good terms for Her Majesty. And if the Lord Deputy shall please at any time to command 1,000 foot more from hence to serve for a time in Leinster, or places adjoining, I doubt not but to be able to spare them, humbly craving the favour for countenance sake (because these provincials may know that there is power remaining at my commandment to keep them under), that those 1,000 may continue as part of my list, and be returned when the needful service is ended.”—Mallow, 1600, December 15.

[*Postscript.*] “Before the perclosing of this letter, I had certain intelligence brought me, that McMorris, the Knight of (the) Valley, and Piers Lacy have left Ormonde, and are gone into Ulster, having in their company sixteen horses and hackneys, and fifty foot, in confident opinion to return with great supplies.” *Signed.*  
pp. 5.



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Dec. 15.  
Mallow.74. Copy of the preceding, certified by Sir George Carew.—  
Mallow, 1600, December 15. *pp.* 5.Dec. 16.  
Mallow.

75. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. "When I was last at Limerick, Dermott O'Connor (brother-in-law to the Earl of Desmond), hearing of his arrival, being desirous to see him, and (as he pretended unto me) to do Her Majesty some acceptable service, did by his letters humbly entreat me to grant him a safe-conduct for himself and his men, to come out of Connaught into this province unto me. I, having good hope by his means to effect a good design upon the traitors, yielded to his request, and for his better security (because my power extends not beyond the limits of my government) did procure several passes from Sir Arthur Savage, the Governor there, and the Earl of Clanrickarde, by whose permissions he was to pass. Being upon his journey in the Earl of Clanrickarde's country, within sixteen miles of Limerick (where then I was), and having sent towards him a convoy of soldiers for his safety through Thomond, before they could come unto him, Tibbott Ne Longe (in a pretended revenge of the Lord Burke, formerly slain in skirmish by Dermott O'Connor, he mistrusting no ill measure in that country, and specially by any that was in Her Majesty's pay) with a great force assailed him upon the sudden, his men to the number of 150 being dispersed at cess in villages adjoining. Of those which were with him, some were slain, himself taken prisoner and hanged, and his head cut off and sent to Galway. This murder so foully committed (besides the indignity done unto the Queen, wherein her word was violated) I fear will prove to be a great impeachment to the service. While Dermott was in rebellion, he received no harm by Tibbott, or any other of the Irish companies in Connaught; but now that they thought him sure to the State, to keep garboyles on foot, which is their desire to continue themselves in wages, it was held necessary, as well to cut him off, in regard that by his service the quiet of Munster should be better established, as also to put fear in others, how hereafter they should dare to trust Her Majesty's protections. More than this slaughter of Dermott and his men, I know not of one day's service that Tibbott Ne Longe hath performed; wherefore how well such a Captain deserves to be continued in Her Majesty's pay, I humbly refer to your Lordships' wisdoms. But of his being conversant with the rebels, and his men mixing themselves with them against Her Majesty's good subjects, an example thereof was seen this last summer in Thomond, at the spoil whereof with O'Donnell many of his men, which were under his leading, and in the Queen's pay, were actors. By letters which I have received from the Earl of Clanrickarde, it appears that his Lordship is highly offended with this fact, the copy whereof, together with copies of Tibbott Ne Longe's letters to the Earls of Clanrickarde and Thomond, I send you herewith. I humbly pray your Lordships, for the respects aforesaid, that you will be pleased to write unto the Lord Deputy, that some such order may be taken therein, as the world may be possessed that Her Majesty is not pleased her protections should be infringed by subjects, and especially by those that are in Her Highness[']s pay.

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“During my abode in the said town, I had intelligence that one Mary O’Shee, the Countess of Desmond’s woman (who served her at and ever since the rebellion of her husband, and in whom she reposes her greatest trust) was come thither. But I, suspecting her errand to be no other than to come to see the young Earl, took no knowledge of the same in three days’ space, to see whether the Earl would acquaint me with such letters or messages as he should receive from his mother. At the third day’s end, the Earl told me that presently then, before his coming unto me, he had seen the party, but not before. I replied, it was no news to me to know that she was in the town, but prayed him to tell me what her errand was. He answered that she came with letters to his sisters, and especially directed to his sister the Lady Joan, only (as she said) to see them; but unto him she neither brought letter, message, or token. Whereupon I, suspecting some other special cause of her coming, being (as she is) so necessary a servant to the Countess, commanded her to come before me and the Council, where upon her examination (which and the Lady Joan’s with this I send unto your Lordships) she confessed that she had brought letters from the Countess unto her daughters Joan and Ellen, to her sister married to the Archbishop of Cashel’s son, and to one Sexton, a porter of the suburbs’ gate in the base town in Limerick, near the lodgings where the ladies lay; and that the special point of her errand was to convey the Lady Joan to her mother, unto whom O’Donnell had promised to consummate a marriage. To hasten this lady away, she had brought another letter written from O’Donnell to O’Connor Sligo, the copy whereof (with the other copies) your Lordships shall also herewith receive. This marriage with O’Donnell she pretends was contracted by the Countess, to the end to reduce him to subjection; but by the same it appears that there was nothing less meant but, as I suppose and the rest of the Council, it can be to no other end intended than to kindle a new fire in this province. We likewise examined the Lady Joan and her sister the Lady Ellen. The latter of them we found to be wholly ignorant in this business; but the Lady Joan confessed her knowledge, but yet that she never intended any such matter without the consent of her brother, whom (*sic*), in my conscience (and so is the Council here persuaded) is a mere stranger to the practice. For in discovering of the same he shewed as much diligence and dexterity as he could, being grievously offended with his mother, that would deal in a business of this weight, and so nearly tending to his subversion, if it should proceed. Having a great part of the army then with me, and resolved upon those services which in my other letter herewith is expressed, I could not for want of time deal further in this matter, but presently committed the Lady Joan prisoner in an Alderman’s house in Limerick, and Mary O’Shee close prisoner in the gaol, till leisure better serve for further examination thereof.

“In most of my letters from time to time I have advertised your Lordships of the stubborn and corrupt dealing of the magistrates and inhabitants in corporate towns, and how that, by their traitorly issuing of their commodities into the country, the rebellion hath been most nourished. For partly out of malice to the State for religion’s cause, but especially for their own lucre (for that in

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turbulent times they receive the Queen's treasure expended amongst them, issue their merchandises to the rebels underhand at excessive rates, and buy the country commodities at their own prices), they desire nothing more than a continual war, enriching themselves more in one of those years than in seven others, as may appear by all outward shews in buildings and many other things, besides their known wealth. They now, seeing a peace establishing, and fearing to be called to account for their former transgressions, or for some other hidden causes to them known, have in their towns (which hath not been usual) made choice of professed lawyers to be their magistrates, and such as before time were ringleaders of their corporations; namely, in Cork, John Meade, a man known to your Lordships, and whom of late you have justly reprov'd; in Limerick, one Geffrey Galway, son unto the agent of that town, and now attending your Lordships, since whose coming from the Inns of Court the inhabitants thereof have run into all those disorders, wherewith your Lordships have been so often troubled, and hath been the special man that hath wrought their forbearing to come to the Church, which formerly they were accustomed to do; in Waterford, one Edward Gough, who is far more tractable than the two former, but yet savouring of the law; in Cashel, a Portreeve, the profoundest man of learning for the civil law within this kingdom, and as obstinate as learned; in Clonmell, one White, a lawyer, also is Sovereign, but as much Romish as any of the rest [*Sir George Carew has written in the margin:—"the brother of this White is now at Rome, and is a priest."*] Whether the Sovereign of Kinsale be a professed lawyer or no, I do not well know, but that he was brought up at Inns of Court I have been informed. Sure I am he is no merchant. Only the towns of Youghal and Kilmallock excepted (in the which garrisons are perpetually residing) there is not a man of any trade that for this year bears public office in any of the towns. What their purpose is in making the factious tribunes of the people their magistrates, and all in one year in this dangerous time (in the which nothing is more expected than foreign invasion) your Lordships in your wisdoms may judge not to be done out of any loyal disposition. The best that can be made of it, that this choice is made of these selected men, is either to continue them in their obstinacies, or to shift off with evasions the offences which they have committed, or both. To continue these corporations in their pride (whose large charters are only used to defend themselves from doing Her Majesty service, contrary to the meaning of Her Highness and her progenitors, from whom they were derived), I do find by experience that their agents, which are still residing at Court, are the principal instruments of the same, animating the townsmen with their letters, fully promising what great enlargement of their charters they will bring unto them to defend them from their due services. Wherefore I humbly pray your Lordships that you will be pleased to command them away, for their lingering in England doth no good to the State.

"Two days past, a messenger which came from Donogh McCormack (called McDonogh), now prisoner with Tyrone, to his wife, the White Knight's daughter, brought an intelligence that



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Tyrone hath protested upon his salvation, immediately after these Christmas holidays, to send into Munster 2,000 foot and 300 horse, under the command of Magennis, which although it be possible, yet I neither believe nor fear.

"At my late being at Clonmell, I related unto my Lord of Ormonde the great disorders that are continued in his county Palatine, for the dregs of this rebellion only remaineth there, and in that country our fugitive rebels are most or altogether relieved. Whereunto he agreed, and to say truly of his Lordship, I found him very ready to have the same redressed; and because the country of Ormonde is the door into Munster, and in the which Redmond Burke the Omaughers, and the Leinster rebels do continually reside, I offered his Lordship with the companies which I had with me to go into that country, and to clear the same. But his Lordship prayed me to leave that task to himself, and by consent Aherlo and Muskerryquirke were left to me, which I think I have sufficiently harassed, having burned above 400 stacks of corn, most part wheat, and all the houses in them both, which done, the people immediately submitted themselves, and put in their pledges. As for Ormonde, I doubt not but his Lordship will do as much, and that very shortly.

"Whereas in my last despatch to your Lordships, I moved you that Her Majesty might be pleased to grant a general pardon unto the inhabitants of this province, which in like cases heretofore, upon the determining of rebellions, hath been here used; for your Lordships' better satisfaction in the same, now, upon my return to Mallow, I have sent for part of the Council, and the Judges, to have their advice for the penning of the said pardon, with such exemptions as shall be thought most needful. Wherefore, until my next writing, I do humbly pray that stay may be made thereof."—Mallow, 1600, December 16. *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall the 13th of January. *Signed*. pp. 4.

*Encloses*:—

75. i. (a.) Tibbott Burke [*Ne Longe*] to U[lick Burke, Earl of] Clanrickarde. "It happened upon my coming to the country, that I and Dermott O'Connor chanced to be placed about the Gort. I sent to him to take his cess in the other part of the country. He said he would not leave the place for nobody. My men, hearing his hard speeches, set upon him, took himself, and killed some of his men. The next morning I hanged him with such martial law as I had, in the revenge of my good cousin, the Lord Burke and his brother. Therefore, my good Lord, I pray your Honour to send me your Lordship's protection both for myself and all my companions; for I come of purpose to help your Lordship against all men whatsoever; otherwise I humbly take my leave, and will draw to my poor country, and am ready at your Lordship's direction. From the Gort, this present Monday, 1600."

(b.) U[lick Burke, Earl of] Clanrickarde, to Tibbott Burke [*Ne Longe*]. "I do understand that you have yesternight assaulted Dermott O'Connor and his company, which is both a very mighty impeachment of Her Majesty's word, in respect the gentleman had her gracious protection and safe-conduct from

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the Lord President of Munster and the Governor of this province for his safe passage, and a perpetual slander and abuse to me and my posterity, considering the gentleman was cessed in my country and had my word, at my very good Lord the Lord President of Munster's request and the Governor of this province's direction, which I little expected to be by you resisted, but rather imagined your coming into the country to do better service upon Her Majesty's enemies, which are daily breathing to come for us on all sides. But if, in lieu thereof, your service be to murder a gentleman that is drawn for good considerations tending the advancement of Her Majesty's service, condemn her gracious protection which he hath, and offer the Lord President of Munster, the Governor of this province, and myself, the mightiest wrong and abuse that may be, I take it such a course as I do not doubt yourself and your house to be thereby ever overthrown, and everlastingly live hopeless of any favour or kindness of me, except you take such apt and present course as to send the gentleman unto me released, and all the rest of his people, as many as you have in hand of them, with a full restitution of their goods. Otherwise think of me as the greatest enemy you have in the world, which (with the permission of God) I will make you and yours feel, if you urge me thereunto. And so, expecting to see the gentleman with expedition from you without hurt, I leave.—Dorchoway, the 24th of November, 1600."

- (c.) U[lick Burke, Earl of] Clanrickarde to Sir George Carew. "I received your letter touching Dermott O'Connor, and the strange course held with him. Before the receipt thereof, I sent to the actors of the mischief (or murderers as I may more fitly term them), and because the present service so required that myself could not follow to take revenge, I sent a letter, a copy of which and the other's answer I send, but before my letter came they made an end of him. The manner and the actors of it no doubt is and are already delivered to your Lordship by some, and should sooner have been by me, but that I stayed, both to be assured of the full course, and in very truth, if it might be, to have sent a manifest desire of righting so infinite a wrong by pursuing the offenders to my power. Which although therein I have wanted my will, I would be glad your Lordship would conceive that there is no man living more grieved for this than myself, in regard of the doing of it in this country, but most, I protest, by reason of having Her Majesty's gracious protection, and that seen by myself before his parting from me. But, my Lord, because I will not hold you long in so ill a business, I do let you know that Dermott O'Connor was killed by Tibbott Ne Longe Burke, one of Her Majesty's Captains on list, whose son is now pledge in Athlone. Him, my Lord, I would desire your Lordship to prosecute for this to the State, and so will I in the little power I have, to them and in all places, as much as I would any man living. This country, my Lord, is free to all that profess the name of subjects, and chiefly to Her Majesty's Captains; wherein, if they abuse themselves, [I] think they ought chiefly to answer it. And when it shall

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please your Lordship to call it to a higher place, you shall well find both myself and mine as free from this as anyone whomsoever, and as careful and ready to manifest to the world that I do detest this so vile an act done here, as it hath fallen out, no doubt a wrong done to Her Majesty's most sacred word, a blemish to this country and to me, as it shall please the world to judge of it. To conclude, I assure your Lordship that one line from your Lordship had been a sufficient safe-conduct to me, and from me for a better man than Dermott, had you not given him Her Majesty's word; which opinion, as I desire your Lordship of me, so will I always be ready to manifest."—*Loughreogh, 1600, December 2.*

- (d.) Tibbott Burke [*Ne Longe*] to Donogh [O'Brien,] Earl of Thomond. "Upon the traitorous attempts of John Burke's sons, that assemble great forces to the overthrow of my honourable kinsman, the good Earl of Clanrickarde, and all his country, his Honour requested me with my power to come to his aid; the which I have [*? seen*] good to do at his entreaty, and myself and my cousin, Captain Davy Burke, in all haste assembling and gathering together our forces, and having travelled upwards towards Clanrickarde, meaning to rest at Dyridonnell, lying eastward of Galway some six miles' distance, I have been there given to understand that the traitor, Dermott O'Connor, with 150 men well-armed and appointed, was passing the country, and considering between me and my cousin, Captain Davy, of the manifold hurts done by him in the several provinces of the realm against all and every Her Majesty's servitors and subjects, I determined to follow him, and then, after few hours' rest, marched in pursuit of him, and, as my fortune was, met him near the Gortinthigony, and there with all my forces assaulted him, and at length got the victory of him, and slew thirty of his men, and sent his own head to Galway, praying your Honour to do me the favour to acquaint the Lord President with the matter, that he accept of my service therein in good part, and also to excuse me with the honourable Earl of Desmond, lest he should hold any hard conceit of me for the same, in regard of his affinity with him, I having received great disgrace and loss of Dermott by the murder of him committed against and upon the person of my noble cousin the Lord Burke and his brother, and other manifold injuries by him offered."—1600, November 27. Copies certified by Sir George Carew. pp. 3.

75. ii. The examination of Mary Shee, servant to the Countess of Desmond, taken before the Lord President and Council, the 23rd of November, 1600.

"Being examined, she saith that she hath served the Countess the space of twenty years, and that her said Lady, lying sick at Ballymote in Connaught, sent her without pass or protection to her daughters, the daughters of the said Countess, upon a motion of marriage that Hugh O'Donnell, alias O'Donnell, hath made to O'Connor Sligo, husband to the said Countess, to be had between him, the said O'Donnell, and the Lady Joan, one of the daughters of Gerald, late Earl of Desmond. She further saith that she left Ballymote on Thursday last was sevensnight, and



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the last Thursday of all came to the city of Limerick, where ever since she hath continued in the house of James Gromwell, Alderman; and that she brought with her four letters, viz., one written by O'Donnell to O'Connor Sligo, another from the Countess of Desmond to her daughter, the Lady Joan, which two letters she delivered the said Lady the very night she came to Limerick; another letter written by the said Countess to her sister, Katherine Butler, wife to Tirlogh McCragh, which letter Redmond McCragh, his brother, received of her this day; and a fourth letter from the said Countess to Maurice Sexton, porter of the watergate of Limerick, which she delivered to the said Sexton his son, the night she came first hither, and hath since both seen and spoken with the said porter himself. She further confesseth that she hath lately seen O'Donnell two several times with her Lady at Ballymote, and that the substance of her message was to persuade the said Lady to come to her mother, and to be married to O'Donnell, which message when she had delivered to the said Lady, she persuaded her at two several times to accept thereof, alleging that O'Donnell was a great Lord, and very rich, and that if he would prove good, he were a fit marriage for the best lady in the country; whereunto the lady answered she would never marry but with the Queen's friend, and where her brother, the now Earl of Desmond, should like of." Certified by Sir George Carew. pp. 1½.

75. iii. (a.) Duplicate of the preceding, certified by Sir George Carew. p. 1.

(b.) "Interrogations whereupon Mary Shee, servant to the Countess of Desmond, is to be examined for Her Majesty." p. 1.

(c.) "The re-examination of Mary Shee" upon the interrogatories. She enumerates the places she stopped at every night on her journey from Ballymote to Limerick. The boy that went with her had four letters from O'Connor Sligo, addressed to divers persons named. The message she sent back by the boy was, that the Earl of Kildare had made a motion of marriage to the Lady Joan, and that, if that went not forward, the Lady Joan "would think what answer she should make to the motion made in O'Donnell's behalf." Further, "that the Lady Joan would take O'Donnell to husband, so as the Earl her brother, with the Countess her mother, and the Council would consent thereunto." Mary Shee "was to go from Thomond to Clanrickarde, from Clanrickarde to Tibbott Ne Longe, and so to Sligo, and the Lady Joan with her." p. 1. Copies certified by Sir George Carew. Endorsed by him: "Examinations about the conveying away of the Lady Joan Fitzgerald unto O'Donnell into Ulster, with letters from the Lady of Desmond, O'Donnell, &c., 1600."

75. iv. E[linor, Countess of] Desmond to [Lady Joan Fitzgerald]. "I being credibly told that, with God His mercy, Her Majesty dealt graciously with my son in restoring him to his ancestors' living, whereupon, as I hear by many reports, he came to Cork, and from thence to Limerick, for which I do greatly rejoice, although I can hardly believe it, for that I see no

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letter from himself, nor yet from you, to let me understand thereof, notwithstanding, to know the certainty and your own estates, I do send the bearer hereof, which I could now hardly spare but upon such weighty cause, for that I have but few with me of my own, and none so careful to look to me in my sickness as she. Which continual disease makes me to be the more desirous to see you here, knowing you would be a comfort and a help to rid me of the same, praying God to make you to do for your best, and give us good and joyful meeting."

[Postscript.] "Give my blessing to your sisters, Katherine and Elis, whom I would gladly see also, and know of their estate."—Ballymote, [1600,] November 21. Copy certified by Sir George Carew. p. 1.

75. v. E[linor, Countess of] Desmond, to her sister, the wife of Tirlagh McGragh. "I have received your letter, and would have sooner written to you, if I were well able. I hear by many reports my son is come over, which I can scarcely believe, by reason I received no letter from him, nor yet from my daughters, declaring of his coming. Notwithstanding, to know the certainty, I do send the bearer hereof, which I could now hardly spare but upon such good cause, for that I have but few with me of mine own, and none so careful to look to me in my sickness as she; which makes me to be desirous to see my daughters and you here, assuring myself it would be a comfort to me in my distress to see you all. I pray let me know how doth my good Lord your father-in-law, and my brother, your husband. With my very hearty commendations to you and them, praying the Almighty to give us good and joyful meeting, I leave you all to God."—Ballymote, [1600], November 21. Copy certified by Sir George Carew. p. 1.

75. vi. E[linor, Countess of] Desmond, to [Maurice] Sexton, porter of the suburbs' [or water] gate in Limerick. "Being desirous to know of your good health, which makes me to visit you with these few lines, always remembering your kindness in time of my most distressed estate, the which, as occasion serves, I mean to acknowledge; which, if the report here be true, I hope in short time to be the better able to do. With my commendations to you, your wife and children, with your mother-in-law, I leave you all to God."—Ballymote, [1600], November 23. "Have me heartily commended to Mr. James Cromell and his wife." Copy certified by Sir George Carew. p. 1.

75. vii. Hugh [Roe] O'Donnell to O'Connor Sligo. "I have been credibly informed that my Lord of Desmond his son is landed in Waterford, the which now I know. The promise I made unto you touching his sister cannot be ended by means of his coming, for he will stick to Englishmen, and you know the fault is not in me; I would perform what I have promised unto you. My uncle, Ranull McJames, is come hither out of Scotland, which brought my message from Mr. Allen, offering me his sister to marry, and told me that the marrying of Mr. Allen his sister would breed agreement between Clandonnells and Clanleans, in such sort that they might give me both their aid;

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*and you know the same is a thing that stands me upon. And let none peruse my letter, but break it presently. Commend me heartily to my Lady Argory.*—[1600], November 16.  
Copy certified by Sir George Carew. p. 1.

Dec. 16. 76. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. *Duplicate of*  
[Mallow.] No. 75. *Copy certified by Sir George Carew. pp. 5.*

Dec. 16. 77. Sir Henry Dockwra to the Privy Council. "The constant  
Dery. and continual bruit of the Spaniards' arrival in Connaught, though the certain truth thereof be not yet to be learned, maketh me hasten away Captain Covert, that by his testimony your Lordship may be the better satisfied both of our present estate, and in the account of things passed before; to which (whatsoever it be), I will add nothing of mine own, but refer all to his true and indifferent report.

"Touching the issuing of the treasure, I perceive your Lordship is not yet satisfied at my hands; for which (be my conscience never so clear) I cannot (seeing my hopes fail, which I reposed in your honourable favour) but exceedingly grieve, and much the more, in that it seemeth your Lordship is possessed with an opinion that both myself and the Captains should be enriched thereby. For mine own part, God knoweth what I have gained, and if it be so much as hath fully defrayed my common expenses, I wish the overplus may be my ruin and damnation. For the Captains I can truly testify (as an eye-witness) the labours and honest diligence of some of them. What their gains or losses have been, I know not, but that to any of their frauds (be they dishonest) I should be accessory, let not mine own conscience only clear me, but the outward testimony of my doings truly and thoroughly examined. But to shew my endeavour and earnest zeal to satisfy your Lordship to the uttermost of my power for this strange and sudden consuming of the money, I have as diligently and carefully as I could enquired into the reasons, and find that, for the last half-year's account, the paymasters made even with the Captains, defalking only what the Victualler and Clerk of the munition certified, and paying the remainder according to their musters. By this means divers Captains, having taken less allowance in victual than they presented men, come to have great arrearages due unto them in money, and so received it. Which, seeing the victual was scant, and no part thereof enforced by that means to lie upon the Queen's hand, turned Her Majesty to no manner loss at all; yet it was a special occasion of issuing the treasure sooner than otherwise it would have been. But for this half-year (whereof three months are already passed) I have debarred the like course, and given order to the paymasters to reckon with the Captain, but only for his officers, dead pays, and drinking money, and what remains over and above to be referred to my Lord Deputy upon their further accounts; although I cannot but acknowledge (if it might please your Lordship to allow of it) that it were a thing very convenient and profitable to the whole army, that some few men in every



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company should be allowed at a certain rate to receive their lendings in money, in respect they may be gentlemen that have other means to find themselves, or such as may fall sick, and can make no use of their victual. I have caused the Commissary to deliver me a note how many men of every company he victuals by the week, which note he cannot perfect (as he saith) these fourteen days. When I have it, I will make it over to your Lordship, that you may be fully and perfectly informed thereby of the true state of the several companies.

“For the abuse in musters I have answered before, but whether with satisfaction to your Lordship or no, I know not; but God is my judge, what I should do more for the benefit of Her Majesty’s service, I cannot so much as imagine.”

“For my proceeding in the matter of war, what foundation is laid for finishing it, and how soon it may take effect, if the course be followed, and no unexpected accident happen to thwart it, let them but judge that perfectly know the state of this country and the nature of the war. If the supply of 1,000 men arrive in time, which I hear are already intended for this place, I doubt not (by God’s favour) but to give a good account of their present service, though I know even yet it is with the soonest to draw them forth, their lodgings and shelter against the weather being not sufficiently provided for so great a number. I have broken the truce which once I had yielded to Sir John O’Dogherty; the reasons and whole manner of our proceedings the bearer can certify your Lordship of, yet I have so handled the matter, as that I will be sure, immediately upon the landing of our new men, to have all the spoil of his country, for he shall not in the meantime rid it away. If the time would serve, being already so far gone, I would humbly intreat that those men might be furnished with mantles, as these old men are. Your Lordship will hardly conceive how much they have relieved, encouraged, and set them forth, so that I am well assured we have at least 200 able men more than we had before their apparel came. If I fail in any other point to satisfy your Lordship’s full expectation, I humbly crave pardon; I will by the next despatch bethink myself better.”—Derry, 1600, December 16. *Endorsed*, Received at Whitehall the 28th. *Holograph*. pp. 3.

*Encloses:—*

77. i. *Statement by Sir Henry Dockwra concerning the truce with Sir John O’Dogherty.*

“After I had once yielded a truce to Sir John O’Dogherty, in respect that he humbly craved Her Majesty’s pardon, and promised to receive it whensoever it should be tendered unto him, with further condition that he would in the mean space advertise me of any plot or draught he should have knowledge of, to be intended against the Queen’s forces, he earnestly desired, within a few days after, to have this truce prolonged till May day, and a word that his pardon should not in the mean space be urged upon him, though it came; in recompense thereof he would give 100 beeves to the maintenance of the garrison, and free traffic with his people for such commodities as his country afforded. Wherein as I was desirous to contain the one, so had I never intent to satisfy him in the other,

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for though the benefit of that traffic were sufficiently known to the whole army (even so far as we must all confess it was the preservation of most of our men's lives), yet to have given him so long a time of respite, when before I had tied him absolutely to receive his pardon whensoever it came, I neither thought could be beneficial or honourable, nor besides, could be void of suspicion of some secret intent of serving his own turn thereby, to the disadvantage and prejudice of Her Majesty's service. Notwithstanding, because he should grow into no distrust, and thereupon take occasion secretly to rid his country by little and little of such goods as were in it, I bare him in hope of yielding to some such matter, but still interposing such conditions as I knew he would never accept of; in the meantime observing and keeping good spial upon his carriage and manner of proceeding, which I quickly discovered to be full of fraud and treachery, the practice whereof was ministered by this occasion. There was one Roberts, a Lieutenant to Captain Vaughan, that in a shameful quarrel and a murderous fashion had slain another Lieutenant of the army, even within the walls of our fort, yet escaped apprehension, and fled to O'Dogherty, from whom he was presently conveyed to O'Donnell, and there laboured and wrought upon to promise the execution of some treachery upon our forces. The man, to satisfy their desires, and procure himself the more favour, yielded to be an instrument of effecting anything he could against us, yet underhand gave me notice of all. Many things were spoken of, but this only concluded. Captain Alford he informed them to be a man far behindhand in his private estate. He had the keeping of Culmore (a place of special importance, and indeed the very port of all the rest of our garrisons). Him they resolved to deal with, for delivering it up to O'Donnell. The motion was made by Roberts, and I willed Alford to bear them in hand of his disposition and willingness to hearken to their offers, both that I might draw them (if it were possible) to the breaking of their necks, and that beside I might the better creep into the secret counsel of O'Dogherty's heart. Hugh Boy (his secret and most inward counsellor) was the man employed to proceed in this business. He offered Captain Alford 1,000*l.* for himself, 300*l.* for his soldiers, and 300*l.* for Neale Garve's head, whom he persuaded to get into the fort by one means or other, and there betray into their hands. Alford entertained the matter by my direction, and daily advertised me how he proceeded. At first he made dainty to do anything, lest O'Dogherty, whom he knew by promise and oath to be bound to disclose anything he should know attempted against us, should reveal it. Thereupon Hugh Boy protested that O'Dogherty should be the surety for payment of the money, and that whatsoever he pretended (for safeguard of his country for the present) he never meant anything less than to forsake O'Donnell, whom he loved above all the men in the world. Then he made a further question, that in case he should deliver it up (as it then was), yet the Queen's ships would presently beat them from it again; and therefore required that (if they meant to reap any



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benefit by having it), he might be furnished with some churls of the country to help to fortify it. Which Hugh Boy willingly consented unto, and sent him in twenty of O'Dogherty's churls, by whose help, within one month, he made it more defensible than he could have done in half a year with his own soldiers. These things being thus carried, and O'Donnell assuring himself of nothing more than the present ruin and overthrow of these forces, by having the passage through which all our victual must of necessity come, O'Dogherty continueth his request for confirmation of a longer truce, and after many delays, which I purposely used, he desireth a safe-conduct for a messenger of his, that might come and treat with me about the articles, pretending withal he should satisfy me of all jealousy, wherewith he seemed afraid I should be possessed of his unsound and dissembling carriage. This messenger I put off till I might draw either O'Donnell or Hugh Boy to some good banquet, where we might take off their heads, or else that I might get some sure and apparent token of the disguised treachery, and therefore willed Alford to lay all the baits he could to draw Hugh Boy (upon some time of their meeting for conference) where he might suddenly kill him. But the rebel was too crafty, for by no means would he be drawn where any such advantage might be taken; but for the other point, though it were a long time alleged that it might turn to O'Donnell's scorn that he should disburse any money aforehand, without assurance of the thing he was to buy, yet in confidence of Alford's honest meaning, and as a token thereof, he sent him (by this Hugh Boy) a chain of gold, which immediately he sent unto me. Having this manifest token, and seeing them too wary to be drawn upon any plot, or circumvented for any greater matter without better assurance, I gave leave to O'Dogherty's messenger to come and treat of the articles and satisfaction, which he promised to give me, of his true and honest meaning. This messenger was one Phelim Reogh, brother to Hugh Boy, a man that had often been present at the speeches between his brother and Captain Alford. First, this man expostulated with me the reasons for hanging three of O'Dogherty's people, which I had put to execution, but the same day he came in, protesting with many oaths his master's plain and sincere intent and dealing in all his proceedings. Then I urged him for himself whether he knew no attempt or practice against us by O'Donnell, which he utterly denied. Thereupon I drew forth the chain, whereat he was much dismayed, yet excused the matter that it was but pawned by his brother for money, and denied his privity to any other intent, as ignorant of what speeches had passed between them, for that he spake nor understood no English. Captain Alford was sent for. He could justify nothing, but that Hugh Boy only had sundry times told him that O'Dogherty was privy to all this matter, and that this Phelim Reogh was often present when they spake together; but whether he understood it or not, he knew not. Hereupon (for performance of my word) I suffered him to return to O'Dogherty with the message contained in this note, to which I received answer again the same night, in manner as appeareth



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by the copy thereof." Endorsed:—"1600, December. The message of Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir John O'Dogherty, after the discovery of Hugh Boy's treachery." Signed. pp. 2½.

77. ii. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir John O'Dogherty. "If Sir John O'Dogherty will have any longer truce, let him purge himself from that villainous plot of treachery by delivering Hugh Boy into my hands, that hath so perfidiously abused both him and me, in using his name in so foul an action; or, if he pretend he cannot deliver him, let me have his goods and chattel[s], as a ransom and part of amends for his offence. And for such conditions as shall now be agreed upon, let me have Phelim Reogh, or some other good man of his country, whom I shall choose, delivered me as pledge for performance of all covenants. So will I be content (notwithstanding this treachery) to impart of Her Majesty's gracious mercy and clemency to him, and to renew the truce until Sir John's absolute pardon may come, but so as in the meantime all people of this country, or any other part of Ireland (without exception) shall be received to their due obedience as Her Majesty's right and proper subjects.

"I will give no longer respite hereunto but till sunset this night. If he accept mine offer, and will presently thereupon send me in pledge, I will perform it. If not, all former speeches and conditions of peace are utterly broken, and from henceforth let nothing be expected but rigour and extremity of wars, of all the miseries and mischiefs whereof whatsoever shall ensue, God is the witness that Hugh Boy and O'Dogherty are the only causes. Given at the Derry, this 9th of December, 1600." Copy. p. ½.

77. iii. (a.) Sir John O'Dogherty to Sir Henry Dockwra. "Seeing you are so desirous to enter in wars with me, thinking this more gainful for you than my dutiful obedience to Her Majesty, I can do no more but complain of you unto Her Majesty, and first to my Lord Deputy, how you have taken my men in unto you against your word, and never yeld [yielded] me none of them back, and taken daily preys from me, and hanging my men as fast as you took them, without any cause. Spare not to be so bloody of me and mine as you will, I can submit myself no better than I have done afore now unto you. I will never blame you for anything you shall do henceforward. About Hugh Boy Davitt, he should excuse himself, giving you either much contentment by clearing himself, or else leaving the country at your request with all his. But betwixt me and Jesus Christ, now that you will not have me to be Her Majesty's subject and your friend, I was no more guilty of that that Captain Alford doth speak of me than you were. I did purpose before God and my secret men to be Her Majesty's procuring, to defend my country from such as were adversaries of Her Majesty during the winter, and till the long nights were out. From this field, this present Monday, 1600, yielding me such men as you have from me,

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and performing the articles last agreed upon between us, I am ready as ever to receive Her Majesty's gracious pardon at the time appointed." Copy. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

- (b). Notes by Sir Henry Dockwra on the preceding. "These men he challengeth me for hanging of, were three. One was taken in Ellough Castle, upon information of a churl of O'Dogherty's to be O'Donnell's man. Captain Orme examined him what he was, and he confessed himself to be O'Donnell's man, and sent by him to spy what watch they kept; whereupon he caused him to be bound, and laid in a loft in the uttermost top of the castle; from whence (first loosing his bands with his teeth) he threw himself down, and had escaped, but that the sentinel spied him and caught him. The Captain then presently sent him to me, and O'Dogherty a messenger, that met both together, affirming him to be his man. I answered, I believed the fellow better than I believe O'Dogherty in that case, yet I caused him to be imprisoned, and deferred his execution, till he had again filed off his bolts, with two other, and so almost escaped; but then, desiring to make sure work with him, afterwards I caused him to be hanged. Another was taken prisoner in O'Donnell's country, bearing arms and fighting for defence of the prey which our men 'fotte' [? fought]. I was offended he was brought home alive, yet seeing it was in cold blood, I caused him to be put in the Provost Marshal's, where he had not been four hours, but O'Dogherty sent to demand him as one of his men, but in courtesy, for he knew by composition he was lawfully taken, and might be executed without breach of promise. This man had also filed off his bolts, and I caused him to be hanged with his other fellow.

"The third was taken in Dunalong, suspected, and examined by Sir John Bolles. He first affirmed himself to be a soldier's man of that garrison; afterward he said he was O'Dogherty's man; and coming to me, I found him as variable in his other tales; so that, having knowledge of divers spies that were sent amongst us, and this man repairing to a place where never had any license been given to Sir John's men to come upon any occasion, I caused him likewise to be executed as a spy." Endorsed by Sir Henry Dockwra:—"The message I sent to O'Dogherty upon the discovering of Hugh Boy's treachery, and O'Dogherty's answer again thereunto." Copy. p. 1.

77. iv. Letters from Captain Alford to Sir Henry Dockwra.

(a). "This morning it is told me that there came a messenger from O'Donnell unto O'Dogherty, but upon what occasion it is not yet known; only, contrary to all men's expectation, O'Dogherty hath commanded all his churls in the country to carry their corn to Berte, whereas before he willed them but to draw it to the mountains; by which I do assure myself there is some bad meaning. Likewise it is told me that the people of the country do talk one to another of the drawing away of their cows within these five or six days. There are great store of O'Donnell's creaghts in O'Dogherty's country upon that side that you burnt, but I can as yet get no man that will undertake

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to bring you to them; only he that hath given this intelligence, I hope will ere long do you good service, from whom I shall understand within these two days the certainty of all. For he doth assure me that, if O'Dogherty doth remove his corn and cattle, there is no hope to be had of him. He likewise tells me that he heard O'Dogherty say that if he were enforced to drive his cows from his country, that it should be as far from us as possibly he could. This I thought good to certify you of, being all I can as yet learn. He tells me also that, if you keep any good watch upon him, you must needs hear his cows, if he drive them away.—Culmore, this last of October, 1600." Copy.

p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

- (b). "This afternoon I have spoken with a messenger from O'Donnell concerning the business heretofore mentioned by Lieutenant Roberts, but for Roberts himself I cannot as yet speak withal. I do imagine they have him in some jealousy, as in [<sup>?</sup> if] bringing them to some bad supper. After the token delivered me, which I gave unto Lieutenant Roberts, the messenger began with many protestations of O'Donnell's love to me, as also the great preferment I should have in his country of command, yea greater than Captain Mostian should have, which is coming to him of his own accord, if so be I would, according to that plot which was spoken upon by Roberts, deliver up the fort.

"This was the sum of his speech, although he used many other frivolous speeches. At the first, I did not well know how to answer him in regard of the absence of Roberts, and that I could not deliver your pleasure unto Roberts according the plot of Helaugh [Ellaugh]. For if I should have absolutely refused his proffer of kindness, then I was sure I should not speak with him. Wherefore I answered, that as Roberts had begun to break the matter with me, so I could not proceed any further, until I spake with him; and, to put them out of all doubt of mistrust in Roberts, I began to tell the messenger I did mistrust Roberts himself, in regard that he, having so mightily offended, might underhand, to get his own pardon, seek to betray me. Therewith I desired them to forbear, until I had given unto Lieutenant Roberts an answer concerning his message, the which should be a flat denial, and that then I would deal in the matter myself, because I would have nobody besides the messenger privy to my determination. This, Sir, I thought was the fittest course and answer, both to come to the speech of Roberts, and to give them some hope that Roberts doth deal honestly with them. I learned something of their purposes by our conference, as also of the hiding of two cannons in this island of O'Dogherty's, of which I hope you shall be master. I would have come to you this evening, but for fear they should mistrust me. I am sworn not to nominate the messenger, but you may very well imagine, by the trust reposed in him, who it should be. I beseech you, Sir, give me some instructions what you would have me do. I could be content to bring them to the breaking of their own necks, but I fear they would have me take some oath to perform it, which I will never



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do while the world standeth. The time itself when they would have me deliver it up is when Neale Garve shall be come down to Culmore to go for Dublin, and him will O'Donnell give to me to make ransom of. Many things more there are that I omit, until I shall speak with you, which will not be before Monday or Tuesday, unless it please you to send for me. Upon Sunday in the afternoon I shall speak both with Roberts and the messenger. Then will I deliver your pleasure concerning Ellaugh, and you shall know what he is able to do. If you command me not to the contrary, I will at the said time give the messenger such an answer as shall be fitting my loyal duty to my Prince, and my faithful love to you. Thus, desiring you to send me present answer what your pleasure is, I take leave.—Culmore, this 14th of November, 1600." Copy. p. 1.

- (c). "According to the time agreed betwixt O'Donnell's messenger and myself for concluding of our plot, they for their parts failed not. After much debating of matters, O'Donnell would give me a thousand pounds and a chain of gold for the delivery up of the fort, and 300l. for the contenting such gentlemen as were in my company; only this he told me, that I must stay some certain days until the money were provided. To which I answered that there was no reason that I should deliver up the fort; and then, to stand to O'Donnell's courtesy, whether I should have anything or nothing, neither would I consent to that in any case. But thus much I would do upon O'Donnell's word and oath, that if he would presently deliver me 500l., and 200l. for those gentlemen [that] were with me, then, within three days after this assurance, I would deliver him the fort. For I told him I durst not break the matter to any of my company, for fear of being discovered, unless I had ready money in hand to shew them and tempt them, assuring him that without this, I could nor would work anything with my company. His answer was doubtful, and that he found no assurance for O'Donnell to deliver his money; neither cared he so much for that as for fear of a flout afterwards. Then he asked me, put [the] case O'Donnell should deliver me all the money together, would I then march out of the fort, and leave it wholly unto him? For that, I replied, since he made scruple to trust me with half the money three days, how much more doubt ought I [to] make that, after the delivery, both I and the money should still remain in his power; for in no sort would I ever agree to serve O'Donnell, neither would I ever come out of the fort without my company's consent, which I did very well know would in no sort stir, before they had their money in their purses. But if O'Donnell would do this in regard of mine own security, to deliver me 200l. beforehand for the gaining of my soldiers' love, if he will put me in such a pledge as I shall demand into our barge, that then I will march forth, and leave the fort to him. For I did assure them I would not stay ashore amongst them, neither be at their mercy to dispose of me and mine at their pleasures. Against that he alleged the uncertainty of the weather, as also the danger of being taken by our shipping. I told them I could

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row in the barge to Lough Swilly, and I doubted not but O'Donnell would there defend me, otherwise it were a madness in me to deliver myself into their hands, and not to be defended. In the end he agreed to deliver me 300*l.* for to make way with my soldiers, if I would deliver up my brother as pledge; to which I agreed, upon condition that at the said time I should receive both his brother's and O'Dogherty's youngest legitimate son as pledges of the 1,000*l.*, which should be behind, alleging if they demanded my brother for 300*l.*, I must needs have three pledges for one, when as my remainder, for which I must trust them, is four times as much as that which they trust me withal. So that we could come to no certain resolution, for he desired time to make mine answers known to O'Donnell, and that I should not speak with him before Sunday next, saying that O'Donnell cared not to cast 300*l.* in the river, if it were not for fear of a mock; but, Sir, howsoever it goeth, if I can get no money from them, if I can, I will be sure of the messenger.

"I spake likewise with Roberts, unto whom I made known your pleasure. He wished me to tell that some of O'Neill's forces were at Strabane with Cormack McBaron, and that O'Donnell doth mean to keep his Christmas very near you, having sent for all his forces, and therefore doth entreat you to be well upon your keeping, and to look well to Dunalong because of the Irish, assuring you that they have some determination in hand, and that presently, for his own part, what he can hear as conveniently as he can, he will advertise it. After our parleying, Donnell O'Dogherty came to me to the fort, where he now is, and wished me to look well to myself, for that O'Donnell hath determined now in these dark nights to attempt our fort, and the sooner because Hugh Boy had told him that I had almost made up the castle. Whereat he stormed exceedingly, and thereupon took his resolution for the attempting. I believe this report to be true, because my messenger was so desirous to know when I would go to the Derry, as also importunating me thereunto; so that fearing the subtilty of this companion, I have deferred my coming to you, desiring you to let me have a dozen pikes, assuring you that mine are naught and most part broken. Withal I desire you that the smith may make me strong crooks and hinges for doors, and for that purpose have sent a smith of mine own to work, so that you please to let him have iron. November 22." Copy.

p. 1.

- (d). "I have received this night certain intelligence from O'Cahan's side that Tyrone is coming down, and that my Lord Deputy is returned to the Newry. At the arrival of Tyrone, the islands which stand in the river will be taken and fortified both with men and ordnance. He doth likewise tell me that for certain there is divers Spanish ships lost at sea. Hugh Boy and myself cannot agree, because I will not deliver in pledge my brother. He, for O'Donnell's part, doth offer in pledges, the which I have refused. He would have me to go speak with O'Donnell myself; he offereth that O'Dogherty shall be surety

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for the performance. If I can conveniently cope with Hugh Boy, I will make him believe that I will go with him to O'Donnell, and by that means I hope to draw them into the fort. You can expect no good from O'Dogherty, for Hugh Boy hath plainly told me that he loveth O'Donnell above all men living, and that he will do nothing that shall any way tend to his hurt. 24 November." Copy. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

(e). "I received your letter sent with O'Dogherty's son, but I perceive by him his meaning is to stay longer with me than four or five days, so that I know not how to harbour his people. Notwithstanding, if it be your pleasure that he shall continue with me against his father's will, I will cause them provide cabins in the outer fort. He wished me to certify you that whensoever the truce is out betwixt his father and you, that if then his pardon should come, he will be hanged if his father receive it. For mine own business, I hope to bring it to good perfection, although I am enforced to linger the time, because he is so distrustful, and will not suffer any man save myself to come near him, alleging that you preferred much money to any man that can kill him. Yet for all this, he hath promised one day this next week to come and speak with me very privately, and then he is to give his oath to me and three more of my men that O'Donnell shall perform his promise. At which time I mean to apprehend him, for by no means else can I get him to suffer any man to come near him. But yet, if this plot fail, I will have others, but I will accomplish your desire. This day I expect to hear from him. For Neale Garve, I do assure you O'Donnell doth desire me most earnestly to take him. November 26."

(f). "I have sent you a token, which was sent me from O'Donnell, but I hope once within these five days to send you a better. Hugh Boy and I had conference together, and upon Monday at night he is to come to give his oath to my soldiers. He brought many people with him, and would not in any wise suffer me to let any man come near him; but in the end we agreed upon Monday night. His brother is to be with you this day. If you please, defer him off until Monday, and that upon Monday in the afternoon he fail not to be with you at the Derry, where you shall stay him till Tuesday morning for answer. The cause why I would entreat you to defer this, is only because his brother shall not be in his company at our meeting, neither any of his followers, and also because I would in the meantime get all the beeves which are remaining with O'Dogherty. If it fortune that Hugh Boy will still continue his jealousy, and that I cannot come to him without suspicion, I will send you my bearer that night; if otherwise, the party shall be sent the next morning. If this plot take no effect, then may you disclose the matter to Phelim, and shew him the chain, and ask him if he know wherefore his brother, Hugh Boy, did deliver me that as a token from O'Donnell. I know he will deny it, but you may then tell him that you had long since notice of my practice, and that you had such evident proof, that I could no way deny it,



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but did confess the truth, and, in hope the Queen would pardon me, had revealed the whole truth, so that you have taken my brother in pledge for my loyalty. This, Sir, do I think to be well, but whatsoever shall be your counsel I will follow, so be that I may not endanger my word, for as yet I have not promised anything, whereof he can build perfectly, or I be found to falsify my word. This rebellious gallant would also have me, that when I should deliver up this fort, that then I should also be a means to betray the castle of Ellaugh after this manner, that is ; the day before I shall deliver up my fort, I should feign with some of my company to go visit Captain Orme, and that I should take some of O'Dogherty's men with me, as if they were mine own, and that in the way I should be hotly charged with some of O'Dogherty's kern, as if they were O'Donnell's, and that during the time of shooting powder some of my men should fall as being slain, and some of theirs likewise, until such time as I came to the castle gate, and then when I should be rescued by Orme's soldiers that I should turn them to the fight in deed, and retire my men within the gate under colour of getting powder, which he thought I might easily do, and then to seize upon the castle for O'Donnell, and this I consented unto, whereby I might bring this rascal to his destruction. Now I pray you let me have your counsel what you will have me do. 4 December."

"A little before the parley I had intelligence that Tyrone and O'Donnell sent a messenger to O'Dogherty, and commanded him to come himself with all his people and cows to his camp, and blamed him much for relieving us with beef, but if in case he refused, that they both would fall upon him, and take them all perforce. The party that brought me this word was present when this messenger of Tyrone's delivered his letter. O'Dogherty called his gentlemen together, and told them this letter came to call them from their country, and asked their counsel. They all replied they would not depart the country, and presently O'Dogherty answered the messenger that he would not stir his followers neither for Tyrone (sic), and in case they sought to take his goods by force, he answered they might do it, but made thereat a great oath that he would have in recompense for every cow of his country a head in gage. It was likewise asked of the messenger where Tyrone was, who replied that he was at Newcastle ; but I earnestly enquired of one of O'Cahan's men that came over to me that Tyrone was not yet come from Dungannon. If I cannot get Hugh Boy prisoner, if it please you, deal plainly with them, and tell them I revealed all their treasons to you myself, both for Culmore and Ellaugh, and for a more manifest proof had gotten this piece of chain from Hugh Boy, to make his villainy the more apparent. But in this I cannot touch O'Dogherty himself in any conference with me, but only by the speeches of Hugh Boy." Copy. p. 1.

(g). "It may be that Phelim Reogh will deny that this treason was managed by himself or his brother, for anything he knoweth ;

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*yet, howsoever he excuseth the matter, Hugh cannot deny it, with whom I only had to do. For O'Dogherty, I resolved you, I could speak nothing, but only upon the speeches of Hugh Boy, who always did assure me that Sir John would do nothing against O'Donnell, and that Sir John should be privy to the practice. I assure you I will be careful how any of mine shall go into the country, for they know they must expect no favour, yet you have not resolved me whether the truce be out or not, or that this vow which is made to kill any man at any advantage proceed from the hanging Phelim Reogh['s] man. If the truce be ended, I pray let me know, for I doubt not to make the first slaughter amongst them. I know not well how to advertise Captain Orme, because my messenger must needs pass through them to the Eillaugh, but I will do my best. Therefore I pray send me present word how you conclude with them, that I may be rather beforehand than otherwise. 7 December." Copy.*

p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

*Endorsed by Sir Henry Dockwra :—"A copy of such letters as I received from Captain Alford, during the time that Hugh Boy was working his treachery."*

Dec. 16.  
Carriockfergus.

78. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir Robert Cecil. "Albeit I am doubtful of the conveyance of my letters, yet such is my desire of acquainting you with the state of these parts, that I had rather hazard my letters than leave you unsatisfied. At my coming hither, I found some alteration in this government by the treacherous dealings of one Neill McHugh, who for these three years past served the Queen very painfully, and had now at his departure eighteen horsemen paid upon the list of my Lord of Southampton, now Captain Jephson's, and hath everyway received as good usage as could have been afforded him. Upon his first departure, he betrayed the ward of Edenduffcarriek, and the boats which I erected there, and by his filchery and theft he caused most of the goods of this town to fly to the woods and other places. Yet his former doings and deserts have been such that he was not dealt withal as an enemy, and the less for that he possessed the State that he would come to me as soon as I returned. Upon my landing he fled to the Scots, and some few days after came to talk with me, upon a pledge given him for his safe returning. I dealt so with him that he promised by many oaths to deliver me the castle and boats, which was the chief matter I shot at, for the castle I respect little. The next day I drew thither to receive them. Had I given him a little more time, I had endangered all these Her Majesty's forces here, for he had sent to the Scots, Brian McArt and others, to come upon us, and when I came he defended the castle against me, declaring himself by killing a Serjeant, and discharging divers shot upon us. I was ill provided to take it by force, and this store is not furnished with any tool, so much as a spade to cut a sod, all being spent in works appointed by my Lord Deputy in my absence, and such as are sent us are worth nothing, for which I humbly crave amendment, otherwise Her Majesty's money will be wasted, and her service left undone.

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“These lands of the Lower Clandeboye are belonging to Shane McBrian and this Neill McHugh. Betwixt them there hath been strife in peace and war; when one is a subject, the other is a rebel. Upon these doings of Neill's, I sent to Shane, son to Sir Brian McPhelomy, who came unto me with his wife, children, and some followers. More would follow him, but I have only warrant for means for such as are already come with him. And I beseech you to believe that the enemy gives greater payment and more liberty than the Queen's Majesty, and that all these borderers are driven to live upon the grand traitor's word and protection, or, flying unto us, to lose the benefit and profit of their followers and country, of which they make no kind of commodity whilst they live among us; and I think no country in the north stronger in men against the Queen, for the quantity, than this government; and yet I can truly assure your Honour that Tyrone was never so weak, since he entered into rebellion, as at this instant. Would it please the Queen to reinforce her garrisons of Lough Foyle, and place a thousand men at Coleraine, and make me here in list a thousand foot, who are now 650 (of which I am not able to draw into the field 250, although by our last muster we pay above 550 souls), I am of opinion that we conjoined together, under willing Commanders, shall pass into Tyrone with far less danger than the forces of Leinster shall advance so far as the Blackwater, and those that lie at Coleraine, and this garrison, shall be able to waste and destroy the Scots and other rebels here in one month. But I know they will gather together again after their breaking, unless it will please Her Majesty to take their castles, and erect other holds in the strength of their countries. For this we have the poorest means that ever was afforded men of war; and without this let the Queen send thousands of men yearly, they shall die and consume away, not doing her one good day's service, as experience teacheth us. My Lord Deputy took from me a company of 150 men, and sent me a company of 100 new men in their rooms. I had by means of your Honour a hundred supplies of all these. I protest I am not able to carry thirty men upon any journey, and yet to hearten them I have and do exempt them from all other duty.

“Our horse are extremely weakened with often journeys and want of provender, and we beseech your Honour to afford us a supply of some 25 to strengthen them, with which we shall do as good service as any place in the north. This garrison, when I was present, and by Sir Fulke Conway and the other Captains, when I was away, hath done as good days' works in killing, burning, taking of cows, and destroying the rebels, as any one in Ireland, and I hope to continue it. But there is no expectation of any great service, until we be enabled to keep the field, and pass through every enemy's country at our pleasure, where we must kill and destroy all that comes to our hands, for there is little faith or obedience among them.

“Upon some speeches of your Honour's, and to make known how I prefer Her Majesty's service before my particular revenge, I have dealt with Randall McDonnell, son to Sorley, my next neighbour, who hath signed these articles hereinclosed, and thereupon and the performance of them I have granted him a protection until May



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next, so it be not thought otherwise expedient for Her Majesty's service, and then, upon warning and breaking with him, I am to re-deliver the rent. But he hath promised (if he may have his pardon and four towes of land in the Glins confirmed unto him) to become a true subject, and to serve Her Majesty to his power. I doubt James (who once made like offer), for that the Lord of Clantyre [? Cantire], who is banished by his son, is come unto him within these four days with some three galleys and seventy or eighty men, and Sir James hath put in 700 bonnaughts upon his own country, of which Neill McHugh is to have 200; a beggar who yesterday, being with us, was not able to eat without the Queen's entertainment, can now relieve 200 against her; these be the fruits of this damned nation.

"Whilst I was absent, the prisoners which were in the Queen's Castle are escaped, to the number of a dozen, who wrought a hole through the wall, and so fled in the night. Colonel Egerton is Constable of the Castle, and himself being in England I can find little fault with his officer, for that they departed all fettered in bolts, wherefore I have only suspended him from the execution of his office, and have committed it to one Price, Lieutenant to his company of foot, until my Lord Deputy's pleasure made further known unto me.

"The traitor O'Neill is gone to speak with O'Donnell, giving it out that they are both going to Sligo to meet certain forces of Spaniards come in their aid, and it is thought some ship or two are there lately arrived with munition, arms, and other news, unto them. They much depend upon that assistance. But if garrisons were placed upon Strangford, Coleraine, and Lough Swilly, to keep the Scots from furnishing them with those wants, all Spain could not afford them munition to fight with us one year, and yet I fear our English Pale is in this no small help unto them.

"The forces of Lough Foyle do often good services upon O'Donnell, and have lately slain one of his brothers, and much the more by the help of Neale Garve. There is no better war in this country than when they fight in blood one against another. Here is a brother of Sir Art O'Neill passing towards my Lord Deputy, and hath attended a wind these six weeks. I have wearied your Honour with a long discourse, for which I humbly crave pardon. And I beseech you, if I be not paid the remainder of my debts due from Her Majesty, that you will favour me therein, and allow me Randall's rent in part of payment, which I will keep upon my hands, if I have no further direction, until I understand your pleasure."—Carrickfergus, 1600, December 1 [6]. *Holograph. pp. 4.*

*Encloses:—*

78. i. *Articles agreed upon between Randall McDonnell and Sir Arthur Chichester, 1600, December 16. Copy certified by Sir Arthur Chichester. p. 1.*

Dec. 16.  
Dublin.

79. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. "I presumed by two several letters to tender unto you the success of the beginning of my Lord's journey, and such accidents as happened during our army's lying at Faugher. What hath been performed after my

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Lord Deputy's passage through the pass of the Moyerie, and how we ended, I know, by letters from my Lord Deputy, hath in each particular been made known unto your Honour, therefore therein I will cease any further to detain you.

"Yet being unwilling to be thought forgetful of my duty, and somewhat withal desirous to manifest my opinion of the present estate of Ireland, and the great difference which now is, if it may be compared with the time of former governments, the alteration is sure great, and contrary unto the expectation of many, both in the honourable and prosperous success of my Lord Deputy in all his enterprises and actions, and in the disposition of the people, that they are very much daunted, who with a feeling conscience grow weary of their undutiful and treacherous rebellion, and many with all humble submission are most desirous of the benefit of Her Majesty's favour.

"The eyes and minds of many did both attend and depend upon the success of my Lord's journey. Tyrone, sithence his rebellion, did never receive so great a blow and disgrace as in this journey. I protest unto your Honour I do not speak more than truth, and to verify this, besides the men which Tyrone lost in fight, his adherents and partakers begin much to forsake him in all parts and provinces of Ireland.

"There is a rumour and speech that, presently upon the dissolution of our journey, Tyrone made his undelayed repair towards Lough Foyle, and seeketh by all the means he can to impeach and stop the passage of the river from the Derry unto Lifford, whereby the fort of Lifford, now held for Her Majesty, should not be supplied with victuals. An unhappy practice, if it could take effect, for it is a fort and an assurance of a passage for any army, either into Tyrone or Tyrconnell. And truly, Right Honourable, Neale Garve O'Donnell, who was a principal actor in the possessing of the place, a man famous amongst them, and now holding for Her Majesty, much envied and maligned by the traitors, if he be by Her Majesty's favour and your honourable assistance countenanced, assuredly he is both very well able, and I think desirous, to advance the service. And there could not have been devised a better cavysen to have mastered Tyrone and Tyrconnell than the possessing of those forts, which are now held by Her Majesty upon that river which cometh from Lough Foyle unto Lifford.

"Connor Roe Maguire, a competitor for the name and seignory of Maguire's country called Fermanagh ("Pherrynamanaghe") his eldest son being pledge with Tyrone, escaped from his tyranny the day before he should have been hanged, and after he had been some time with my Lord Deputy in his last journey, returned into his own country, and there in a skirmish took Cormack O'Neill's eldest son, killed many of his men, and, in token of his dutiful meaning unto Her Majesty, came himself unto Dublin the 4th of December, and there presented the pledge unto my Lord, wherein he performed a great service, for he was offered his own demand in cows and land to have freed Cormack's son, a precedent of obedience manifested which heretofore I have not seen, neither expect to see the like hereafter, in the Irish.

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"The fort of Leix in the Queen's County hath, sithence the journey, been victualled by the Marshal, and the enemy waxed so tame that it was without resistance.

"My Lord Deputy intendeth before Christmas to remove from Dublin, and to lie at Monasterevan, a house of Her Majesty's, and fronteth the Moores and Dempseys, the Connors, and the county of Kildare; and there his Honour mindeth to remain this winter, and to prosecute the wars of Leinster, dispersing his garrisons to be answerable to his Honour's command, and to all occasions.

"I cannot (Right Honourable) omit withal to make known unto you, that there is one of the Delahydes, a gentleman born not far from Dublin, and a man very civilly brought up, who hath been a chief and principal traitor, and one who hath done great hurt, and committed many murders and outrages upon Her Majesty's subjects. This man's pardon and protection hath not only been procured by Sir Oliver Lambert, but he hath preferred the traitor to be lieutenant unto Captain Guest, and fifty of the traitors, which are his men, to receive Her Majesty's pay, and to be of the same company; a thing (under your Honour's correction) in my opinion not fit, considering the quality of the man, and very dishonourable to the State, and it will be a very evil precedent, lest men of his own sort should hereafter seek the like.

"Donnell Spainagh, chief of the Kavanaghs, is come in to my Lord Deputy, and hath put in his pledge, and proffereth to do great service, and hath simply submitted himself to my Lord."—Dublin, 1660, December 10. *Signed.* pp. 3.

Dec. 18.  
Mallow.

80. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of Lord Barry, that he may be furthered in his suit for James Fitz Thomas's lands, with the castle of Conhye, co. Cork. Another suit "as reasonable and just he humbly entreats in the behalf of his daughter, now a widow, and late wife unto the Lord Power's eldest son, who was slain in service by the rebels, that Her Majesty would be pleased to grant unto him, to the use of his daughter and her son, now heir to the Lord Power, the wardship of the said child, whose estate will be in danger to be overthrown by his uncles and kinsmen (when this Lord Power shall die), except Her Majesty be pleased to grant this suit for his relief."—Mallow, 1600, December 18. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Dec. 18.  
Mallow.

81. James [Fitzgerald], Earl of Desmond, to Sir Robert Cecil. The Queen's great goodness to him. "Sithence my last letter unto your Honour, Thomas Oge, who was Constable to James Fitz Thomas in Castlemaine, yielded the same unto me. Whereof I took possession by my servant John Power, the 14th of November, and kept it for some few days, until it pleased my very good Lord, the Lord President, to have it yielded unto his own hands, to whom I commanded it should be delivered, and his Lordship is now possessed of it. When it was perfectly known in Ireland that I landed, James Fitz Thomas his company that remained dispersed themselves, and himself being sick kept him close in



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solitary places, for which cause I sent my spials to track him out, who brought intelligence that he was kept in Arlagh until the very first night that I came to Kilmalloch, at which time he was conveyed from Arlagh by a few horsemen to one Morris Power's house, as they informed, but I hope by my spials shortly to find his track, if he be within Munster; and the sooner to bring him to an end, I, with the advice of the Lord President, sent his Lordship's protection together with my letters for Dermott O'Connor, hoping that he, with the assistance of my truest friends, might find out the Sugane in his most secret den. And, for Dermott's most safety in his travel, to come with a few company to this province, the Lord President sent his letters in that behalf, both to the Governor of Connaught [and] unto the Earls of Clanrickarde and Thomond, safely to conduct Dermott with some fifty men through their government to this province; who after receiving his protection, journeyed hitherward, as far as Gortnishgory, twenty-four miles from Limerick, and was there murdered by Theobald Burke, *alias* Tibbott Ne Longe, accompanied with 300 men. Some saith this murder was committed for that he took prisoner James Fitz Thomas, and I hold it the chiefest cause (howsoever it may be disguised) whereby the Irishry were weakened, and fearing that he would do more services against them, as I doubt not your Honour shall understand by my Lord President's letters, who is as much grieved with this indignity offered to the State as I am. Yet I find myself the more grieved, for that his coming hither was procured by my Lord President's protection and my letters, the revenge whereof I refer to your honourable consideration.

"At my being at Limerick with the Lord President, Mary Shea, a woman of long continuance with my mother, came thither to speak with my sister Joan. Immediately thereupon (as always I gave knowledge to my Lord President of all such intelligence as came to me) I made him acquainted with the intent of the coming of this woman, and delivered him and acquainted him with a letter that was written from O'Donnell to O'Connor Sligo, the copy or original whereof I doubt not but he will send unto your Honour. These, as hitherto, have been my 'aprovements,' which I claim not merit by, for they are the fruits of my duty. Now I humbly beseech you to consider my estate which is so desperate in this kingdom, that my person is not here secured by these inhabitants, great or little, nor able to do any service by reason I want means to execute it. I do desire no perpetuity of Her Highness[s] charges towards me (but of her favour), neither do I desire to be here (God is my witness) for any respect except to do Her Majesty true service. If I had knowledge of James Fitz Thomas where he were, I have no command of force to take him, except I should send to the garrisons to join with me, and what opportunity is lost in that time, I refer to your Honour's discretion. Let any man imagine himself in this state that I write to you I am in, and I will demand no more than he would in the like condition. I find my honourable good Lord kind unto me, but I am contemptible unto the country, in regard that they see my means under my Lord not so much as a private Captain's to follow the rebels, if there were present occasion of service, nor in their good carriage to give so much countenance

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as a far meaner man than a[n] earl; so as I do not at all, at least very little, participate of the Italian proverb, *amor ja molto, argento ja tutto*. I hope your Honour holds your resolution for James Fitz Thomas, Piers Lacy, and the Knight of the Valley's lands, that I should have it for McMorris his land. My honourable good Lord hath an assured title to it, and he that with your Honour's favour got me to be entitled as I am, I [can] never be so ungrateful as to possess anything [of] his, for it cannot be but his gift, and the worl[d] can bind me no more than I am. I humbly beseech you that these obstacles that hinder the ability of my ever willing serviceable testimonies, may not make you expect those performances of my dutiful prosecutions that their supply might give you just cause to expect. Except you send directions to enable me otherwise, let me have leave to come into England, which howsoever you procure Her Highness to make me great here, I protest, if it be put to my choice, I shall always hold to be their best, and so will I embrace it. The latter end of your letter maketh me to desire the knowledge of that honourable personage whom Her Highness hath thought of my unworthiness for, which with expectation of resolution of your Honour in all these my expressions by this bearer my servant, yielding many thanks for your infinite favours, and having no offering of my love to send you, but the Sugane's ancient, which this bearer shall present you, I rest."—Mallow, 1600, December 18.  
*Signed. Seal. pp. 3.*

Dec. 18.  
 Dublin.

82. Captain Thomas Phillips to Sir Robert Cecil. Since he last wrote concerning Castle Rebane, the Marshal's company is there, and himself ready to go thither to keep his Christmas. "My Lord Deputy likewise goeth to Monasterevan in the county of Kildare and bordering upon Leix. Your Honour shall understand that the Marshal victualled the fort the 5th of the same with some 500 men, and the next night after went into Ranelagh, where we took from Phelim McFeagh some 600 cows and the rifling of his house, where was great store of wine, aqua vitæ, and other provision for Christmas. In these journeys we have not seen any enemy that durst present themselves to fight with us. God be thanked they go down apace. The rebels' hearts are broken if they be now followed." Desires Sir Robert's assistance in the following matter. "Sir Carew Reynolds doth mean to discontinue the service here, and to make away the Castle of Duncannon by Waterford; so, if it may stand with your Honour's liking, I do not doubt but to do Her Majesty good service there, by reason of my experience in the French and Spanish tongue[s,] as I hope your Honour shall find hereafter. And because there are some that have already offered some satisfaction to Sir Carew, I would do the like, although my ability will not stretch but will employ all my friends to accomplish that which your Honour shall ordain, hoping for your Honour's sake my Lord Deputy will further me herein."—Dublin, 1600, December 18.  
*Holograph. p. 1.*

1600.

Dec. 18.  
Youghal.

83. Allen Apsley, victualler, to Sir George Carew. His certificates have been duly sent in, notwithstanding information to the contrary. Will repair to Cork, where his books are, and send Sir George the same particulars that he advertised into England.—Youghal, 1600, December 18. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Dec. 19.  
Derry.

84. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. "For such matters as were especially committed to the charge of this bearer, I shall not need [to] say anything of mine own, for I both yield myself to his testimony, and stand assured in my opinion that the same shall be perfect, grounded upon exact knowledge, and void of all passion, partiality, or malice. He hath looked into the state of the musters, he is a witness to the delivery of the apparel, he hath taken an account of all manner [of] provisions that have been made and brought for this place, he hath seen the labour of our hands, what it was before his coming, and what we have done while he was here, he hath made enquiry amongst the soldiers what abuses they could justly complain of offered them by their Captains, and to all these I have caused the Commissary of the victual to give him the present state of his provisions, and the paymaster to cast up his reckonings even to the end of this last month. What our greatest wants are likely to be, I have also informed him, and there remaineth nothing I know or can imagine for the present time, wherein he is not either perfectly known, or perfectly instructed.

"It remains that I yield an account of the service touching the managing of the war. Therein I must confess to have done little since the writing of my former letters by Captain Hart, by reason of the weakness of our men. Yet somewhat we have done in spoiling, burning, and preying divers parts of the country, and the rest we are ready to perform when our supplies come, even to the utter conquest and overthrow of these northern rebels (if foreign forces assist them not) within a very short time. O'Dogherty (notwithstanding the desire I had to preserve his country, and the promise I made him of the Queen's pardon) I am of late broken off with. The reason is this. I saw him apparently temporize to serve his own turn, working underhand all the treachery and mischief he could possibly devise against us; whereof having an apparent proof by the chain of gold sent by O'Donnell to Captain Alford, and the testimony of Alford, with the confession of Hugh Boy (a man that is O'Dogherty's chief and most inward counsellor), I thought it a thing dishonourable to Her Majesty to suffer so false and unworthy a man to enjoy the fruits of her gracious clemency and mercy, so that now his country is free for the Queen to dispose of. It resteth (and will so continue for these three months' space) unspoiled. The succour we shall have thereby will be wonderful great, and the commodity of keeping whatsoever we shall get upon any other part will be of no less importance. But for the thorough securing thereof, we must necessarily make a fortification at Colmackatrene (a place whereof I have made mention to your Honour in my former letters). Which done, I am most assured that whole country is locked for either passing out or bringing in of anything, without our leaves. Neale Garve



1600.

(in this winter season our men being weak, and he easiest to be spared) I have sent away to my Lord Deputy with his own son and his brothers as pledges for his fidelity. I expect my Lord will return him with all speed so satisfied or so limited, as I shall neither have cause to stand doubtful of his faith, nor any more be troubled with his frequent demands of better allowance. Many other Irish I have offered unto him, as O'Cane, a nephew of Sir Arthur O'Neill's, that offers to bring in 100 foot, and some few horse, and divers others of smaller account in the country, but I refuse them all till our supplies come, first, because I doubt whether they were indeed that which they say, and next that I will not draw such a number of months to consume the Queen's victual, and lastly, in that their numbers already are greater than I dare adventure our forces abroad withal, lest they playing false, and the enemy both together upon us, our match should be made so much the less equal. Sir James McSorley hath thrice written unto me; the first time, that I would send him Captain Willis or Captain Thornton, to whom he would impart matter of consequence to Her Majesty's service; the next, and the third, were only to hasten them away (for the winds had stopped their passage, that in all that time they could not go). They are now freed, and I hope the winds will serve to carry them forward. I have willed them to hear what he will impart unto them, and accordingly acquaint my Lord Deputy withal, and desire his pleasure with all speed how I shall proceed. In the mean time, as one badge of his good meaning, I am very certainly advertised that Tyrone hath been upon the borders of his country to take pledges, beeves for rent, and to have spoke[n] with himself, and he utterly denied him in all three, so that he was forced to return much discontented.

"Of the Spaniards' arrival in McWilliam's country in Connaught, if I should speak too confidently, your Honour might worthily think me either too credulous or too fearful; and to pass them over altogether in silence, I might as worthily be condemned of obstinacy or mere negligence. The rumour of their landing was wonderful constant for divers days together; since it is somewhat quailed, and yet it continues that for certain some are come. To be assured of the truth, I have sent three several messengers to the place itself, with charge to return upon no man's report, till they had seen them, viewed their numbers, and known their intended courses. Of these there is yet never a one come back, so that in the mean space what I shall think or what I shall say of them, I am utterly ignorant. If your Honour hear from other places that their numbers are great, and that they bend themselves first to subverting of this garrison (as I am assured O'Donnell will do his uttermost to persuade them unto), I fear I shall be forced to crave more aid both of men and shipping, one for defence of the Lough, the other for doing service upon the country; but therein I will not make my special demand, till I be more particularly and certainly informed of their state and purposes; whereof, so soon as I shall get more assured notice, I will of purpose dispatch away some other messenger to acquaint your Honour according to such occasions as I shall see ministered."—Derry, 1600, December 19. *Endorsed*:—"By Captain Covert. Received at Whitehall the 28th." *Holograph.* pp. 4.

1600.

*Encloses:—*

84. i. *A plan of Derry, with explanatory notes. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "27 Decembris, 1600. A plot of Lough Foyle brought over by Captain Covert."* p. 1.  
 84. ii. *A plan of Dunalong, with explanatory notes.* p. 1.  
 84. iii. *A plan of Lifford, with explanatory notes. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "27 of December, 1600. A plot of Lough Foyle."* p. 1.

[Dec. 19.] 85. "A description of Lough Foyle and the country adjoining."

"From the mouth of Lough Foyle to the Liffer is about forty English miles, navigable with any ship to the Derry (which is mid-way), so the pilots be good; otherwise there is no bark, of never so small burthen, but will be grounded, for the channel lies very narrow, crooked, and all shall be water hard upon it, but with this one commodity, the ground is oozy and soft, that a ship can take no hurt by running or lying upon it, if she go not too far out of the way.

"From the Derry to Dunalong, it is navigable for a ship of 200 ton[s], at which place the water grows fresh, and from thence to the Liffer, after you are past some three miles, it grows very narrow, full of islands and fordable in many places, yet navigable enough at a full tide, even up to the town, with a bark of twenty ton[s], and so far doth it ebb and flow.

"The fishings that are in it are these:—

"At the mouth of the Lough in the sea is a good fishing for cod, which holds indifferently all the year long, but especially from about Lent to Michaelmas. About Culmore is reasonable good fishing for herring, from the beginning of August to the latter end of September. From a little short of the Derry all along to the Liffer is an excellent good fishing for salmon, which begins in June and ends about the end of August; but the best place, where is most abundance, and best commodities for casting the nets, is amongst the islands between Dunalong and the Liffer. It is, beside, all along from Dunalong to the Liffer wonderfully replenished with trouts and flounders, which last all the summer; and other fish I cannot learn it yields at any time of the year.

"It is all the winter long stored with the greatest plenty of fowl that I think any part of Christendom yields for these sorts, wild swans, geese, ducks, teal, hearne, crane, plover, sea-gulls, and many other.

"The land on each side of it is all high ground, saving only at Culmore, and from Dunalong to the Liffer, for there it is flat and almost even on both sides.

"Woods there upon it only these:—

"Right over against Culmore, a large shrubby coppice on O'Cane's side, and about half-a-mile upward on O'Dogherty's side such another. Right over against the Derry on O'Cane's side, it hath a long and very large wood, but all near the waterside it is but small brush. Up higher, some mile and better, is plenty of birch (a timber of sufficient durance to last, so it lie dry); and other sort of timber it hath not any. Another large coppice of hazel is within

1600.

a quarter of a mile of the Derry on the same side. Hard about Dunalong are great woods, but the timber they yield is in a manner all birch, and that at least two or three miles from the fort. The Islands betwixt Dunalong and Liffer are most full of coppice wood, and so is a good part of the plain upon Tyrconnell side, and so continueth even within half-a-mile of the town.

“The situations it yields for fortifications are these :—

“Green Castle, seated in O’Dogherty’s country, within four miles after you have entered the Lough. It stands within good musket shot of the channel, but cannot be made of any strength to the landward. It is all ruined, and not much material to be rebuilt, though it might a little annoy the ships that should come by it.

“Culmore, seated upon the neck of a land that extends itself from the mountain foot, for the space of half-a-mile, into a plain, and so into the Lough. The point of the neck of this land, being fortified, commands the entrance of the river out of the Lough, for it is not there above a good culiver shot over from one side to the other. The soil is gravel and sandy, and therefore ill to make up for lasting, except it be bound with faggots and sods, which the parts hard about it afford in plenty. It hath a bog of excellent good turf upon all one side of the plain, and a fair green on the other side, where comes down a good spring of fresh water. Right over against it on O’Cane’s side is also a good place for setting another fort, and betwixt these two it is not possible for any shipping in the world to pass, if they be well fortified and furnished with artillery.

“Derry is the next place, which is an island made with the river on one side and a bog on the other. It lies in form of a bow bent, whereof the bog is the string, and the river the bow. The bog is passable in all places in the summer, but in winter hardly, but in one or two, especially now the little fort is made at the upper end, where the ground was only hard and passable, both for foot and horse.

“This island is a high uneven ground, and so is the country over against it on both sides. It is in length about a small mile, and in breadth a quarter, and I think it containeth about 1,000 acres of ground, most part sown with corn, when we came to it. It hath under the foot of the high ground next the bog, about the middle thereof, two very good springs of fresh water hard together, and lies so as a chapel, standing upon the height of it, commands in a manner all the rest. This place is distant from Lough Swilly, where it makes a neck of a land, about six miles, and stands fitly to keep O’Dogherty’s country in awe, and to make incursions into Tyrconnell. Both the island and main almost to Birt is all Church land belonging to the Bishop. There is in this island plenty of stone from the ruins of old buildings, and besides good quarries within the island, as also a vein of good slate, if it were dressed and wrought for the purpose.

“The next is Dunalong, seated upon a plain, and environed all about with bog, whereof one side is excellent good turf. It lies upon O’Cane’s side, and is fit to make incursions upon him or Tyrone.

“The Liffer, which hath some eighty houses set in a plain green upon the river side, and compassed with an old ditch, with three



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small bulwarks in form of a triangle. It is seated in the richest soil of all the north, the country about it champaign, and another green (whereon Strabane did stand) opposite against it, large and of a fair prospect, the river fordable at all times, and stands excellent fitly to annoy all Tyrone and Tyrconnell. Other places might be fortified between it and Dunalong, especially some of the islands, but neither the rebel can fortify them, neither are they necessary for the Queen.

“Lough Swilly divideth O'Dogherty's country and McSwyne Fanaght's, as may appear by the map, and extendeth itself far up into Tyrconnell. All that I can know or yet learn of it is this. It hath an excellent good herring fishing for two months in the latter end of summer, and it is full of good oysters. Rivers there run into it from O'Dogherty's country, which are full of salmon, and in season all the year. It hath in it also an island called the Inch, passable at a low water from O'Dogherty's side. It is near two miles long and a mile broad. It has in it between four and five hundred Irish houses. It was a magazine for O'Dogherty's corn, and was now burned and spoiled by the garrison of Derry, which brought away 2,000 sheep, 200 garrans, 250 cows, slew the people being near 150, and burned the corn, being adjudged worth the value of 3,000*l*.

“All the country lying between these two Loughs, so high as Birt on one side, and to the Derry on the other, belongs to O'Dogherty, and is commonly called Elneshowen. In the middle way, where they make a neck of land, is Ellogh, his chief house, held by a garrison of the Queen's, and from thence to the farthest end to the seaward is about thirty miles in length, and in most places twenty miles broad. It is inhabited round about by the seaside for three or four miles upward, and is there very fruitful of corn. But the middle of it is all high and waste mountain, good for feeding of cows in the summer only, but all waste, desolate, and uninhabited. There runs through it a small and very shallow river, passing from one Lough to the other, wherein are infinite plenty of trouts and salmons, when it grows near the sea on Lough Swilly side. It is passable for the most part in all places, and at all times of the year.

“Beyond it is another of like nature, as I hear, but I have not seen it (as I have this), which cutteth off the far end of the country from all the rest; upon which standeth a wood and a pass, whereinto O'Dogherty is now retired with all his people and goods. It is said to be the fertilest part of all the rest, and hath upon it divers castles built of late years to resist the landing of the Scots, and is so full of poor Irish houses, as it seems all in a manner but one town.

“The commodities this whole Island affordeth is only flax, oats, and barley. Wheat, rye, or peas it hath none, and, after the fashion of the country, lies all open, without any manner inclosures. The cattle that feed most upon it are cows, horses, sheep, and swine, of every of which sort there was wonderful plenty, and is yet indifferent good store. Wood it hath very little, but turf exceeding much and passing good. But it lies for the most part all about Culmore and Ellogh, where the Queen's forces restrain them from the use of it.

1600.

“O'Dogherty of his natural born people is able to make about 300 foot and 40 horse (handsome and soldier-like men), besides his bonnaughts, which are sometimes one, sometimes two hundred more. Himself is now given wholly to drunkenness, and suffers his country to be led to their ruin by Hugh Boy and his brothers, of the sept of Clan Davies, who are wholly addicted and tied to O'Donnell.

“Now over against Dunalong lies a little fort called the Cargan, built heretofore by O'Donnell, wherein his mother had her chief dwelling-place, till our coming to that place. From Colmackatrene (standing a little way beyond Birt) runs a small river, and on each side a main and impassable bog for any manner cattle, so that only these two places stand upon hard ground. Where the highway lies, from that river to the Derry (all within the pricks mentioned in the map, to separate O'Dogherty's country from the rest, being a great scope of well-inhabited ground) is the Bishop's and O'Donnell's land, so that a garrison of 300 men lodged at Colmackatrene, and another forty or fifty at Cargan, would both enclose all that compass of ground from them, and also coop in O'Dogherty, that nothing could pass in nor out of his country but only footmen, which could carry no manner beast nor cattle with them, neither durst any force ever attempt to come that way, for fear of the garrison of Liffer, which would always fall out on their backs, and intercept their return. These places being kept, Culmore may be kept with a ward of twenty men, Ellogh with twelve, and the Derry with 200; and beside, the Liffer having a strong garrison, it were not material though Dunalong were left to the guard of 100 men, and by this means should the Queen's forces be far advanced into the country, and all within them have a large scope of ground, and a safe retreat for goods, and whatsoever they should get from the rebels. And without fortifying these places, it is impossible to keep any manner thing without the very walls of the forts, or the island at Derry almost. They may both be victualled by water, within a bow shot of the place.

“Of O'Cane's country I cannot yet say much, but that part that I have seen was full of corn, and it is generally reputed a richer and more fertile soil than that of O'Dogherty's, and of greater circuit and extent.”—[1600, December 19.] *Endorsed by Sir Henry Dockwra*:—“A description of Lough Foyle and the country next adjoining.” pp. 5.

Dec. 20.  
The Court.

**86.** The Privy Council to Sir George Carew. “Upon the great importunity of the Lady Norreys, whose case indeed deserveth compassion, Her Majesty was first pleased that one whom she named should command a company of 150 in that province; whereupon you received such order from the Lord Deputy. Since which time it seemeth that you have so employed that company in remote places, as the hopes which she had have been frustated; for all the good that she was to reap thereby was only this, that such a company might be placed there upon her own lands, as would make no havoc nor spoil, but be an instrument of collecting

1600.

all things to her use. Now you must understand that she having made great complaint hereof to the Queen, and Her Majesty being desirous in any reasonable matter to gratify her whose husband died in her service, we have bethought us how the matter may be ordered least prejudicial[y] to Her Majesty's service, and most for the Lady's satisfaction. Wherein we know no way better than that whensoever you shall find cause to remove that company, you shall notwithstanding reserve so many as may be sufficient to guard the Castle, and those to be commanded by him, or his Lieutenant, for whom she was a particular suitor, to procure that company. Having now signified to you Her Majesty's pleasure (for which this shall be your warrant), we do desire you to order it so, as she may not have any just cause to importune the Queen again."—The Court, 1600, December 20. *Endorsed*:—"To the Lord President of Munster concerning the Lady Norreys, from the Lords." *Draft, with corrections by Sir Robert Cecil. p. 1.*

Dec. 20. **87.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer, Sir Griffin Markham, was a Colonel of horse in the Earl of Essex's time. By the new establishment he was deprived of that entertainment. Appointed him to command 100 of the horse that went to Lough Foyle, but he could not go there by reason of his sickness, and returned to England to recover his health. Heard of the misfortune to the horse at Lough Foyle, and there being but few left, could not do less than cast Sir Markham's company. This was not from any dislike to him, whom he esteemed worthy of a better place, but to lessen Her Majesty's charge. Has had, and has, a great desire to give Sir Markham any satisfaction he can.—December 20. *Endorsed*:—1600. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

Dec. 20. **88.** Sir Oliver St. John to Sir Robert Cecil. Expresses his thanks for the favours bestowed on him when at the Court. "The 13th of this month I arrived at Dublin, where I found my Lord Deputy, and presented unto him Her Majesty's letters, your Honour's, and other from the Lords, out of which, and those many comforts besides I delivered unto him of the general good acceptance of all his actions by Her Majesty and all your Honours, he received exceeding comfort and satisfaction, as being the best spurs to stir up his whole endeavours to go on in this great and difficult business. In the relation whereof, when I mentioned your Honour, and confidently assured him of the noble disposition I observed in your Honour towards him, the acknowledgment and merit you gave to his virtues, the good offices you did him at my being there, and the many more you had done since his coming hither, by the general testimony of all his friends, I assure your Honour it was a news so joyful unto him, and received with such ample satisfaction and thankfulness, as I do confidently believe he will always esteem your Honour's affection and friendship as his best means to defend his actions from those exceptions and misinterpretations, which any envy or malice of other shall go about to lay upon him; the effects whereof I do with as much devotion wish, as any good or fortune to myself.



1600.

"Concerning the prosecution of this war in Leinster, I found that since his Lordship's letters by the Treasurer, he hath given order for the victualling of the forts in Leix and Offally, whereof the one is already done, this other at this time in doing. His Lordship is ready to go into the field himself, having some enterprise in hand, which, with the favour of God, may fall out to be of very good consequence. His *rendezvous* is about the Naas. Those done, he purposes to remain at Monasterevan, a place upon the border of Leix and Offally, from whence he will not want opportunities to draw sundry plots to the ruin of the rebels in those parts. From other parts his Lordship hath received advertisements of good successes in Her Majesty's service, as the killing of Dermott O'Connor, the late chief leader of the bonnaughts in Munster, of Donnell McOny, the chiefest rogue of those which remained in Leix. His Lordship hath also received, at the hands of Connor Roe Maguire, the son of Cormack McBaron, taken a good while since, who is now in the Castle; and in every part the rebels quake at Her Majesty's power, and I doubt not but Her Majesty shall see a soon and prosperous end of this wicked and barbarous rebellion."—Dublin, 1600, December 20. *Holograph.* pp. 2.

Dec. 20.  
Dublin.

89. F[lorencia FitzPatrick, Baroness of] Upper Ossory, to Sir Robert Cecil. "I am much troubled by Sir Robert Gardener in the passing of my grant of the spiritualities which your Honour procured for me. Wherein he is so wilful as he doth not only stay me here at great charges, and hinder the service which I might do in my country, but also doth offer me wrong in seeking to lay a rent upon a patronage, a thing that was never heard of in this country, my Lord Chancellor, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and the Auditor, being against him in the matter. But, which grieves me most, he hath used hard speeches to my friend Mr. Crosby without cause, for seeming once to reason with him therein. I assure you, upon mine honour, Patrick Crosby hath done good and profitable services to Her Majesty since his coming hither, and can do great services in Ireland, much more than he that hath great entertainment from the Queen, and therefore he is not to be discouraged or discontented, especially in so wrongful a matter as this is. But whatsoever he, or any of us by his procurement, do offer or undertake, he is not esteemed at a straw. I will not say it is because it comes from your Honour, but I doubt me he will show you some reasons to prove it so. Notwithstanding, we will all be directed only by your Honour for Her Majesty's service, and we doubt not but that one day we shall have a Governor that will both esteem and countenance our services. By my next letters I will send your Honour a particular note of such services as I have done since I left your Honour, whereby you shall see that I have not been idle, but have deserved at least thanks for my labour."—Dublin, 1600, December 20. *Signed.* p. 1.

Dec. 20.  
Malow.

90. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. States how he has distributed the profits which the Queen was pleased to bestow

1600.

upon the Earl of Desmond and others out of the entertainment of one whole company of 100 foot. Has thought good for a time not to allow the Earl so much as would arise to his part, so has detained the whole allowance of the apparel in Her Majesty's hands; hereafter it may by his good deserving be increased unto him. The lendings of 100 men amount per annum to 782*l.* 2*s.* 10½*d.* Has given the Archbishop of Cashel, as directed, 121*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; to Lady Margaret, widow of Dermott O'Connor, 50*l.*; to the Lady Ellis, 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, being the same pension as the Queen bestowed upon her other two unmarried sisters; to John Power, 2*s.* sterling *per diem*, or 36*l.* 10*s.* [per annum]; and the remainder, 540*l.* 12*s.* 10½*d.*, to the Earl of Desmond, telling him he must rest satisfied therewith, until by his merit he may get enlargement of the same.

Has received their Lordships' letter of the 9th of November, on behalf of Mr. Pyne, with his petition enclosed. Will reply after conference had with him.

Has likewise received, by one James Spenser, their Lordships' letter of the 30th of November, directing his appointment as a Commissary of the Musters in Munster. Spenser's haste and indiscretion in regard to the matter. Wishes to know which of the present Commissaries is to be dismissed (three of them being "insufficient"), to make room for Spenser.

Replies to the charge that he had not commanded the Victualler Apsley and Commissary Jones to certify the state of their charges.

"The passage being stayed for want of wind longer than wished or expected, hath given me leisure to advise with the Judges and part of the Council touching the reference of the general pardon mentioned in my other letter herewith of the 16th of this instant (*wanting*). In entering into consideration whereof, I do find it most requisite for the better reformation and settling of this province (under reformation of your Lordships' graver judgments) that Her Majesty will be pleased out of her princely mercy (as in the like cases in this kingdom hath been accustomed) to grant by proclamation a general pardon, a draft whereof with the advise aforesaid I do herewith send unto your Lordships (*wanting*), humbly referring the same to be corrected as in your wisdom shall seem meet."—Mallow, 1600, December 20. *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall the 13th [January]. *Signed.* pp. 2½.

Dec. 20. 91. Copy of the preceding, certified by Sir George Carew. pp. 2½.

Dec. 21. 92. James, Earl of Desmond, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Sithence Kilmallock. the writing of my letters, Thomas Oge hath brought unto me Piers Lacy's two sons. I do find him the truest follower I have since my coming over, whereof I beseech your Honour to consider, in regard of his diligence to do Her Majesty service, and his affection to me."—Kilmallock, 1600, December 21. *Signed.* *Seal.* p. ¼.

Dec. 21. 93. Declaration of the Account of the Treasurer of Ireland, for the year ending Michaelmas, 41 Eliz. [1600.]—1600, December 21. *Signed* by Christopher Peyton. *One sheet.*

1600.  
Dec. 22.  
Mallow.

94. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since the writing of my former letters unto your Honour in the behalf of my Lord Barry, that Her Majesty would be pleased to bestow the lands which appertained to James FitzThomas, with his castle of Conhie, unto the which the said Lord Barry pretends a good title in law, the same being (as he alleges) extorted from his ancestors by the Earls of Desmond, I have received advertisement that John Fitz Edmonds, during his long abode in Dublin (from whence until this fortnight he never returned since my coming into Munster) hath procured a *custodiam* of the same under Her Majesty's seal. Although I could be glad to do Mr. Fitz Edmonds any good I may, as well in respect of himself or others, yet in this I wish him not the success he desires, but rather desire that Her Majesty's bounty for that land were bestowed on the Lord Barry, or some else that hath been a labourer to extinguish the rebellion, and have adventured their lives in the same, [rather] than upon him or any man that hath not been laborious in the harvest."—Mallow, 1600, December 22.

[*Postscript.*] "Captain Flower had the *custodiam* granted unto him of the same castle and lands by the Earl of Essex, by force whereof he hath been possessed of that land. This latter *custodiam* procured by Mr. FitzEdmonds will turn me to a great deal of trouble between them, wherefore I do humbly pray that from England Her Majesty's pleasure may be signified to end and overrule the controversies." *Holograph.* p. 1.

Dec. 22.

95. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "I wrote unto your Honour by James Spenser how necessary it was to have the Captain's accounts made up in this province, without sending the books and certificates to Dublin. For the execution whereof I hold William Jones a very fit man, both in respect of his long experience in the place, and of his honest carriage therein. To induce their Lordships the rather thereto, I have sent hereinlosed such reasons as I gathered both from the Paymaster and the said Jones, which I am bold to trouble your Honour withal, that by your good means it may the sooner be effected. I am sure Mr. Treasurer will join in opinion with me, if your Honour be pleased to call him unto you. And touching the books and certificates, they may be better (in my judgment) sent to England than to Dublin."—1600, December 22. *In a postscript Carew adds:—*"Your Honour, be assured that the Queen will be the better served, if this which I desire be effected." *Signed. Seal.* p. 1.

*Encloses:—*

95. i. Some "reasons to move their Lordships that the Captains' half-year's accounts may be made up in the province."—1600, December 22. p. 1.

Dec. 22.  
Cork.

96. William Jones, Commissary in Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the delay in sending in his certificates and accounts.—Cork, 1600, December 22. *Holograph.* p. 1.



1600.

Dec. 23.

Cloyne.

97. John FitzEdmonds [Fitzgerald] to Sir Robert Cecil. "Your letter, dated from Court at Oatland[s] the 27 of September last past, I received at Dublin the 8 of December following, and according your honourable direction to me concerning the young Earl, I made present speed, not respecting any peril to my person in the way (being then very dangerous) to come to Munster, where, meeting his Lordship at my distressed poor house, as well for his father's sake, whom ever I entirely loved whiles he continued dutiful to his Sovereign, and for performing your honourable pleasure unto me directed on his behalf, whereby I perceive how well you wish him, I entertained his Lordship to my poor ability, and from thence accompanied him to the Lord President, giving him all the best and soundest advices that I could invent, as well for continuing his loyalty to Her gracious Majesty, as also for directing him in his own private proceedings, and because I conceive a good opinion of him for the little time of trial I have of his Lordship, and having never seen him since he was a child, and then committed chiefly by his mother and my own means to the State for the better stay of his father in his bounden loyalty and preservation of his house. I saw him never since until now. I will not be weary of advising and assisting him, to the uttermost of my power, unless [by] the misleading of others that be his counsellors he chance to give occasion to a contrary conceit of him; which if he do (as I hope he will not), I will no more assist him than I did his father, when he was past the bonds of his duty to his Sovereign. And if I should chance to find any the like disposition in him (which God forbid), it shall no sooner be known to me, than by advertisement from me [it shall] come to your Honour's knowledge.

"As for the fifty men in pay, whereof my son advertised me at several times that it have pleased Her Majesty, by your Honour's procurement, to allow him that number, with some horse as well, for defence of my castles, as also to serve upon the rebels within the barony of Imokilly, I perceive now, by your Honour's letter, that it is otherwise, and do see also that some hath double so many in pay, which never served therefore, and have often deserved the contrary reward, who also are enriched by the rebellion, as I am utterly impoverished by the same. Yet nevertheless as ever I served Her Highness gratis in all rebellions heretofore, not respecting the losses of all that I had, and the daily hazarding of my life (although never so low brought as now), I will also now overstrain myself to the uttermost of my power to serve against Her Majesty's rebels, rather than any way I should seem chargeable to Her Highness, or troublesome to your Honour."—Cloyne, 1600, December 23. Signed. p. 1.

[Dec. 24.]

98. [Captain Thomas Lee] to Captain [A. Blackcadell, *alias*] Blage. "Think not strange that you have not heard from me in all this time past. The cause I leave to the report of Mr. Secretary's letter, written with his own hand, sent unto me, which I do now send unto you, by perusing whereof you shall find how Her Majesty and he doth accept of McWilliam's offer, and all that he demanded therein shall be performed by Her Majesty, so soon as

1600.

the service by him offered is effected. And for the thousand pounds which he demands beforehand to be disbursed to his brother-in-law, I am of Mr. Secretary's opinion that there is no reason it should be disbursed until the service be done. But upon my life, whatsoever he hath written unto me in his letter will be most honourably performed, and if it should be out of his own purse. Besides McWilliam and you, and those that join in this enterprise, shall have a most honourable friend of him, the service being done, which I know is in McWilliam's power to do at all times upon O'Donnell. Therefore, Captain Blage, let it be effected with all speed, for you know it is not by following a traitorly course against his Prince can advantage any man, neither can beggars ever advance men either to honour or to a settled estate. Besides, those that never deserve anything of their Prince, cannot justly demand either favour or reward until they have deserved it. And yet those that hath deserved never so ill, if they will perform that service which is in them to do, upon performance thereof assure yourself the honour and reward promised shall be performed, and the sooner, when you have such a friend as Mr. Secretary is, who engageth his honour and credit, under his own hand, nor can you have a better assurance for your rescue, if there be cause, than that which Mr. Secretary hath set down in his letter, which is the garrison of Lough Foyle, being (as you know) but 24 miles or thereabouts between Donegal and the Derry, in which abbey, or near thereabout, he must perform the service.

"When you and McWilliam cometh (*sic*) together, follow mine advice, if you like it, upon your conference. This then would I have you first do. So soon as you and McWilliam meets (*sic*) together, send unto O'Donnell to appoint some certain day, where he and all the principal men of his country may meet, and let it be at the Abbey of Donegal, there to confer of some course about the defeating of the forces of Lough Foyle, and that there must be something done this winter upon them, or some place else; for, seeing Her Majesty doth now mean to leave the province of Connaught to their own defence, McWilliam may go the stronger to assist O'Donnell in any enterprise he shall undertake.

"When they have resolved of something to be done, I would have McWilliam well accompanied to this meeting, when it is determined to take his opportunity at the first encounter, and be sure to kill O'Donnell, Teig O'Rourke, and [O']Connor Sligo, for you know they are both Ormonde's; and how he is engaged in their treacherous course, you and McWilliam best knoweth. Stand not much upon the other two; so that O'Donnell be overthrown, it is no great matter for the rest.

"In mine opinion Brian O'Rourke might easily be drawn to join with you and McWilliam in this service, because I know he would be glad to settle his estate, and shall be the quieter, if Teig be killed with O'Donnell; and likewise he knoweth that if he had not been with Sir Conyers Clifford, he had been taken by Tyrone, with Maguire, Sir Art O'Neill, and Tirlogh McHenry. And as for Brian O'Rourke, if he had been then taken, he had never gone abroad more, but Teig O'Rourke had been made chief of his father's country. I do not think but he knoweth thus much. Before you or

1600.

McWilliam do impart this matter unto him, swear him upon a book before his ghostly father, to keep secret whatsoever shall be made known unto him, and let him and yourself receive the sacrament thereupon, and assure him withal, that he shall be advanced to honour and other preferments in as ample manner as McWilliam. After his oath thus taken, break the matter unto him, and if he will join with you, there is no doubt but you may effect the service as you list yourselves upon O'Donnell, and all those that are his, because I know he is both wise and valiant, and knows that none can settle his estate but Her Majesty. And when the service is by you performed, if I command that province, which is promised me, assure him that neither his father, nor all the rest of his friends, shall be more fast unto him than I will be.

"If Mr. Secretary's letter do not give McSwyne and McWilliam sufficient contentment for the thousand pounds promised, then do you give yourself in pledge with McSwyne, until it be sent over unto him, which, as I have said before, upon my credit and life will be performed upon the service done, and that Her Majesty of her princely bounty will increase her goodness from time to time, when haply she shall see her people give so good a testimony of their faith and service, before they will demand anything at her princely hands. I would advise McWilliam and Brian O'Rourke to send some one hither from either of them, such as they will trust with their life, and I will undertake that Mr. Secretary shall confirm whatsoever they shall think reasonable to satisfy them for that which is demanded.

"I think it best that you go first into Connaught to have conference with McWilliam, and conclude of your course; which done, then bring those men which they will send with you thither, and one of my men, which is William Woodhouse, shall bring them unto me, and upon your return to Dublin, and the service resolved on, then this bearer shall go presently to Lough Foyle with Her Majesty's letter, there to remain with it, as Mr. Secretary hath set down in his letter unto me, and upon the service done, then to be delivered. If you like of mine advice in sending to O'Donnell, appoint a certain day of meeting at Donegal, and it may so fall out that the Earl of Tyrone will also come to that parley. Then lose no opportunity to do the service upon O'Donnell, and upon all those that are in his company. Which done, take Tyrone in hand to be delivered over unto Her Majesty, for it may prove for his good, and in such sort that you and all that kingdom may well know that she is [a] merciful prince.

"I have written a letter unto my man, Jeames Knowde, to go with you into Connaught, to the end he may talk with Farragh McHugh, to tie him by oath unto you. You know he dares do as much as any man, and the more willing he will be to join with you, and to do the uttermost of his power, when he shall know that, when the service is once performed, I shall be sent to command that province, by which means he may be assured to settle a good estate unto himself. I have written in my letter to Jeames Knowde, that he shall receive his direction from you, when you are in Connaught together, but let him not know of that which is determined, but only to go with



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this direction to O'Donnell, that I advise him, and that for their own good, to undertake some matter this winter for the defeating of the forces at Lough Foyle, which being done, it will cause Her Majesty to forbear the north parts; for if this be not brought to pass this winter, the next summer you will all be overthrown. Let Farraugh McHugh go along with Jeames to O'Donnell, because he may satisfy O'Donnell that he is a man that I do specially trust. But in any case let not Farraugh be made acquainted with your plot until his return, but tell him that upon his coming back you have some matters to impart unto him that may be for his good. And withal let Jeames Knowde tell Brian O'Rourke that I advise him to be ruled by you. And for your safe going into Connaught, there is a letter sent by Mr. Secretary to the Lord Deputy or those in his absence, to give you a warrant for your more safeties to go into that province, and to have conference with any traitor whatsoever, without danger, during the space of three months, within which time you may effect your purpose, or else never.

"When you shall make known to O'Donnell that you have a warrant to confer with any in that province, you must use some reason unto him upon what ground you got it, which in my opinion should be this. That you informed the Lord Deputy, that it was through Connaught that all the messengers and priests passed from the Earl and O'Donnell into Munster and Leinster, and that, if his Lordship would give you and Jeames Knowde warrant to go into Connaught, you would find means to apprehend some of them with their letters, and, upon this information of yours, you had the same warrant. And if you can suggest any other matter more plausible to O'Donnell and the rest, you may, and what you determine therein, to let Jeames Knowde be made privy thereunto, that you may agree both in one tale. And upon your return to Dublin, send Mr. Secretary's letter over unto me by William Woodhouse, for that it is my warrant to write unto you about this business.

"Let Jeames go unto the Earl upon your next going into that country as from me to advise the Earl to resolve upon some course for the undertaking of the garrison of Lough Foyle, or some other exploit, and will him withal to look unto Sir Art O'Neill, and when he hath been with the Earl, or before his going thither, you may haply perform the service. Upon the receipt of this letter, write unto me of your opinion touching this designment, and send it by the next packet, that I may understand if McWilliam will hold on his determination. And when you return out of Connaught, write again at large unto me, and withal write a letter to Mr. Secretary, and put my letter within his, so will they come both safe hither. And withal speak unto the Secretary there, to see it sent by the first opportunity, for the letter being directed to Mr. Secretary, he dares neither open it, or keep it, but will have the more care in sending it away with expedition, if you tell him that it concerneth Her Majesty's service. Thus wishing from my heart that this offer of yours may have good and speedy success, for all your own goods, that are actors in the cause, with my hearty commendations I bid you farewell. From Sir Henry Lee's house in Oxfordshire, &c." *Copy. pp. 6½.*

1600.

*Encloses:—*

98. i. [Sir Robert Cecil] to Captain Thomas Lee. "Captain Lee, The offer of McWilliam's service sent over unto you long since, which you made known unto me upon the receipt of Captain Black's letter, you know what my answer was unto you when you acquainted me with it, and shortly after I made known unto you how well Her Majesty did accept of it. There hath been too long time spent in delaying thereof, and seeing your sickness hath been the cause that you have foreborne soliciting the same offer, which is of so great importance, and for that also you are not able as yet to make your present repair into Ireland in respect of the same your sickness, for the seconding them for their more safety with those forces they demand, I have bethought myself of a course that may further the expedition for the present, as if you were there yourself, and I think they will like well of, which is this. The same messenger that you send unto Blage shall carry a letter with him from Her Majesty, signed with her own hand, unto Sir Henry Dockwra, or to him that commands the forces at Lough Foyle, that whensoever McWilliam is resolved to go on with the service, he shall then go presently to Lough Foyle from Dublin to Sir Henry Dockwra with Her Majesty's letter, which letter shall not be delivered until McWilliam hath performed the service upon O'Donnell; which done, then the forces of Lough Foyle shall stir to rescue McWilliam, if he be not of himself able to recover that garrison. And whensoever he comes thither, he shall be there embarked to come for England, where he shall receive that honour from Her Majesty that he demands for the service, with all his other demands for his entertainment; and those that shall join with him in that action shall presently be put into Her Majesty's entertainment, and shall also make a fort for themselves near to the fort of the Derry, where they shall be provided for, as the rest of Her Majesty's soldiers are there. I would have you send some trusty messenger with your letter with all speed unto Captain Blage, and assure him and McWilliam that all that McWilliam demands shall be performed, the service being first effected. And moreover, if any Lord of that country will join with McWilliam for furthering of the service, he shall not only be ennobled, but shall also forthwith be enabled by Her Majesty both to settle his own estate for furthering of the service there, but likewise, for the settling of that province and McWilliam in his country, you shall go over with him Governor of that province, with as great authority as Sir Conyers Clifford had, and with far greater authority than any going thither hath had to make good servitors beholden unto you. And for the thousand pounds beforehand to be delivered, there is no reason for that demand, because you know how often Her Majesty hath been deceived by many of that country. Yet thus much upon my honour and credit shall be performed in short time after the service done. The thousand pounds shall be paid to McSwyne, McWilliam's brother-in-law, and a thousand pounds more unto Blage, which is not demanded, with a hundred men in Her

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*Majesty's pay to strengthen McWilliam. Thus much, as I have written unto you in this letter, shall be performed, and so write in your letter unto Blage. Therefore hasten away a messenger with all speed unto him, and direct him what course you think best for effecting of that service they have offered. And howsoever Captain Blage shall dispose of himself, or any other from you with him to perform the service, I will be his and their warrant. The letter you write unto Blage, send it unto me to peruse, to the end I may see you write no more than is in my power to perform with Her Majesty's good allowance. There must be great secrecy used in the cause, and so advise Blage in your letter. Thus, expecting your answer, together with your letter for Ireland to Blage, and the messenger also that shall be employed therein, I bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at Richmond, &c."* [1600, December.]  
*Endorsed:—"Captain Lee." Copy. pp. 2½.*

Dec. 24. **99.** Document endorsed, "24 Decembris, 1600. Copy of the warrant given to James Blackcaddell, to treat with the rebels in Connaught, signed by my Lord Admiral and my master;" with alteration and proviso in Sir Robert Cecil's hand. In the warrant the agent is termed, "Captain James Black *alias* Caddell." p. 1.

Dec. [24.] **100.** Offer of service by McWilliam. Will undertake to cut off O'Donnell, or to take him prisoner, and send him to Her Majesty, or to any appointed by her. His demands for the service are: the Earldom of Mayo to him and his heirs for ever; to be made Her Majesty's Lieutenant of Mayo; to have 150 foot and 50 horse for the better settling of his country; to receive presently 1,000*l.*; O'Rourke to be made Lord of his country, and Her Majesty's Lieutenant of the same, having 100 foot for the better settling of his country; and lastly, that Captain Thomas Lee be appointed Chief Commander of Connaught. *Signed by Blackcaddell. Endorsed:—* 1600, December. p. 1.

Dec. 24. **101.** Document endorsed, "24 Decembris, 1600. Answers to McWilliam's propositions, signed by the Lord Admiral and my master, and delivered to Captain Black."

The Queen agrees to the demands, except that for 1,000*l.* (which, however, she promises to pay on the service being performed), and that for the appointment of Captain Thomas Lee as Governor of Connaught, "but it may be she will rather appoint him than any other, but she will not be bound to it." pp. 1½.

1600, Dec. 25. **102.** Don Luis de Carillo, Governor of the Groyne [Corunna],  
 1601, Jan. 4. to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. The King has written to Don Luis, stating that he has received the letters sent by Tyrone, and that his ships are nearly ready to go to the Earl's assistance. They will arrive for certain before the middle of May. Will send all news by



1600.

the messenger, who is to have 400 ducats for his pains.—Corunna, 1601, February [*sic*, ? January] 4. *Endorsed* :—"Copy of Don Luis de Carillo[*s*] letter, Governor of the Groyne;" *Sir Robert Cecil has added*, "to Tyrone." *Also endorsed* :—Intercepted. *Spanish. p. 1.*

Dec. 26.  
Kilmakeran.

**103.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. "The weather hath fallen out so extremely ill, as we were marching from the Naas to Ballinacorr from Tuesday noon till Wednesday night, being Christmas eve, and yet in all that time rested not above three hours at the most, so as the journey was exceeding hard both to horse and man, and yet we could not disperse ourselves, as we meant to gather the prey of the country, both because we found we should not have day enough, and that, if we had once divided ourselves, we knew not how to meet again; the day was so dark and bitter, as we could about (*sic*), and yet looking, could not see, as for such a purpose had been meet. On Christmas eve, with much ado, we got to Ballinacorr, won the house presently, and had the rifling of what was in it, took Phelim's son, slew divers there and thereabout, and took some fourscore arms, and lodged in the house all night, spending upon such provisions as he had made for Christmas, which was good store of beef, great store of strong drink, and some both of wine and *aquavite*. The next morning we set fire on that house, as we did of (*sic*) all the country thereabouts, and came over to the Broadwater, into the Byrnes' country, because we saw by the melting of the snow the waters were rising to such a height, as we should not be able when we would to get from thence. And now being on this side the water we do the like, and mean not, God willing, to leave these parts, till we have spoiled or brought in all this country, which we think will ask us but a short time, if we had provisions for the army; and in shorter time by much it might have been, if God had sent us better weather, that we might have lighted upon Phelim McFeagh, as we had done almost otherwise, for the next man to him was killed, and he escaped only with his wife by getting over a hedge close by the house into the wood. Captain Wolverson is now sent thither for victuals. I pray you dispatch him with all speed, and likewise such other victuals for Wicklow, as I directed the Victualler to send thither. Further I do much desire that we may have no want of victuals, when we come to Monasterevan, for I will in hand with that service as soon as I have done here."—"From the camp at Kilmakeran, hard by the Ranelagh," 1600, December 26. [*Postscript.*] "I pray you send us some victuals to Wicklow by water speedily, and therewithal 300 spades and shovels, 40 pickaxes, and a dozen bill-hooks and axes, for perhaps we will plant a garrison here. I have sent Phelim's son thither to you, and pray that he may be safely and carefully kept." *Copy. pp. 1½.*

Dec. 26.  
Mallow.

**104.** Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "I beseech your Honour to excuse me the breaking up of my Lord of Ormonde's letter hereinclosed, which instead of a letter sent unto me I did

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open, which I needed not to have done, if I had been desirous to have seen it, for that his Lordship did send me a copy of the same.

“Of the coming of forces into Munster, to disquiet it, this very day I received intelligence from the Earls of Ormonde and Thomond; 1,000 of them are Ulster men sent from Tyrone, and 2,000 more is to come out of Connaught. If they come at all, I shall have them in the province within these twenty days. All the chiefs of the rebels are run out of the country to hasten the coming of these rogues. Piers Lacy's two sons were delivered unto me by Thomas Oge, at the request of the Earl of Desmond (he had the keeping of them when he was Constable of Castlemaine), but would not be induced to put them into my hands, without my promise that they should not be executed; but he likewise sworn not to discover unto any man any such promise. Upon larger conditions the Earl could not get them, and I thought it better to have them in that manner than not at all. Other news since the writing of my packet there is not.”—Mallow, 1600, December 26. *Holograph. Seal.* p. 1.

Dec. 26.  
Ballybrittas.

105. Sir Terence O'Dempsey to Sir Robert Cecil. “I understand by my cousin, the bearer, how it pleased you to stand my honourable friend against the malicious working of my adversaries; for which as I acknowledge myself much bound to your Honour, protesting that I would die at your feet to do you any service I may, the rather for that I never deserved any such favour at your hands, so am I not as little grieved that any of the State should be procured by such as malice me to write against me thither, having done nothing but what I have warrant for from them, and specially for the receiving of the Earl of Ormonde. I never did it nor would do it (though I did both love and tender him much) before I had the enclosed letter from my Lord Deputy, contrary to which if any of them have done me wrong, I know and believe that the same God (that knoweth my innocence, and that caused your Honour to be my friend, unthought of and undeserved of me), will still be my buckler against such malicious accusations, wherein I most humbly beseech the continuance of your honourable favour.”—Ballybrittas, 1600, December 26. *Signed.* p. 1.

1600, Dec. 26.  
1601, Jan. 5.  
Corunna.

106. Friar “Matheu de Caria” to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. Understanding that the King would send this messenger to advertise Tyrone of all that passes, thought right also to inform the Earl of his own efforts to get men sent to him. Every day they say yes, but he thinks they want to send them to Flanders and not to Ireland. Will try to have them by the month of May or earlier, because they have a little money to send. Tyrone may despatch the messenger and his letters, saying in them that, if they do not give him men, he will cease from war, and make peace with England. Tyrone's son, Henry, is well at Salamanca.—Corunna, 1601, February [*sic*; ? January] 5. *Endorsed*, “Copy of Friar Matheu de Caria his

1600.

letter to Tyrone from the Groyne," "Intercepted," and by Sir Robert Cecil:—"This is the letter which sheweth how the Spaniards abuse Tyrone, which I would all the" [*here the endorsement stops*]. *Copy. p. 1.*

Dec. 28.  
Dublin.

**107.** Christopher Peyton, Auditor, to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends a brief declaration (*wanting*) of the revenues of Ireland for the year 41 Eliz. For the last year, to Michaelmas 42 Eliz., the Treasurer has not delivered in his book of receipts, because the farmers by their leases have twelve and sixteen weeks for payment of their rents. Claims the benefit of his letters patent both for the fee and other accounts belonging to the wars, knowing Her Majesty's pleasure is, that the account of the Treasurer at Wars shall be taken in England, and the rest in Ireland.—Dublin, 1600, December 28. *Signed. p. 1.*

Dec. 29.  
Dublin.

**108.** Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Hopes that his letter to Sir Robert, telling of the Lord Deputy's passage of the pass of Carlingford at the Narrow Water and arrival at Carlingford with the army, came safely to his hands. Enclosed it in a letter of his to Mr. Henry Maynard, together with two half-years' books of the checks and Her Majesty's half-year's charge in Ireland, the one ending 30 September, 1599, the other 31 March, 1600, although he understood from Mr. Waad (now joined with Mr. Maynard in receiving the books and certificates of the checks and state of the army in Ireland) that he was absent from the Court at the arrival of the said packet and letter. Is bold to advertise him, with the first, of such occurrences from the remote parts of Ireland, as the State left in Dublin, authorised in the absence of the Lord Deputy, have lately received, "but after an Irish account, who in time, number, weight, and measure, never deliver or observe any certainty."

It is certified that there are arrived in the harbour of the Inver, in Erris in the county of Mayo, two frigates "laden with friars and munition from Spain." Thinks it is only some piece of a squadron of the main fleet, which so long they have bragged of. Hopes that they are dispersed by the late strong easterly winds, and fallen off by fragments into divers quarters, and some of them returned into Spain. Hopes some are "in the bottom of the seas, according to the usual mercy of the Almighty God to Her most excellent Majesty, who evermore be blessed, and His name praised for the same."

The advertisement of their arrival "removed Tyrone from his designed station of Maherycoo, within three miles of the new fort, Mount Norreys, where he purposed to have kept his Christmas, with his forces laid in the villages about the fort [from] which Captain Blany, Governor in the said fort, upon the rising of Tyrone to draw towards the said Spanish fleet, issuing with such companies as he had (leaving a sufficient guard for the fort) in sundry quarters set fire on them all at once, both houses and haggards of corn, so as the Archtraitor, upon his next coming, shall have but cold roasting there. The very day before Tyrone's arrival to (*sic*) Maherycoo,



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Sir Samuel Bagenall had supplied the fort with two months' victual, and if he had deferred it till Tyrone's coming, he had not been able with all the forces in the Newry and Carlingford, or other his command joined together to have victualled it all. For I assure your Honour (which I am heartily sorry to write) that of 900 in list Sir Samuel Bagenall cannot march above 257 strong. For since my Lord Deputy's coming out of the north, the old garrison of the Newry, which were the fairest bands and the only lusty garrison over all the kingdom, and most complete in numbers, are, by mortality of sickness infected with certain new companies of the last supplies by his Lordship left there, so consumed with death that the Commissary upon Christmas even, calling the garrison into the field to muster, was of divers captains requested not to force them so to do, for that divers of them were not able to bring forth nineteen sound men to guard their colours, which hath driven the poor gentleman, Sir Samuel Bagenall, into such a melancholy, as he [is] fallen sick only with thought. The fort and garrison planted where it is, is to much better purpose than the plantation of Armagh could have been, if that also where it is had not been raised with it (*sic*).

"And assuredly, Sir, since it is now fallen out after my Lord Deputy's journey, as ever heretofore it hath done after journeys, that sickness and mortality doth consume more than the sword, it may please your Honour to advise Her Majesty, now that the Archtraitor's crown is somewhat cracked, not to invade him any more with a main army, especially in the winter, but to infest him with sundry plantations in places fit for them, wherewith by their continual residence upon him in his fastness, he shall not only be wrought into, and as with a canker eaten into his bowels, but also he shall be forced by keeping strength of men about him and his creaghts, to eat and consume himself. And to bereave Tyrone wholly of one third part of Ulster at one blow, where to make a plantation near the Lough Cuan, whereof I humbly am to present to your Honour a project upon apparent and undeniable reasons, not unworthy of your Honour's patronage, I hope, by a man of mine own, whom I mean expressly to send to your Honour with it."—Dublin, 1600, December 29. *Signed. pp. 2. Encloses:—*

108. i. *A brief abstract of Her Majesty's charge in Ireland, payable in money out of Her Highness[s] treasure sent out of England, "according as the list now stands, this 23rd of December, 1600." Copy. Unsigned. p. 1.*

Dec. 30.  
Barry Court.

109. David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Mr. John FitzEdmonds understanding that I have made suit to your Honour for the castle of Conehie and the lands belonging to the same, lately in the possession of James FitzThomas, now in action of rebellion against Her Majesty, he hath by his long abode at Dublin procured a *custodiam* of the said castle and lands under Her Majesty's seal, notwithstanding that Captain Flower had a former *custodiam* thereof from the Earl of Essex. And forasmuch as I have with the loss of my blood and goods laboured to extinguish the rebellion in this province, and that I have been

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of long time a suitor to your Honour for the said land, and that my Lord President hath written to that effect to your Honour on my behalf, I am most humbly to pray your honourable favour herein, that it may please your Honour (in regard that Mr. FitzEdmonds hath procured the said *custodiam* only to cross me of it) to be a mean to Her Majesty for passing the said castle and land unto me, or at least the *custodiam* thereof, until it please Her Highness to bestow it otherwise, to the end my back friends may have no advantage of me.

“I am also an humble suitor to your Honour in the behalf of my daughter, now a widow, and late wife to the Lord Power’s son and heir, who was slain in Her Majesty’s service by the rebels, that Her Majesty would be pleased to grant me, to the use of my said daughter and her son, now heir to the Lord Power, the wardship of the said child, whose estate will be in danger to be overthrown by his uncles and kinsmen, when this Lord Power shall die, unless Her Majesty be pleased to grant this suit for his relief.”

Was given by the Lord Deputy and Lord President in September last a company of 100 foot. Can receive no pay either for himself or them. It is delayed by the under officers. Craves order for payment. Gives hearty thanks to Sir Robert for his good usage of the writer’s son.—Barry Court, 1600, December 30. *Signed.* p. 1.

Dec. 31.  
Callan.

110. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. “Here hath been for some years past Mr. Meredith Hanmer, doctor of divinity, attendant for most part in the army under the late General Norreys, and on myself ever since my Lieutenancy; wherein, together with that I have heard of others, I may not but testify with him, that (in his place) he hath performed dutiful and respective offices and services worthy of consideration. And at his instance, being moved to write these my letters unto you on his behalf for his preferment (being a learned man and a good preacher) to the Bishopric of Down in Ulster, with the Union of Dromore, Kilmore, and Clogher, being very small things, long void and wasted by the traitors, I earnestly pray you, in that he still attendeth on me, that it will please you to move Her most excellent Majesty to bestow the said small bishopric on him, remitting the first fruits, in respect of the waste, by reason of the rebellion in those parts. And withal that he may hold such small living as he enjoyeth in *commendam*, during his natural life, to support the calling of a bishop, wherewith he saith he will rest contented. What good you shall do the Doctor herein, I shall acknowledge myself much beholden unto you for it; and this I earnestly request in regard of the good services performed by him, and of the sufficiency of the man.”—Callan, 1600, December 31. *Signed.* p. 1.

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111. “Matters to be considered touching the pardon moved for those of Munster, how far forth they shall be thought fit.”

“Whether it shall not be fit to comprise in the proclamation and pardon these provisos following:—

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"First, that they render up to the State all their arms, weapons, and provisions of wars whatsoever, and not from henceforth to have or use any, but as they shall be licensed by the State, and that but for such times as they shall be so licensed.

"That henceforth they enter not into any action or combination of rebellion for any cause, but submit themselves and their causes to the ordinary justice of that realm, where they shall be justly dealt with as any other good subject of that realm.

"That henceforth they give no manner of aids or succours of arms, victuals, or in any other manner, to any rebel or traitor.

"If these may be first accepted of in Munster, it may be after a good precedent for the rest."

*Endorsed*:—"December, 1600. For Irish causes." *Unsigned*. p. 1.

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112. "An answer to certain questions made by the Right Honourable the Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary and some other of the Council concerning Sir Henry Dock[wra's] government at Lough Foyle." *These answers were probably given by Captain Covert.*

(1). "Why there was no storehouse built, but the victuals suffered to be spoiled for want of place convenient to keep it (*sic*) dry?"

There wanted both matter and means to build withal. Only 2,000 boards came of the proportion appointed for Lough Foyle. Of these 800 were employed for the building of a hospital, 600 for the building of a bakehouse, 100 for the building of a smith's forge, and 500 for the building of sheds for the horses. As for the spoiling of the meal and salt, the barrels of these were placed within the walls of an old castle near the water's edge, and covered with boards, in manner of a penthouse over them. But Travers was not so careful as he ought to have been, and suffered a great part to lie within the high water mark, so it was overflowed by the tide and utterly spoiled. Sir Henry Dockwra, who was lying very sore hurt, sent for Travers, "who seemed to make very small account thereof, saying that, if it lay in the bottom of the sea, it could take no hurt, being in good and sufficient cask." The greater part of the meal and salt was out of the proportion sent two years before for Sir Samuel Bagenall, which having lain so long taking either too much heat or wet, was tainted before, and so indeed, being already spoiled, could take no greater hurt. Doubtless part of it was not of that which was provided in England, but was "foisted some other way."

(2). "Why he had no greater care of the musters, but suffered the Commissaries to make false, large certificates, whereby the Queen is much abused, and her treasure fraudulently consumed?"

"If the Governor shall stand charged with the offence of the Commissary, by making false musters and certificates, why should Her Majesty be at the charge of so many pays to Commissaries? Yet hath he not failed to cause the Marshal to make proclamation that no man should pass muster, but such as be soldiers lawfully retained, upon pain of death, nor by any false name or mean howsoever, to deceive the Queen, giving him also



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straight charge to stand by, and apprehend any man that should be found so offending. And, if the Commissaries will be underhand corrupted by any man, to certify more than he might lawfully do, I hope your Lordships will lay the blame of that where it is due, and not upon him that hath used all the means he might, for reformation of the same. He doth not advertise your Lordships of the strength of the army according to the Commissaries' certificates, but as he findeth their able number, when he hath occasions to draw them forth upon service."

(3). "How so much money is spent, considering the weakness of the army, and the great quantity of victual that hath been sent thither?"

"Although I cannot give a just account, yet I can shew many means and occasions of the spending of much. First, the paying of the army half-money, when the victual came not according to our expectation; the extraordinary payments to the Irish; the mending of boats, and making of a galley; intelligence; spial money; sick men's lendings," &c. Whereas their Lordships have made an account of such a great mass of victuals, and such sums of money to be spent, assures them that they will find that which was spent in money remaining in victuals. "Moreover, if the Treasurer had been warranted to issue money by warrant from him [the Lord Deputy], as he is from the Commissaries, I doubt not but he would rather have followed the upright direction of conscience, than such large certificates, although I know the number of the discontented had been thereby increased. And, under your Lordships' correction, I fear there be already too many such as by their false information do daily inform your Honours against him, that must undergo the heaviest burthen that even the basest tongues can inflict upon him."

(4). "It pleased Mr. Secretary to ask me of what number I would upon my credit affirm that the army did consist, and how many upon causes of necessity will only keep the garrisons, the rest being drawn out upon service."

Did not think they were able to make above 1,400 men on foot, of which number there could not be drawn out above 580, for that of necessity 820 must be left to keep the garrisons, viz., in Kilmore, 100; in the Ellaugh, 20; in the Derry, 300; at Dunalong, 200; at the Lifford, 200.

(5). "At what rate beer was delivered unto us from Chester, and how it was uttered to the soldier? That he was informed it was delivered at 6*l.* the tun, and uttered at 16*l.* to the soldier."

"The beer, according to the contract between the Governor and the Brewer of Chester, is delivered at 6*l.* the tun; and at the first coming of it, the Governor caused the same, to the number of forty or fifty tuns, to be delivered to the Captains at the same rate, for the relief of the soldiers; but many and the most of them converted the same to their own uses, whereby the soldiers were enforced to drink water. Whereupon the Governor suffered the next to be sold to certain victuallers, and caused the Captains to pay the soldiers their drinking money, which is 1*d.* *per diem*. And although the same beer could not be uttered at less than 2*d.* a quart by the victualler, it was neither after the rate of 16*l.* a tun, nor so bad for

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the soldier as to drink water. Yet I know there was beer sold for 2*d.* a quart, but not of that which was brought by composition; and, notwithstanding this order the Governor did take to have the poor soldier paid his money, many of the Captains detained the same, so as the Governor in open court have told them of it, threatening to punish them, if the like were found by them again; which no doubt procured him many secret enemies.

(6). "Also at what rate the kettles were delivered? And that he was likewise informed that the soldier paid 40*s.* for every of them."

Does not know at what rate they were allowed by the Queen, nor what was demanded for them by the captains, nor does he think there were many taken out of the store.

(7). "Whether there were an hospital or not; or, if there were, why the sick men were not relieved therein, considering there was a certain allowance out of every company for the maintenance of the same?"

"As for the hospital, there is no man that hath been there can deny but there is one, built as convenient as the time, place, and matter would afford. But if any man will say that all the sick men were not relieved in it, I must acknowledge that, for I do know the best hospital in London cannot contain all the sick men in that army, nor was it held fit in the opinions of all the best Captains there, that such infectious men should be brought in there; for the hurt men (of whom there is greater hope) should not only be in danger of death by his wounds received in service, but by the infectious disease of others (of whom the tenth man doth not recover). If they say the hurt men of other garrisons have no benefit of that place, I say, if they had sent them, they should not have been denied, if the house could contain them. But if they think, by accusing others, to excuse their own negligence, I doubt not but your Honours in your wisdoms will soon discern from whence that springs. And besides the number of hurt men (which no doubt are sufficient to fill a far greater and better hospital than that), the Governor was enforced to use part thereof for a munition house, otherwise the powder and match must have been subject to no less hurt than the meal was."—[1600, December.] *Unsigned.* pp. 4½.

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113. Memorandum from Captain Humphrey Covert to Sir Robert Cecil. "First, your Honour will be pleased that no head-pieces or armours for footmen be now, or hereafter, sent to Lough Foyle, because they are never worn there, but most negligently scattered, and almost buried in the soil of every quarter; but instead thereof a thousand swords. That two thousand deals and 500 spars be sent with this supply to build them cabins, otherwise they will be sick in nine days, and wasted in three months. That carpenters be sent with their tools to work for extraordinary wages, for if they be compelled to do the duties of soldiers, the like account will be made of them as of the former. Sir Henry Dockwra humbly desires of your Lordships a supply of forty or fifty horse. That the Clerk of bands

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may be placed as Her Majesty's officers, for now those that are, be the Captains' servants, who study nothing else but to deceive the Queen and wrong the soldiers. Because the chiefest service must be done this winter, it may please your Lordships to command that no Captain leave his charge, upon pain of losing his company, and such to be divided to increase the other companies to hundreds and fifties. That the storehouses be hastened, in regard of the great charges Her Majesty is at with two ships, viz., 45*l.* per month. That encouragement be given to Neale Garve and Tirlagh Gilson by some slight presents from Her Majesty, and that your Lordships be pleased to write to the Lord Deputy to send him with all speed to Lough Foyle, for upon his intelligences our winter enterprises chiefly consist. That two preachers more be sent to Lough Foyle, for to my knowledge there is great need of them, our garrisons being so far asunder."—[1600, December.] *Signed.* *With slight marginal notes by Sir Robert Cecil.* p. 1.

[Dec.] **114.** "A reckoning of such moneys as the Treasurer of Ireland hath borrowed of the city of Dublin since March, 1599." Total, 51,916*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* sterling. The Treasurer's deputies had borrowed a further 10,000*l.* for the payment of the army.—[1600, December.] *Unsigned.* p. 1.

[Dec.] **115.** Petition of Captain Launcelot Alford to the Privy Council. Has long been a servitor in the wars, and has spent much of his own estate in enabling him to do Her Majesty service. Has of late bestowed 100 marks on strengthening the fort of Culmore, "the only key and strength of the river of Lough Foyle." Desires the keeping of the said fort during his life, and letters to the Lord Deputy that the 150 acres adjoining the fort, and belonging to Phelim Oge O'Dogherty, now in rebellion, be granted to petitioner for the better maintenance of the fort. Further, that at such time as the petitioner's company of foot shall be cashiered, "by reason of the quietness of the country, or for any other respects," forty soldiers may be left at Culmore as warders, under the command of the petitioner as Constable.—[1600, December.] *Unsigned.* p. 1.

[Dec.] **116.** Rough notes in the handwriting of Sir Robert Cecil, endorsed by him, "Memorial for Ireland."

"In Tyrone, Donnell's followers of Shane O'Neill. Henry and Con have pensions, who are sons to Shane O'Neill. They are in Leinster. Tirlagh Lynagh had Tirlagh, who was slain. He had Issen Art O'Neill. Brian McArt O'Neill, son to Art that is base brother to Tyrone. O'Quin and O'Hagan's son are gone. Fishing at Ballyshannon. Sir Cahir O'Dogherty hath married the Lord of Gormanston's daughter. Coleraine some land."—[1600, December.] p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .



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**117.** ——— to [Sir Robert Cecil]. Concerning his efforts to secure Captain Harry Welsh for the Queen's service. Welsh was going into Spain from the Archduke [of Austria], but the writer persuaded him to serve the Queen in Ireland. Welsh declared that the occasion of his going to the enemy was the hard usage he received from the Earl of Thomond and Lord Burke ["Brocke."] Welsh and Captain le Roche.—[1600, December.] *Unsigned.* p. 1.

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**118.** Sir Roger Wilbraham, Attorney-General of Ireland, to Sir Robert Cecil. Provisoes to be put in the letters patent for the passing of Fermanagh, or Maguire's country.—[1600, December.] *Signed.* p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

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**119.** Fragment of a catechism on the ten commandments. *It is probably some of the manuscript prepared for the Irish primer, and most likely preserved by Dr. Meredith Hanmer amongst other fragments.* [1600, December.] *Irish.* pp. 2.

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**120.** Fragment of a catechism. *Biblical names on the back, and sentences in Latin. Likewise one of Dr. Meredith Hanmer's fragments.* [1600, December.] *Irish.* p. 1.

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**121.** Petition of [Donogh O'Brien], Earl of Thomond. His grandfather's surrender to Henry VIII., and grant from that monarch. His own service. His offer in the enterprise of Ballyshannon. His care of Thomond, called the county of Clare. Prays that the administration of justice in Thomond may be committed to Her Majesty's two Justices and Attorney of Munster. Desires continuance of himself in the martial government, and that he may be joined with the foregoing in commission for the civil government. This granted, he undertakes to answer yearly Her Majesty's composition rent, whether the country be waste or inhabited. His loss by the sale of his lands in the English Pale. Desires a grant of land, in fee simple, of 50*l.* a year, "and also 50*l.* a year more in fee simple of the like lands, in exchange of so much of his lands next adjoining to the city of Limerick, and it to be necessarily annexed to Her Majesty's castle of the same, for the maintenance of the said house."—[1600, December.] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—Earl of Thomond. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

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**122.** Copy of the preceding. pp. 2.

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**123.** Document endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:—"Ireland. Answers to complaints."

1. "The composition hath not been broken at any time, till, by the rage of the troubles, it could not be so strictly performed as both the state and the country would. When the troubles shall cease, there is no doubt to revive it, and keep it in the first order, as a thing most indifferent and requisite between Her Majesty and the country.

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2. "Sometimes some of the horse troops have been quartered in the English Pale at times after journeys, to refresh themselves, who were still enjoined, by warrant from the State, to pay ready money to the people, or else to give them tickets; so as the State could do no more, save to help the country to their money upon such soldiers as would not pay, if the same were followed upon them. [*Marginal note*:—"It is good two Commissioners of every shire in the Pale be joined with two of the Council for setting down of the rates and prices, both of the oats for horses, and prices for the soldiers' diet, wherein this moderation must be used, as the soldier be not strained above his daily wages."] Touching the horsemen to be bordered upon the frontiers, it is very requisite it should be so, for that there they may have hay in more quantity than in the heart of the Pale. And it will much ease the country, if they will bring in their oats to their garrison places at the usual rates, agreed upon between the State and the country; otherwise the soldier must abandon his garrison, and roam upon the country, which will be both odious and grievous. The like course to be taken for levying of beeves for the army; the same to be cut by the country, as the usage is, and brought to the place assigned by the State. But for the prices, though the scarcity and want of beeves maketh them dear, yet the soldier cannot pay above 20s. a beef, for that by his pay he cannot be strained higher. [*Marginal note*:—"The same Commissioners to deal in the rating of beeves, which in no sort can be raised above 20s. for a beef, to be delivered on foot."]

3. "When both horse and foot have been commanded to rise from their garrison, they have been directed to order their march, as is set down in the article, and to pay the country for their victuals, or to give them tickets according the usual rates, wherein such as hath or shall transgress, it is reasonable that the Treasurer be directed to make stay in his hands of so much of the soldiers' lendings to the use of the country. And it is meet the companies be contented to take such victuals in their passage as the people have to give them, without killing their calf, or mutton, or any other thing they have; [Sir Robert Cecil adds in his own hand:—"and the Deputy shall be enjoined upon his duty to see execution done upon any person that shall offend in that degree, if it be proved."]

4. "Touching a quartermaster, there is no great use of such an office, but when the army is in camp and marcheth; and therefore it may be forborne, when the companies lie in the country, where there be principal officers in every barony, as Constables, Collectors, &c., who are fittest to billet the companies in meet places for the most ease in the country. [*Marginal note*:—"The name of a quartermaster was not known in Ireland till of very late years, and his office was always performed by the marshal, without any increase of fee."]

5. "The clergy as well as the laity have been enjoined from time to time to bring their rising out to every general hosting according the rate of their tenures; and for other burdens of the country, it is not amiss that the clergy bear a proportionable part in every charge with the laity; so shall

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the burden be more easy, being borne by all. [*Marginal note*:—"Sometimes the Lord Deputy doth dispense in this point with some of the clergy, and the laity also, which hereafter may be forborne to them both."]

6. "Touching some of the country to be made Councillors of State, it is not meet Her Majesty be prescribed in so royal a point by her subjects; and where it doth apparently savour of presumption in those that labour to draw Her Majesty thereto, let them surcease all further proceeding therein, and leave to Her Majesty's princely mind to call to that junction whom she will, and when she will.

7. "Her Majesty hath been always most princely inclined to bestow her mercy and pardon upon her offending subjects, and will so continue towards any her people of the Pale, in whom she shall find true penitency and submission. But to grant a general pardon as is required in the article, were to bring as well the guiltless as the guilty within one degree of offence, and so make the defection universal, where there are great numbers of particulars in the Pale that stand free and innocent, and have no need of a pardon. [*Marginal note*:—"The Lord Deputy to be written unto to give pardon to such as shall sue for it according the ordinary provisos."]

And therefore let every sept dwelling upon the frontiers, and every particular person within the heart of the Pale (who cannot *stare rectus in curia*) make their humble suits to the Lord Deputy for pardon; to whom Her Majesty hath given power to make distribution of her mercy to her people.

8. "Her Majesty thinketh that her lands and farms in the English Pale are not so thoroughly wasted, but some portion doth remain inhabited, which may answer the rent. And considering what excessive charges Her Majesty is at for defending that country, it is an injurious motion in her subjects to seek to draw from her her rents, which is the only help she hath towards the easing of her great charges for their defence. Yet, in commiseration of her people upon this point, Her Majesty hath left to her Deputy and Council a power to tolerate where they find cause, and to instal and settle the arrear of rents in small annual portions for the ease of the farmer. [*Marginal note*:—"The Lord Deputy to be written unto to have a favourable regard to such Her Majesty's farmers as are within the compass of this article, but not to suspend any rents, where any portion of the land is inhabited to pay it."]

9. "The statute made of fresh pursuits was grounded upon more calmer times than are now, and then good use was made of it; but, seeing in this violence and rage of rebellion that statute bindeth the subject, that he dareth not recover his losses from the rebels, which giveth the rebels a greater boldness to oppress the subject, the Lord Deputy to be written unto to dispense with that branch of the statute, to such as dwell upon the borders as he shall think meet, and this during the heat of the troubles, and no longer."

—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. pp. 3.*

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124. William Udall's memorials concerning Lord Delvin. "The plots of treason twofold; one from the discontented English, the



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other from the Irish, the Jesuits, the trusty agents for both. The exploit stayeth only upon Father Archer's arriving, or the coming of Spaniards. By what means it should be exploited, and at what time. The places of retire (*sic*) upon the exploit in England, by Digby's direction and Talbot's. A great nobleman in Ireland [*Sir Geoffrey Fenton writes in the margin* :—"L. Delvin"] to be touched with this confederacy, where Nangle is remaining. Why Nangle came in upon protection, and refused pardon. Baxter *alias* Lutterrell, an Englishman, the original informer, by whom is to be disclosed the dangerous plot upon Her Majesty and Sir Robert Cecil. The bragging used in the northern camp of the small continuance of Mr. Secretary's government, founded upon Essex hope. L.B.D. [*Sir Geoffrey Fenton writes in the margin* :—"L. Delvin"] the only man for Leinster, upon the general massacre and freeing of pledges. John Talbot, of Grafton, and Simon Digby of Coleshill, or Mr. Throgmorton in Buckinghamshire, these are the men to give direction for the places, to the which the conspirators are to make their retreat. The direction and cause of the murdering of Garrett Fitzgarrett came out of England, and was shewed to Fitzsimmons, the Jesuit, in the castle here, and to Robert Laylor, priest, and to John Bradley, the old Countess['s] priest. Robert Laylor received the direction of that murder from Simon Digby, at Digby's last being in Ireland. G.B., a notable agent, and to be observed."—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. p. 1.*

[Dec.] **125.** Answers of [Patrick] Crosby to various charges brought against him. These relate chiefly to alleged fraudulent dealings in lands and tenements. Crosby's surname is stated in the charges to be Mc Y. Crossan, "one of the mere Irishry," his mother being of the Moores, and his father's mother of the Kellys of Clannalirie. Crosby replies that his family name has been Crosby since 8 Edward IV. and that he is only of English blood.—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. pp. 2.*

[Dec.] **126.** Paper on the causes of the rebellion in Ireland. "As in the affairs of common life, when things are by error grown to be out of their due course, the cause of their disorder will easilier (*sic*) be found out when they be in the highest degree of confusion, than in the steps whereby they creepingly grew thereunto; so in Commonwealths, when any State shall by misgovernment fall into disloyalty and become tumultuous, the causes thereof will be more easily discerned, when things are broken out into open action, than they could be in the courses which did make way thereunto. This realm, therefore, of Ireland being broken out almost into a general revolt (whereof of long time I have had great distrust by the courses which I saw taken, and did from time to time yield my opinion what success was likely to ensue), it now seemeth to me a thing of no great difficulty to guess at the causes of these troubles which are grown upon us. Wherefore I have set down that which follows (as my memory doth serve me), which in my conceiving

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discovereth the root which hath given growth to these rebellions which are now broken out, yet so as I still submit myself to better judgment.

“True it is that when Sir William Fitzwilliams did last come over hither to govern, this realm was in the best estate that ever I did know it, not only peaceable and quiet in every part thereof (so as any man would come to the State, being sent for by letter or messenger), but besides it was so plentiful in all kind of provisions, as corn was little worth, and beef was sold ordinarily in the market, two pounds for a white groat, most other victuals in their rates being answerable thereunto. At that time therefore (as I conceive) few or none did nourish discontentment, but not long after some began to do, upon the occasions which ensue. Some here had informed Sir William Fitzwilliams, within three months after his taking of the sword, that the Spaniards (not long before wrecked upon the coasts of Connaught and Ulster) had left with the people thereabouts (into whose hands they were fallen in coming to shore) both treasure and other riches in great plenty. He greedy (as it should seem) to get it into his own hands, did first essay it by commission, under pretence of service to Her Majesty, but that failing, and he thereby disappointed, could not endure that it should so rest, but went himself, to Her Majesty’s great charge, the country’s oppression, and all men’s wonder (because it was after Allhallowtide), pretending many Spaniards were remaining in those parts, though from all parts of Connaught and Ulster, before his going, he was advertised that none were to be found there, neither found he any. He took his journey first into Connaught, and so in to Ulster, and missing likewise of his purpose (after all his pains and travel) brought home with him, and committed to the Castle here two that he thought had had great Spanish riches, even the two best affected gentlemen of all those countries, after one of them had entertained him at his house, and that both had given many good testimonies of their duty. The one of them named Sir Owen McToole (father-in-law to Tyrone) had long had a pension of 100*l.* yearly from Her Majesty for using good offices to O’Donnell, with whom he was known to be very inward, and he till that time contained him in a good course as an opposite to Sir Tirlagh Lynagh, which was the last O’Neill. And the other, called Sir John O’Dogherty, was of all men noted to affect the English more than any man of Ulster. These two were very long imprisoned, and at the length O’Dogherty for money released (as is said) after two years’ restraint. The other refused to give, continued five or six years, till Sir William Russell discharged him in pity, upon his first coming, because there appeared no matter against him. But the poor old gentleman his heart was just broken, and so he died presently after his enlargement. This hard usage unto those two (being great men of Ulster without any just cause either proved or alleged) was very much murmured and repined at, and to this day will not be forgotten.

“Not long after this, died McMahon, chieftain of a country called Monaghan, being as big as an English shire, which he had surrendered unto Her Majesty, and taken again by letters patent to him and his heirs male, and for default of such to his brother

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with remainders. His brother, who was to succeed him, came up to the State for to be settled, hoping thereby the better to be countenanced and cherished, as Her Majesty's patentee. But contrary to his expectation here, he found that he could not be dispatched till he had promised to give at the least 700 cows to the Deputy and others, which afterwards failing fully to perform, he was then sent for, and committed to the Castle, where a while he did remain.

"Now whether upon further consideration it were found that the cows could not be gotten, or that another course then devised would prove more profitable to certain parties, he was enlarged, and promised that the Lord Deputy would go himself, and settle him in his country. Which journey the Lord Deputy undertook, and carried with him the said McMahon. At his coming thither, the gentleman was clapt in bolts, and within two days after indicted, arraigned, and executed at his own house, by such officers as for that purpose the Deputy carried with him. The greatest part of his country was divided for a rent to four gentlemen of his own name, who (it is said) gave more cows to the Deputy and others; and to the Marshal, Sir Henry Bagenall, was granted twenty-three ballebetoghes (each of which containeth about two ploughlands). And to Captain Henshawe, who was then made Seneschal of the country, was given McMahon's chief house and sixteen ballebetoghes of land, which were for the provision of the same house; and some others had smaller shares, among whom it is said that Captain Henshawe gave 400*l.* for his place. These men were thought to be the motives of McMahon's overthrow. The treason for which he was condemned was that about two years before that time he, pretending a duty to be due unto him or his brother out of the country of Ferney, with force of arms went to take a distress for the same, contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, as in the indictment was mentioned, &c. (*sic*), where in truth they used no other course to take up their rents and duties that were due unto them, that prince never having been subject to law, but ruled by their own constitutions and customs, the judges whereof are called Brehons.

"Upon this grew presently such heartburning, mislike, and loathing of government, as the northern Lords, by the means they could, laboured to keep the English officers from their countries, lest by their means the like course might be used towards them. In particular it is affirmed that Maguire, the chieftain of Fermanagh, did give Sir William Fitzwilliams 300 cows, to free his country from a Sheriff during his government, which he promised; yet, notwithstanding, when the cows were once received, or money according to their value, Sir William gave, or sold again, that Sheriffrick to Captain Willis, who had 100 men and about 160 women and boys following him for the execution of his office, all living upon the spoil of the country; which proved so hateful to Maguire (considering the spoils they did there commit), as he, like a barbarous man, in revenge thereof, taking them at advantage, set upon them and drave them into a church, where he should have cut them off, if Tyrone had not made composition for their deliverance, with condition that they should depart the country,



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which they performed. Thereupon Sir William Fitzwilliams sent a force into Fermanagh, won Maguire's castle of Enniskillen, proclaimed himself a traitor, and uttered besides such threatening speeches of Tyrone in public, calling him traitor, as coming afterwards to his ears, he pretended that to be the cause that made him first misdoubt himself, and stand upon his safety.

"This course made O'Donnell and the rest of the northern Lords begin to fear and combine together; and thereupon, not long after that, the Marshal did exhibit divers articles of treason against Tyrone, who now would not come to the State without protection. Which articles notwithstanding that he did answer (though not so soon as he was required) before Sir William Fitzwilliams and Council at Dundalk, in such sort as the said Sir William and Council (who had written into England against him) wrote secondly that he had sufficiently answered the said informations, so as in some shew he was cleared, yet could he, or would he, never be persuaded that he might live with any safety, inasmuch as he found by some discovery that the Deputy and Marshal never meant to leave him till they had utterly overthrown him, and that the Marshal had gotten to himself the government of Ulster, which he much affected, as is to some known. And twice afterwards he preferred articles of treason against him, and namely, upon the Earl his coming to Dublin to Sir William Russell, when he first took charge, notwithstanding he knew he came upon assurance to return again, and since that time Tyrone did never come to the State. It is here likewise to be noted that, when Sir William Russell first went towards Armagh, the said Tyrone sent letters of shew of submission upon some conditions, which should have been delivered at Dundalk, but the Marshal, getting knowledge thereof, did detain the messenger three or four days at the Newry, and never would suffer the delivery of those letters until Tyrone was proclaimed, at which time Sir William Russell, in respect of Her Majesty's honour, would not receive them.

"I have set down these things at the greater length, because I know the rebels have challenged them as the very grounds of their entry into rebellion, and because I think it cannot be denied but the most part is true, though I doubt not but there are other things unalleged that did prepare them to make use of these, being far more general and of greater weight, namely the hatred that the conquered do never fail to bear the conqueror. The religion which they profess being altogether Popish and superstitious, and the practice they long have had with Spain, from whence they hope at need to be relieved, pretending to be descended from them, together with their unwillingness to live under law, of which things I shall not need to write, seeing they are things generally known, but only to note this, that they have all concurred to make the rebel strong, and Her Majesty's party weak.

"Besides I have observed this, that the rebellion now on foot hath been much furthered by the enlargement of that known dangerous practising man, Philip O'Reilly, after that he had lain long in the Castle, and by the escape out of the Castle of O'Donnell and the two sons of Shane O'Neill, three prisoners of the greatest moment in the north that I have known any in my time, and

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therefore I will here set down (to discharge my conscience) that as I know corruption wrought the first, namely O'Reilly his deliverence, seeing myself had been offered 1,000*l.* to procure it, so am I afraid the like course did effect the others' escape. And this is one of my reasons for it. He that then was, and now is, Constable of the Castle of Dublin by patent for term of life, named Seagar, had some large offers made him to permit it, and acquainting Sir William Fitzwilliams therewith was anon after wrongfully displaced, and a man of the Deputy's own, named Maplesdon, put in his place, in whose time these prisoners did make their escape. If O'Donnell and Shane O'Neill his sons had remained prisoners, the old O'Donnell had never joined with Tyrone; and Shane O'Neill's sons being enlarged and countenanced by Her Majesty they would at all times have reared a faction in Ulster, as great as Tyrone is able to make; for prevention whereof Tyrone holdeth them now in captivity.

"These were the apparent beginnings of these stirs, to which there is to be added the discontentment ministered unto the people by sheriffs, especially in Connaught, where and in other places such sheriffs were always placed as bought their offices of the Deputy or some about him, and, being men evil chosen and of base condition for the most part, under colour of serving Her Majesty, grievously oppressed the country, endeavouring to enrich themselves by the poor people's spoil, who, being of themselves wild, should rather by degrees of favour and mildness have been made taste of the sweetness of Her Majesty's government, than by such cruel courses to cause the same seem odious unto them. This course of selling of sheriffwicks hath been a great cause of mischief within this kingdom. But no one cause hath given greater furtherance to all the combinations of Ireland, than the loose hand which hath been held over the government of the Church, either through negligence, corruption, or both. For generally, through the whole realm, a use hath been permitted of the Romish religion, and little diligent search at any time made after Jesuits and seminaries, that these many years have roamed up and down from beyond the seas to practise mischief and work combinations, who have received their best harbours (no doubt) in the English Pale and the cities of the realm, and I fear have lived the more securely through corruption that hath been used, which I the rather think, because of the common use that is of the mass in towns, who it is said have and do pay well for the same. And because when some suspected persons have in former time been laid hold on and committed, some there are that have enlarged them by their private authority. And though I could name many towns where masses are thus used, yet do I hear of none so publicly as at Kilkenny and Clonmell. And in this very city of Dublin, there are not above twenty householders of the country birth that do come to church, and of them not more than four that will communicate.

"The training and arming of Irishmen, whereby they are become soldiers, hath been a point of high oversight in this government. It was begun by Sir John Perrott, but increased in the time of Sir William Fitzwilliams. For when the troubles

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began in Maguire's country, then certain captains were raised to companies, as Willis, Fuller, and others, who, being this country men, entertained soldiers of their country, since which time, the war drawing on, the begun to custom (*sic*) hath so continued, as it is a disputable question whether it were better to have them all against us, or with us, for they are become generally treacherous, as daily example proveth.

"When the war was entered into, it is certain that two things fell out most unhappily; the one, the not following it roundly at the first; the other, the divided authority that was between Sir William Russell and Sir John Norreys.

"If there had been means to have made any sharp prosecution in the beginning, before the traitors had liberty to combine and know their own strengths, it is not to be doubted but their pride would have been soon pulled down, and they brought at the least to such submission and composition, as would have stood with Her Majesty's profit and honour. But even at the entrance into the war, and before any blows were given, to begin a treaty of peace gave pride to the traitors, and utterly daunted and overthrew the mind of the subject. Then the ensuing cessations so very long continuing gave liberty to the enemy to increase his combination and to arm himself both in foreign parts and at home. Hereof came it that the idle and discontented people from all parts gathered to Tyrone.

"Then had the enemy means to oppress the borderers and Lords of countries near adjoining to him, who beginning in themselves to find Tyrone's power, some for fear thereof, and others of a natural ill disposition, fell from Her Majesty, whilst the army here, at Her Majesty's excessive and infinite charge, was employed in nothing but rest. And because they could not upon the enemy, by reason they were not employed in his country, they were for the most part laid and fed upon Her Majesty's subjects, to the eating of them out, and driving of many into rebellion.

"The lamentable effects of which cessations, before the coming of the Lord Burgh, was a notable instruction to those succeeding times to forbear the advantage given the enemy by the cessations and protections, as my Lord Burgh very well saw, and forbore accordingly. Nevertheless it hath been continued too much since, advantaging the traitors so far as now they are grown to such strengths as they are able to purchase that by force, that they were wont to compass by the privilege of their protections, and so at this day not many do crave any more help of the same. I may be bold to say that nothing hath hurt Her Majesty, and furthered the traitors, more than these protections; and that in effect all the principal achievements the enemy hath had against Her Majesty's forces and holds (the overthrow the Marshal<sup>o</sup> received excepted) hath been in the times and by the means of cessations and protections. And yet, so often as any man hath desired a protection it hath been, and is still for the most part, granted; insomuch as all men that enter into rebellion, and those that are rebels already, the one goeth forth and the other continues so, with an assurance and public brag that, when they have done their uttermost mischief

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\* i.e. Sir Henry Bagenall.



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and malice, if they fail of getting the kingdom, yet they are sure they shall not fail of being protected and pardoned, whensoever they shall desire the same. To conclude, I am confident in the opinion that protections are raisers of rebels and the overthrow of the subject, heartening and comforting the one, discouraging and overwhelming the other; and thereby constraining some and encouraging others to be rebels, to this so high an increase of their pride and strength. Were it not for avoiding tediousness, I could allege infinite instances, but this in particular for the rebellion of Leinster. If Donnell Spainagh and Feagh McHugh's sons (I will not speak of the O'Moores and others) had not been protected, as they were this last summer, the same had been in no part so dangerous as it (*sic*) is. For where they were even declining, and in want of munition, they were then received into protection, whereby they renewed their force and supplied their lacks, and by that means and by lack of prosecution they are grown strong, as they go whither they will without resistance, making Her Majesty's subjects theirs, or rooting out those that refuse their subjection, especially in the county of Wexford, the most ancient English county of Ireland, and a part much cared for by Her Majesty, as her letters have declared, and would have been a notable relief to the garrisons of those parts, but now in effect wholly spoiled and left open to the enemy's tyranny, no provision having been made for their defence almost this half year.

"The divided authority that was in former times, and that now is, hath been and still is a greater hindrance to the affairs and service of Her Majesty, and consequently a greater advantage to the traitors, who can as well as any nation living make their profit by division. But referring to better judgments the inconveniences depending upon divided authority, I will leave to speak any more of that; only I see and know that the service is hurt thereby.

"And now for Munster. The principal causes of this sudden falling away there, as I conceived them, are these. First, an infection that part hath received from the rest of the corrupted parts in rebellion, and the long practice that (no doubt) Tyrone hath used to bring a revolt in that province to pass. Secondly, the hatred the natives of that province bear to such of our nation as there do enjoy their and their parents' lands that were attained. Thirdly, the encouragement they have to prevail by the example of the general prosperous success the other rebels of Ireland have, and their hope of pardon (if their expectation fail) that they make account to have granted unto them in the end, enriching themselves with the spoil of the English in the mean season; unto all which the English themselves have given them great encouragement. For where by the covenants their Munster undertakers should have brought over colonies of Englishmen, and have no tenants but English, no part of that covenant was by them fully performed, and most of them brought over no English at all, saving their own families. But if they had performed those covenants, they had be[en] able of themselves to make about 2,000 men, whereas it hath appeared, by the Lord President's letters sent hither, he could not find 200 able men of English birth among all the undertakers of Munster, when the rebels first entered the province; and of those

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very few that made any resistance, but left their dwellings and ran into walled towns, being men rather fit for profit than furnished for war, the most part of the undertakers being men of small haviour, when they came over, and none of them of wealth or of living to perform; and those of the greatest haviour that contracted never came over at all. This hath been a great error, for men that shall take in hand the peopling and re-inhabiting of so waste a country as that was, among so malicious a people to our nation as these Irish, must be of good ability and countenance, or they shall never be able to perform it.

“Now for the state and condition the realm is in at this present, for mine own part I account that much of the evil lieth yet undiscovered, and that great dangerous practices are in working, that happily will not much appear, if Her Majesty’s forces expected be anything speedily sent. If not, I fear greatly some lamentable and strange event will on the sudden happen. For surely there is a general infection in the brains of all the Irish, and their malice is fully bent against us. And certainly, howsoever corruption and hard courses set their hearts (apt to be kindled) on fire at the first, the flame is so increased to their advantage now, as they carry a full resolution to set up again their Macs and Oes, and their lands to recover from the English, and the same to hold as heretofore before the conquest. For the better compassing whereof, I persuade myself that when Her Majesty’s forces shall come, and that her strength shall give them cause of terror, they will offer new treaties, and make shows of desire of submission, if their wrong (as they will allege) may be righted. But my simple opinion is (and knowledge and experience teacheth me to say so) that the extremity is such as I conceive no way but the sword to be used against them in the nature of a new conquest, for effecting whereof, a royal force and well furnished and provided for, must be sent under the authority and command of some great and noble well-chosen personage, who may be so backed at home as he may be able to go forward with the work roundly, and not quail in the midst when it is taken in hand, as formerly we did in the beginning, and so Her Majesty’s charge to become merely lost, as heretofore it hath been. For effecting whereof in sort as the necessity of the case requireth, I confess with my great grief the charge will be infinite. Yet this I hold for certain, that if any more lingering be of the war as hath been, Her Majesty’s expense shall be even ten times the more, and the realm in peril to be lost. For I fear the great ones of the land are conspired against us, and for the Viscount Mountgarrett that lately revolted (although his pretence be matter of quarrel and malice to the Earl of Ormonde) as also the Baron of Cahir pretendeth likewise against him, yet more dangerous causes may be suspected than I can for lack of judgment look into. Only I say this, a slack hand hath been held for the assurance of the Lord Mountgarrett and his sons, who were once committed to Her Majesty’s Castle in Sir William Russell his time; and howsoever enlarged, should have been better looked unto than they have been, being once made discontented, and his eldest son being matched with Tyrone his daughter, as he is. To which oversight I add the not laying hand in these dangerous times, when it might have

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done, of many doubtful persons, who since have entered into rebellion, and more that no doubt will follow.”—[1600, December.] *Apparently imperfect. Copy. pp. 9.*

[Dec.] **127.** Note of monies paid by Mr. George Beverley for victuals, the monies being part of a Privy Seal, dated 30 November, 1589.—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. p. 1.*

[Dec.] **128.** List of Lords Deputy and Lords Justices of Ireland, from 1551 to 1600.—[1600, December.] *Draft. p. 1.*

[Dec.] **129.** Note by Sir Geoffrey Fenton [to Sir Robert Cecil] stating that the packets addressed to him for the Lord Deputy [Mountjoy] have been safely delivered to his Lordship.—[1600, December.] *Signed. p. ½.*

[Dec.] **130.** Petition of Captain Edward Fitzgerald to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning arrears of 600*l.* due unto him for his company. His acquittal from certain charges brought against him. The wasting of his lands by the rebels.—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. p. 1.*

[Dec.] **131.** Reasons against decrying sterling money and making base money.—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. pp. 2½.*

[Dec.] **132.** Paper on the abasing of the money in Ireland. Either the army must be lessened, or the money abased. The former, in the opinion of experienced men, cannot be done. Reasoning in favour of the latter.—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. pp. 1½.*

[Dec.] **133.** “The coins now current in Ireland besides the English standard.”

“First, the base coins are of most esteem, for that they contain more silver by at least 12*d.* in the pound, than the value they go for, viz. : —

“The teston coined at 12*d.*, and now current for 4*d.* sterling.

“The white groat coined at 4*d.*, and now current three at 4*d.* sterling.

“The red-harp coined at 4*d.*, and now current at 1*d.* sterling.

“Dominic groats, Galway pence, and other like ancient coins. They be not so much embased as the other, and are better than their common value.

“But they are not greatly material, for there is small use of them, but in Connaught only, and there the store of them is not great.

“The harp shilling coined for 12*d.* goeth for 9*d.* sterling, and is of the English standard.



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“But the Spanish gold and silver is the coin that most aboundeth, and is chiefest reckoned on in that realm, specially in Connaught and Munster.”—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. p. ½.*

[Dec.] **134.** “A consideration of loss or gain to the Queen in the coinage for Ireland.”—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. pp. 2.*

[Dec.] **135.** Note stating, “For twenty shillings sterling delivered in Ireland unto the Treasurer, he doth offer to give 23s. 10d. in base money; and for every twenty shillings that is delivered him there in base money, the deliverer thereof shall receive here 18s. in sterling money. By this reckoning, he that delivereth unto the Treasurer in Ireland, six pounds in sterling money, shall have for the same in base money seven pounds, and in delivering to the Treasurer there the sum of seven pounds in base money, he shall receive in England six pounds six shillings; and so in exchanging six pounds he gaineth six shillings, which is twelve pence loss to Her Majesty in every pound.”—[1600, December.] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, “Ireland.” Unsigned. p. 1.*

[Dec.] **136.** Notes on a proportion to be observed in the exchange of the standard money of England and that of Ireland.—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. p. 1.*

[Dec.] **137.** “Certain notes declaring what course is best to be held in the proceedings touching the utterance of these new monies appointed to be issued for Her Majesty’s services within the realm of Ireland.”—[1600, December.] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, “Remembrances for Ireland.” Unsigned. pp. 1½.*

[Dec.] **138.** “The order of proceeding for the settling of base monies in Ireland.”—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. pp. 2.*

[Dec.] **139.** A project for coining base money for Ireland, and maintaining an exchange.—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. pp. 1½.*

[Dec.] **140.** Questions upon the benefits growing by making base money, with the objections thereunto.—[1600, December.] *With slight alteration in Sir Robert Cecil’s hand. Unsigned. pp. 5.*

[Dec.] **141.** Document endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, “Ireland. A draft for an answer to Tyrone’s libel, written by the honest Catholic Lords of the Pale.” *With alterations by Sir Robert Cecil and Lord Buckhurst. The words in italics, except those in Latin, indicate the words in Sir Robert Cecil’s handwriting.*

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"It was set down for a rule by him that had the spirit of wisdom (when he described the impossibility to do good upon such as are given over to their sensualities) that, if a fool be brayed in a mortar (like wheat with a pestle), yet will his foolishness never depart from him. And experience teacheth the same to all that have to do with obdurate traitors, that no replies can stay their slanders; for, as it is a fool's pastime to utter his folly, so is it a traitor's food to breathe out his iniquity.

"This therefore is the only end of this declaration following, to make it plain to the world, that where Tyrone hath lately published a libel, in the nature of a proclamation to all the noblemen and others of the Pale, howsoever the State disdaineth to vouchsafe it any answer, yet that such of us, as have true feeling of religion and of our own honour, cannot endure the least suspicion, which might be gathered from our deep silence, after such a summons. That we do distinguish between conscience and treason, and despise that<sup>o</sup> an upstart kern (so untimely adopted into the rank of honour, by Her Majesty's goodness, from the son of a blacksmith) should presume to intermeddle with us of the ancient nobility, or dare to speak of Catholic religion, when his life and conversation is such a scandal to the profession. With the privity, therefore, and in the name of many other Her Majesty's noble and well-affected subjects, I will first rip up his false arguments, and confute them, and next (by declaration of our affections) assure all those that are of our blood and kindred (though now seduced), that all his conceits shall be frustrated for any interest that either he hath or can have in us, who are contrariwise resolved to despise his brags and persuasions, and to detest his purposes and practices till our life's end.

"1. And now to the points of the libel. He straineth himself with oaths and subtleties, to make us believe that he took arms in hand, not for his private cause, but only for the Catholic faith; swearing by his salvation that he hath had conditions often times offered him, which might well satisfy any man's private pretences, and affirming his regard of the Catholic faith to be so great, that he would not accept the kingdom upon any other condition (though at the first stirring he did not declare so much, for that he was not ready enough to make his party good).

"2. He professeth also pity of his country oppressed and afflicted with murders, detestable policies, governed and nourished in obscurity and ignorance, maintained in barbarity and incivility.

"3. He also professeth an extraordinary favour towards us, of the nobility and gentry of the Pale, because we are Catholics and countrymen, in regard whereof he hath hitherto spared us, expecting we should better inform our consciences of our duty towards the Catholic faith and the good of our country, and seeking to be the better regarded himself for his long tolerance and victories.

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\* The first part of this sentence stood originally thus:—"That we do not so distinguish between conscience and treason as not to despise in that," &c. The words "so," "as not to," and "it," have been struck out, apparently by Sir Robert Cecil, who inserted "and not" above "as not to." Then he has underlined "and" and put "or" above it. Clearly, the first "not" of the sentence should have been struck out with the word "so," and the "not" inserted by Sir Robert should be deleted also. Then the sense agrees with the remainder of this document.

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"4. In sum he urgeth us to join with him, promising to exalt the Catholic faith, to defend us, our goods, and our lands, and to enlarge our privileges and liberties; otherwise, seeing God hath given him some power, he thinketh himself bound in conscience (for the good of religion and country) to destroy us, and dispose of our possessions. And lest we should be stayed from yielding to his solicitation, by our sworn obedience to our natural Prince and Sovereign, he warranteth us by the Pope's deprivatory and absolutely excommunication.

"This being the effect of all his libel, it remaineth to apply it to our present purpose. We have daily examples that teach us that men once blinded with ambitious ends, swelling daily in their malice, even till they be ready to burst, and fearing themselves to become hateful to God and man, do often seek some comfort by allowing others to be partners in their miseries. In this kind it fareth now with Tyrone, who (transported with that humour) would fain play the King, if he could tell how, and being vexed with the worm of an evil conscience (and fearing his conclusion shall be confusion) doth hunt up and down for society in his calamities.

"5. It is known to all men that have any understanding, that nothing can be more impious and odious than rebellion, as resisting the ordinance of God, who in His divine wisdom and provident choice placeth Princes, commanding them to be obeyed and prayed for. By rebellion public peace (the most wished-for state of all commonwealths) is disturbed. Many innocents be seduced and brought to the slaughter; violence is used everywhere against wives, children, friends, goods and lives; it affordeth no liberty, no security, nor rest; defaceth all ornaments of industry and life, bringeth all evils that can be imagined to the society of men; therefore of all offenders, rebels are most detestable. All which being duly considered, we are greatly bound to him for his summons to join with him, when thereby in effect he condemneth us to be both senseless and reprobates.

"6. We believe it easily that he had no private cause, as he writeth, to move him to rebellion, for he was by infinite benefits bound to all subjection; but his foolish<sup>o</sup> pride of heart hath transported him, or some dream<sup>†</sup> that he was a king hath enchanted his judgment. For if you observe that he protesteth, if he might not have freedom of conscience, that he would not be a king. It appeareth then<sup>‡</sup> that he hath been so tickled with that vain hope, as he hath already been meditating the conditions whereupon (with little entreaty) he would<sup>§</sup> take a kingdom. As for the vanity of his promise to protect us and enlarge our privileges, with such other like fancies, it is common among the heathens in all their conflicts (never so wicked) to have in their mouths *pro aris et focis*, and

\* Lord Buckhurst has underlined this word, and written above it, "intolerable."

† Lord Buckhurst has inserted "rather" before "some," and before "dream" had interpolated "devilish," but that word he has struck out, and for "devilish dream" has written "ridiculous ambitions."

‡ Sir Robert Cecil has struck out "then," and written above it "therein."

§ Sir Robert Cecil has struck out the words "he would," and has inserted in their place the word "to."



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lately himself used oftentimes in his speeches the religion of the gods and defence of liberty, whereas in very deed he meant to confound all policy and civility.

“For *his* protestation that he stirred for the Catholic faith from the beginning, though then he did not declare it, in respect he was not instructed sufficiently to pursue the cause, it is both absurd and untrue. For at the time of his practice in [15]88 with De Vergas, a Spaniard (whom he conveyed into *Spain by the way of Scotland*, and by him offered his service to the King of Spain), being a Commander in one of the Spanish ships that were wrecked in Ireland, what cause had they given him to mistrust molestation for religion, when it is notorious to the world that in all Ulster no temporal man was ever so much as questioned with for his conscience,\* though happily some of spiritual profession who have passed all bounds of modesty, and inveighed against the person of the Prince, or professed to persuade† the people from obedience, not contenting themselves with execution of their function for the inward comfort of men’s souls, have been laid for or apprehended. And yet no man hath suffered that hath harboured any such person, but put the case that he was affected to his Catholic faith (whereof he hath small understanding). What is he more than another man, that we his betters should fight under his rebellious standard against so merciful a sovereign [*here Lord Buckhurst has interpolated the following words* :—“under whose reign and the reign and rule of her progenitors, we and our ancestors have lived so many hundred years, and have enjoyed our goods, lands, lives and liberties under the safe and gracious protection and defence of that royal and renowned Crown of England”]. If every man might do so, as soon as he is transported with some private opinion in matter of faith, what religion, what order, what commonwealth, could stand?

“He pretendeth now that he is bound in conscience, now he hath gotten power. First, how forms he his conscience, *and* what is his power now? Had he, at his first practice with foreign Princes, a commission from the Pope to rebel in the right of Catholics? Doth not he know in his conscience how few there are that adhere to him but for fear of that power, to which he had never attained without the support which he had from Her Majesty at the beginning, even after she had justly his life and person in her hands?

“Hath it not appeared that the titular Earl of Desmond (with whom he pretendeth so great rule and friendship) could not contain himself in summer last, when he wrote to the King of Spain, from using these words, which divers of us have seen in his letters and instructions (both being intercepted by the Earl of Ormonde), that he desired the King to send succour to himself? That was a nobleman, lived in a country full of towns and good habitations fit for gentlemen and civil persons to dwell in, hoping Her Majesty did not value him with O’Neill [*Lord Buckhurst here inserts* :—“as he termed him”], in whose country there was nothing but bogs and

\* Lord Buckhurst has underlined the words “his conscience,” and written above them, “matter of religion.”

† Lord Buckhurst has underlined this word, and has written above it “withdraw.”

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woods, void of all pleasure or order, himself base in birth, barbarous in education, and one whose name of power and authority he much disdained.

“Behold here how one of his own pack despiseth his base usurpation. Is it not then a madness, that he can dream to be made a judge over us, being a stranger within our gates? If a man might form a conscience that he is bound to do what he is able, how will he deny then but the thief, *being* of greater strength than the true man, is bound also in conscience to rob and kill? Fie of these absurd discourses! Fie on his ingratitude beyond all proportion! And for his power, whereof he doth boast, he knoweth that it is contemptible in respect of that against which he striveth. And whereas to confirm the pretence of religion, he writeth that conditions to satisfy his private have been oftentimes offered him, the more he doth shew *thereby* that just vengeance is his due, when without necessity (after *pardon sued for and granted*<sup>a</sup>) he playeth *canis ad vomitum*. And for the conditions which he might have had (howsoever we must reverently leave such things to the secret of State), yet know we, and have seen with our eyes, his own submission under his own hand, to convince him that there was no exception in it for religion.

“For the pity he professeth to his country, it is a vain and gross dissimulation; for the greatest evils thereof proceed from his rebellion. What he meaneth by speaking against detestable policies, afflicting our country by education in ignorance and incivility, is strange to our understanding, for we know full well that most of our rank (both of nobility and gentry) are brought up in the Universities of England, and more (if they went thither) might find as good education as they may have elsewhere. There is also no want of good schools within the Pale, neither can it be likely that the mere Irish (of which number he is one) can become on a sudden so greedy of better education.

“What liking can he have of civil government, against which he is professed, and an exhorter of others to leave it? What is more common than mutual robberies, murders, [*Lord Buckhurst has here inserted, “rapes”*], extinguishing of families, burning of houses, and all kind of bloody licentiousness and cruelty? Great therefore is our obligation to God, that in good time hath delivered us from our intestine calamities to a better course of government, wherein we live. Neither could we by former examples ever have hope (if we were so vain to desire to be left to ourselves) *but that*, by continual scorn in each to give place to other, we should be quickly lapped into greater miseries and more barbarous estate than any other wild and savage nation. Therefore, if he truly loved his country, he would never follow rebellion, to serve his own particular vanity, but rather acknowledge his infirmities every way, and return to our society, and implore the mercy of our gracious Sovereign, which must be the way to cover his own shame, and to eschew that scorn which will be made of him in the end, when his body shall be thrown to the beasts of the field.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Robert Cecil has put these words in place of “*grace both offered and accepted.*”

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"Where he looks for thanks for extraordinary favour, expecting now our better resolution in regard of his long tolerance and victories, we take proof of this his profession by the notorious cruelties he hath offered where he hath had advantage.

"Look into the county of Louth, where a nobleman dwells that is in religion Catholic, and in some alliance with him. What hath he had but burning of his towns and country? How have the Lords of Gormanston and Slane (two ancient and noble peers of this realm) and the baronies under them felt the same measure? Did not he, when he pretended to be a good subject, under pretence of sending of forces unto the Lord Deputy against the mountain rebels, send into Crevoke, the Lord of Slane's country, spoil and waste his lands, and endanger that nobleman's life? Was not this villainy wrought by the O'Hagans, his foster brethren? Look into the baronies of Kells, the Deesy, and others, what hath he left *there* but the marks of a viper, that gnaweth out the bowels of his own country? [*Lord Buckhurst has inserted here:—"The letter lately from Sir Arthur Savage doth express other spoils of his upon the good subjects."*]

"We therefore impute our good estates (next after God) to the protection of our most gracious Sovereign and our own arms, disdaining his worst, and protesting that we are assured in our consciences that his rebellion is to be detested [*Lord Buckhurst has inserted here:—"and by God's just vengeance and the sword of our Sovereign will be in the end duly chastised"*]. As for his toleration from further mischief, we know it proceeds for lack of means, and not for want of evil will, wherewith his heart is so infested. And for his victories (as he terms them), they are of no more regard [*Lord Buckhurst has inserted here, in place of "than robberies of vagabonds in corners," "than the robberies of thieves and vagabonds lurking in woods and bogs and places of strength, privily watching to do their mischief"*] upon sudden advantages. *We do little weigh therefore* his promises and threatenings of his power which, were it as great as he would have it, or that we had cause or minds to use it (both which are far from us), yet would we not be so base minded as to esteem of his help for religion, defence, or privileges, [*the following words have been struck out:—"but we do acknowledge ourselves to be well provided for in all respects for the present Government"*]. And though it cannot be denied but all great Princes (which must use the hands and eyes of their ministers) have some that often tread away, all not being made of one mould, yet neither he [n]or any body else deny, but as soon as his complaints and others (divers years past) were brought to Her Majesty's ears, she did carefully and royally give commission for all injuries to be examined and redressed; from the benefit whereof his rebellion (who never meant to be satiated with reason) hath utterly deprived all them that were interested, having by his own practices brought the whole kingdom into [*Lord Buckhurst insert:—"misery and"*] confusion.

"Concerning the warrant offered us to rebel by the Pope's excommunication, he thereby goes forward to argue after his blind manner, and pleads warrants especially against himself, for all rebels be excommunicated by God and man. God himself reproveth



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excommunication by these words, *Si videbis furem*," &c., and, as we have heard, there are solemn denunciations (in the holy consistory at Rome) of excommunication against assassives (*sic*; *Sir Robert Cecil has written* "nats" above the last syllable of the word, striking out the last three letters) and such like. Who does not then see that rebellion is an eminent perilous iniquity, containing in itself all assassinations, thefts [*Lord Buckhurst has inserted here*:—"ravishings"], and other mischiefs.

"But now to come indeed to that which might (if anything could) persuade us to take part in his actions, who do profess to live and die Catholics, and are resolved, as we are, to esteem and reverence his Holiness as God's Vicar upon earth, it shall not be amiss to say somewhat what we conceive of this sentence, wherewith he doth most strengthen his persuasions.

"First, if we go no further than the truth itself, we shall find it written that David, *being* heir apparent to the kingdom of Israel (after the decease of Saul, whom God himself had cast off, as a person fallen from all piety with a hardened heart), and yet did hold him in so great reverence, *propter solam unctionis sanctitatem*, as he would not hold the town of Cerla against him for his own defence, because he thought he should therein offend both temporal and divine majesty.

"The ancient Councils (and especially that of Trent) treating of the use of excommunication, have always excepted Princes (as not in violent manner to be dealt withal), because all such attempts cause bloodshed and calamity, which are to be avoided by those that profess the service of the God of life and peace, to whose power all such cases are reserved.

"Do we not find that Moses and Aaron (who groaned under the burthens and baskets of Egypt), and thirsted in their souls for the Land of Promise, which afforded milk and honey, with a world of pleasures and delights, forbore to rebel, though they knew their strength to be so great, that might have made Egypt tremble. And yet must we, that serve a merciful and Christian Prince, that never suffered under our Sovereign's government either misery or bondage, combine ourselves with Tyrone? No. Were it true that we were made martyrs for our consciences (whereof, God be praised, we enjoy freedom), yet would we follow the example of Paul, who, when he was objected to wild beasts, did call for no succour, but, when he saw the *vision*<sup>o</sup> of strong spirits ready to assist him, did rather cry out, *Cur non potius patimini*? No, no; remember that Sampson himself was taxed by the tribe of Judah for dispersing fire in the corn of the Philistines, who were God's enemies; and therefore may we well blame Tyrone for burning and destroying our whole country and habitations, that are good subjects.

But we are now quite out of our element, being poor divines, and therefore leave those points to those that be doctors in their profession, to whom though it becometh us to leave points of doctrine, yet can we not profess to be ignorant in the rules of good Christianity and perfect loyalty; and therefore as we remember the words of St. Ambrose, that *arma Christianorum sunt preces et lachrimæ*, so do

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\* Sir Robert Cecil has substituted this word for "courage."

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we also remember the precepts of St. Augustine, who writeth that although all Christians ought to distinguish *Dominum æternum a temporali*, yet *propter Dominum æternum domino temporali sunt subditi*. We will therefore now remember some examples in our own readings extant in the story of France, where it shall well appear how subjects have carried themselves in cases of excommunications. Benedictus the thirteenth did excommunicate Charles the ninth, and Martin the first renewed the same. Against which it was publicly decreed that to withdraw from the Pope was not to forsake the church, but to obey St. Paul, where he saith, *Seducite vos ab omni fratre qui inordinate se gerit*; and it was also by public edict made treason to prefer any of the Pope's bulls before the decrees of that State. Julius the Second excommunicated Louis the Twelfth (and together with him the King of Navarre, for keeping friendship with him), in remedy whereof, a General Council being called at Tyrol, it was declared that all persons, ecclesiastical and temporal, were bound by oath to obey none but their King. It seemeth therefore hard unto us (seeing there can be no exception made unto this State, but in interpretations of Scripture and human traditions), why this severe excommunication should be either offered or obeyed, seeing it is well known that Christ Himself never offered to excommunicate or depose Princes, neither did He put the Apostles (either by word or example) in such authority, but rather to obey Princes and to follow peace, patience, and humility, *reddendo Cæsari quæ Cæsaris sunt*.

"Herein if you shall think whosoever you be from whom we dissent, that because we hold the attempt to withdraw subjects from their sworn obedience expressly contrary to the doctrine of Christ, who commandeth His Apostles *obedire præpositis vestris etiam discotis*, that we are not true Catholics, or if it shall be thought that we do not pour out tears for the conversion of our Sovereign's heart in matter of faith, because we do not dissolve the bonds of our civil obedience, being our natural Prince (indeed with so many virtues, justice and clemency), *especially* when we see in *manifesta fide Scripturarum* that *even* reprobate Princes may not be *forcibly resisted*, you shall therein do us open wrong, and to many a zealous and prudent Catholic, in not judging us as you would be judged. For we do not affirm it confidently, that even learned Papists themselves do teach that Popes cannot dispense in the ten commandments, nor in matter of the law of nature. What can then be a more evident taking the name of God in vain, than a dispensation to break the oath of obedience? Or what is more contrary to the law of natural justice, then violently to take from Princes their due, which is their subjects' allegiance, and only because they dissent in matters of positive constitution, wherein we have so many examples, that God hath wrought into the hearts of many great Kings the *powerful* effects of conversion.

"Surely, surely, we can hardly think that those Bulls which he pretendeth (if any he have) are other than some remnant of the first, which were once suspended; or, if they be newly published, certainly we, that do reverence so much his holy ordinances, do verily believe it hath merely proceeded from some odious and false representation of some notorious persecutions to be here used by

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Her Majesty for matter of religion ; by which means, with importunity, they have extorted from his Holiness these Bulls of excommunication against the person of Her Majesty, whereby out of zeal and passion to multiply the number of Catholic souls, he hath been induced to renew this sentence again. A matter very likely, if you do but read this pamphlet hereto annexed [*Sir Robert Cecil has written in the margin* :—"that shall be annexed"], wherein they have not been ashamed to give out notorious lies of victories and triumphs, only because they would engage his Holiness in assisting his *unnatural rebellion*.

"But we do hope by that time it shall appear with what liberty we live, to whom so little severity is used, as none of us all that have our consciences reserved, need either dissemble that profession, or go a mile from his house for exercise of our religion. And *when it shall appear* how much his Holiness hath been abused by this unworthy creature, we doubt not but it shall be found just in his gracious eyes by pronouncement of his heavy sentence against him, to deprive him of all human *society*, and to leave him to the course, which God hath declared against all such as are held in the sense of reprobates.

"And now to come to you our good brethren, whereof some are seduced and enchanted with this rebel's *practices*, you plainly know in your consciences that his enterprise is treason, worse than theft, murder, or adultery, odious to God, pernicious to us all, and all that come of us.

"Therefore consider in your consciences, between God and you, if it can be honourable for you to persist to join with such a reprobate, upon whatsoever colourable words or pretences, in any action of so manifest malice, *and to your own destruction*.

"For of Tyrone, you plainly know him to be a man for his own crimes proclaimed and prescribed ; in his own life, insolent, cruel, and loathsome ; enemy to all virtue and civility ; defiled with all sensualities, impieties, and barbarism (as in his own petty government you may daily behold), where he strangled with his own hands at one time his own cousin-german, Hugh Gavelocke, and at another time tortured his own natural brother, Tirlogh McHenry. And many of you being better than he (when he was at the best), how can you suffer him to affect to reign like a king, and tyrannize over you ? Certain it is that his power cannot be able long to defend himself, and therefore when he falls, it is consequent that all his followers must perish with him ; and while he standeth, the conscience of his own evil cause (as you may see many ways) *will fill* him with such mistrust of you, as his ambition *will dispose* him still to suppress you, and his greediness *will make him rob and spoil* you, where you do all know that our Sovereign is a mighty Prince, of no less power and renown than the best of her ancestors, that her forces daily growing cannot fail, and that it is impossible that Tyrone should long defend himself from justice.

"You know our Sovereign to be by nature of a gracious disposition, desiring nothing more than to yield her subjects the fruit of just and godly government, under whom upon your good usage you might have been assured peaceably with honour to enjoy your titles, possessions, and rights. She is able to defend you from all foreign



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enemies, both at home and abroad. Then, if this rebellion shall continue, our country is like to be in extreme calamity, and though it shall at last be freed, yet if it be defined with arms, the misery is equal. It is therefore like to be in your own hands, to remedy or increase this present evil, for by forsaking a detestable rebel you make him impotent further to hurt, and yourselves may be sure to receive mercy, preservation, and increase of honour by your return; where, by persisting with Tyrone, you must needs perish with him, and leave a vile memory of yourselves, as having been part cause of those evils which draw with them all misery to yourselves, your wives, your children, and your families, and of your natural love to your particulars.

“Take this answer, therefore, and admonition, we beseech you, as a fruit of charity, which we owe you as Christians. Follow these lights which we hold before you (as lanterns for your footsteps). Be not carried away with his illusions, nor do not tax us for coldness in the Catholic religion, because we do not symbolize (*sic*) with you in your treasons; for as the last is odious to our nature, so in the first we do hope that God’s grace shall never forsake us so far as *that* we will not live and die in that profession.”—[1600, December.] *Unsigned. pp. 20.*

[Dec.]

**142.** Paper endorsed, “Concerning the State of Munster.”

“Com. Cork. The lands of O’Callaghan lying by Mallow; himself is protected, but not pardoned. His lands are very great and good, and very convenient for him that shall have Moyallo. It is parcel of Dowalla, called McDonogh’s country, and lying marvellously pleasantly and profitably on both sides of the river of the Broadwater. It hath three fine castles upon it, and goodly woods, and hawks. O’Callaghan himself, being a petty Lord under McDonogh, is but a silly fellow, and can do neither good, if he be in, nor any great hurt, if he be out; for a strong man at Moyallo will always inhabit that country, and never suffer any other to dwell there.

“It were good that Moyallo were compounded for with the Lady Norreys (for now I know it will be easily had), and either kept in Her Majesty’s hands with that country of O’Callaghan’s, or else given to the Earl of Desmond, to whom it would be both a good house and a good help of living. But surely it were very convenient for the Queen, as well in regard of the continual freeing of the Broadwater for the passage between Cork and Kilmallock, being the just mid way between them, as also for keeping in good order McDonogh’s country, Muskerry, the White Knight’s country, and Orrery, where John Barry dwelleth, the border of the furthest of them being within five miles of it. It will always command Slewlogher in the passage between Kerry and Mallow, and between Kerry and Cork, being within ten miles of it.

“It is fit for the President to be there sometimes for the conveniency of it (being in the midst of the province), for so he may, with more ease to the subject, have their recourse unto him, for hearing their causes and complaints, and be more near to the service upon any sudden occasion; besides it is very fit for a garrison place to lie continually in.

1600.

“Castlecollo, and other good lands belonging to one Barod, lying within four miles of Cork, himself being in the predicament aforesaid, and his lands easily to be kept.

“Many other lands in that state in the county of Cork, that are not so fit to be reckoned of, as Kinalee, called Barry Oge’s country, lying between Cork and Kinsale, which although it be a very good place, and easy to be kept civil, yet the lands be so entangled by the merchants, townsmen, and lawyers of Cork and Kinsale, that it would not quit the cost to have it (*sic*), and would breed more trouble than his small portion thereof may be worth. O’Donovan’s country, Dermott Moyle McCarthy’s lands, brother to Florence, the O’Mahon’s lands, and other lands in Bantry, all which do lie so remote in Carberry, viz., McCarthy Reogh’s country, as, being far from civility, they are not to be dealt with, except they might be given to the Earl of Desmond, and let him strive with them. But the only place to plant him in is Desmond (if Florence be naught), Kerry, and Clannorris, all which, being beyond the mountain of Slewlogher, are the only doubtful parts of all Munster, and they being kept quiet, all the province is quieted; which I see no better means for than by placing of the Earl there; but foresee also that a sure man in this place is more needful than in any part of Ireland, as well for governing of those rude people beyond the mountain, by which all this side may be kept from harm, and preventing all foreign mischiefs, for there is the only place. Therefore make Desmond English, and keep him English, and all is well, for I am sure he will be strong enough of himself.

“Com. Limerick. The county of Limerick is a marvellous fine country, excellent good land, and very profitable where most of the undertakers were, and came very well forward till that late revolt. The occasion whereof was, the too many weeds that grew amongst them, I mean the Irish freeholders, who (being a great number indeed, and finding this opportunity, being placed in the bowels of the undertakers, and thick amongst them, and not suffering themselves to come together), did in the end thrust them out, and took possession of all. Whereas, if there were no weeds, but themselves together, their strength would be so nigh, as the one of them might help the other, and the weeds could be no impediment to their growth. If this had been foreseen, when all the lands fell to the Queen in Desmond’s rebellion, and none placed amongst the English, but themselves (whose vicinity could best fit one another), and not to be intermixed with the strange children, as the Israelites were with the Canaanites (which bred also great confusion) then these stirs had not now been in Munster, nor Her Majesty put to all this charge there. But since she hath paid well for her teaching, I hope she will now learn, and do so no more, since now they are *in statu quo prius*. Therefore pluck up those weeds, and let the children of Israel dwell together, for, in placing all English in that county, there will be a good commonwealth for ever, especially good sound Desmond being placed in the back side.

“I will now tell you what the weeds be that are there, and are all at this present at Her Majesty’s disposition, who have the greatest and best part of the lands of that country.

“Piers Lacy, of the Bruff, the beginner of this rebellion.

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“Lacy, of Ballingerry, chief of his name.

“McIneyrie, chief of his name.

“Rory McShee, chief of his name.

“Maurice FitzThomas, Lord of Clanglish, chief of that country.

“Certain freeholders of the Brians and Bourkes, that have great freeholds and lands.

“The Knight of the Valley, and a great number of other small freeholders.

“There was due to Gerrott, late Earl of Desmond, attainted, upon Carberry, viz., McCarthy Reogh’s country, 100 rent beeves yearly, which Her Majesty gave to Florence McCarthy, and, if Florence be revolted, the beeves will be the Queen’s.

“If Florence be gone, it were necessary to place the Earl of Desmond presently in his country, and that he be master of the castles there, especially the palace, Castlelough, Rossidonogh, and Killorgan, but above all, of Ballycarberry. For although these four before be upon the edge of Loghleyne and the river of Lawne, and may stop all the passages into the fastness of Desmond, yet Ballycarberry is of far more importance. For it is upon the ocean sea, joining to the Island of Valentia, which is a very good harbour for shipping, and thither will Florence come, if he bring any Spaniards with him; besides that the castle will command all the country on that side, which is between the fastness and the sea. The fastness of that country is incredible, for no man will believe it, but he that sees it.

“It were good that security were taken of O’Sullivan More, who is Lord of that fastness, and brother-in-law to Florence, and of O’Sullivan Beare, who is brother-in-law to O’Sullivan More, and both will join with Florence.”—[1600, December.] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—“Sir Peter Carew his uncle. His brother, Sir Peter, had the barony of Idrone and [was] Constable of Laghlin. Sir Peter recovered that land and Mastown in Meath, which was Sir Christopher Cheney’s. This Sir George sold it to Dudley Bagenall, the brother to the late Marshal. Dudley was killed by Walter Reogh.” *Unsigned. pp. 2½.*

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**VOL. CCVIII. PART 1. 1601. JANUARY—MARCH.**

1600.

Jan. 4.  
Kilmallock.

1. James, Earl of Desmond, to Sir Robert Cecil. “I cannot let scape the least convenience of a messenger (and specially this bearer, Patrick Crosby), but that I must always continue that



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course of my thankfulness which your favours hath tied me unto. The means of my entertainment, which groweth by the casting of a company, I do find so mangled, what with disbursements that groweth forth of it to my Lord Archbishop, my sisters, and others, and the detainment of the clothes belonging to a company, that the profit which I should make of it is much shortened by these issues and withholding. Wherefore I must humbly beseech you, as you have been the only mean to repair in me the wracks of my house, so you would not let the foundation of this your great work sink to the dishonour of the builded, and in your participation of my fortunes (because you were the erecter of them), the little glory of your own proceedings. Pardon me that I write so plainly unto you, for that I will never alter your good thoughts of me, nor ever be marked with the brand of shame and ignom[ini]y. I have writ unto your Honour former letters by my servant, wherein I showed the disposition of the people here, which I protest I am very glad of, for that my dependency must be only upon Her sacred Majesty, where I always seek to depend; and in their better nature they might attribute something to themselves, which now they cannot. What services I have done, I hope my former letters have acquainted you withal; and what they should omit, this bearer can advertise, to whose relation, both of my willingness to serve Her Majesty and the lets that hinder me, I refer myself, and fly to no other refuge than your Honour, who[m] I will always make the umpire of my carriages."—Kilmallock, 1600-[1], January 4. [*Postscript.*]—"I beseech your Honour for my sake to receive into your good opinion Captain William Power, whose hurts and loss in Her Highness[']s service deserveth extraordinary favour." *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.*

Jan. 6.  
Dublin.

2. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since my last, I hear of no special proceedings in the Byrnes' country, other than that, as the Lord Deputy remaineth still there, removing his camp from one place to another, to take opportunities for service, so the rebels have shut themselves up in their strongest fastness, together with their creghts, which I see will draw a bloody day of service in the end. I think the unseasonableness of the weather is the chiefest hinderer of all good success there, assuring your Honour that, in all the time of my service in this land, I have not seen so tempestuous weather so long together; which maketh me think that, if God hath given liberty to the witches of that country (which aboundeth with witches), they are all set on work to cross the service by extraordinary unseasonable weather. But this day the sky beginneth to be calm and temperate, which if it continue so but two days together, the waters will become passable, which now stop the army to follow the rebels with hot foot. This stormy weather hath kept wind-bound in this harbour, these six or seven days, such victuals and munitions as were shipped to be sent to Wicklow, to answer the camp; and by land, want of carriage-garrans and the swelling waters do hold all helps from us that way. Yet notwithstanding those difficulties, I have sent to the camp forty garrans load of bread, which this morning I understand is safely come thither; and of the other

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victuals the camp hath no great want, for that that country yieldeth them some store of beef, mutton, and hens, with thatched houses to lie dry in, the same being good comforts to the army, and such as in the barren climate of Ulster they could not find.

"Since my last, there is little matter of reckoning come from Ulster, either touching Tyrone (who I hear remaineth in the lower parts of his country, attending upon Lough Foyle), or from any the remote garrisons in that province. This is the dead season of the year, more fit for consultation than for action, specially in this watery and stormy country. But I think the expectation, what will become of these beginnings in Leinster, is the cause of this long silence and calmness of Tyrone, who is not a little gravelled to see Leinster in hazard to be cut from him.

"Your Honour hath need to haste away money, for that it is now thirteen days since our bills have been given out to this city for three thousand pounds, and we cannot yet get in above thirteen hundred pounds. And to be prepared as much as we can to relieve the necessities of the army, lest Dublin should fail us with the remain of their money, I have this day procured the Council to write to Waterford for a loan of fifteen hundred pounds, and to Tredagh for a thousand pounds, to be repaid upon the arrival of the treasure. Of both which sums, if we get the one half, it is as much as I look for, considering their former backwardness and uncertainties in the like occasions. In this want of money we are driven to victual the companies out of the store, which your Honour may think cannot but sink the magazine greatly; and yet, for that the Lord Deputy hath committed the trust thereof to me, I give as good caution as I can to the victuallers, to issue to some garrisons half victuals, and to some a quarter victuals, according the helps that may be got in the countries near them; and all to bear up the store as much as may be, which we have reason to lengthen and preserve to the uttermost, considering how honourably and liberally your Lordships have answered us therein hitherto." —Dublin, 1600[-1], January 6. *Signed. Seals. pp. 2.*

Jan. 6.  
London.

3. Sir Robert Napper to Sir Robert Cecil. "It may please your Honour I was to attend you at my first coming hither, to have done my duty, but Mr. Willis, your servant, told me you took physic and could not speak with me. And having been with the Lords, I fell sick, and for seven weeks together have (most part) kept my bed, and continually my chamber. My business, by reason of my long absence and late sickness, require[s] my present repair into the country, though it be with some danger of my life. For in April 1599 I was sent over, and promised I might return the summer then next following. By which employment, because I was restrained not to return, I received great prejudice. For whereas a use of land, upon tender of a pair of gloves to me in person, was to have been altered, and a new use thereupon limited and raised to me and to my heirs, by the death of the party I lost the benefit thereof; the salving of which cost me seven hundred pounds, and yet I am now called in the Chancery for the whole land also. In my coming over in December following to

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make this my composition, I was in danger of shipwreck, my ship twice striking rock at Holyhead. And in February following, before any part of my business ended, I was dispatched presently again for Ireland to join with the auditors, and now upon my return, most of my livings are called in question of law, and divers suits thereupon depending. Forasmuch as upon these dangerous employments my estate stood subject and open to many inconveniences, I therefore married my only son under the age of twelve to one under the age of ten years. She now in February next cometh to the age of consent, either to agree or disagree. For these purposes I did procure my Lord Deputy's license for my stay for some months yet to come, and I had the consent of my Lord Treasurer and of your Honour, that upon this my return I might follow my private business. Herewith I do make humbly bold to acquaint your Honour that I by my silence prejudice not my credit with Her sacred Majesty and with the honourable Lords. And for that I find the infirmities and debilities of my body are such as I cannot with my life (to my great grief) serve Her Majesty in that realm (being most part sick during my late continuance there), I mind very shortly, and before my license expired, to make my whole estate known to Her Highness, and will wholly refer myself (in the end of my years) to Her Highness['s] wonted liberality to her servants; for I have not yet been a suitor for any reward of my service, the hundred pounds' land in reversion for forty years granted by Her Majesty to myself and Sir Anthony Sentleger by your honourable means, being in respect of a hundred pounds' a year land, which we were promised to have had, for our better maintenance there, at our first coming over, which we had not. For so, by the letters sent by Her Majesty and the letters sent by the Lords in our favour, it may plainly appear."—London, 1600[-1], January 6. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Jan. [8.]

4. "A schedule of the names of men slain, executed, and apprehended, since the 26 of December last, by the Earl of Ormonde."

Among the slain are Con Baccagh O'Donnell; John Bourke ne Binne More; Redmond ne Scope's son, who was at the killing of Captain George Bingham; and Theobald McJonyn. Among the prisoners are John Bourke, brother to Redmond Bourke; Edmund Prendergast, and Teig McDonnell Roe.—1600[-1], January [8]. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

Jan. 12.  
Carriekfergus.

5. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir Robert Cecil. Acknowledges Sir Robert's favours. "I would gladly deliver unto you the state of this country, wholly and truly as it is, but I fear contradiction, and that I might be thought a vain writer; but duty commands me, and I will touch some things summarily.

"The government I am assigned unto fosters many rebels, and is wholly held by them, all but what I have laid waste; and, until Tyrone be beaten or suppressed, I have little hope of quieting thereof, it borders so near upon him. To bring this to pass, some



160<sup>g</sup>.

other course must be taken than I see yet in hand, for all we do is but a dilatory war. I have here 600 foot, and a hundred horse in list, of which number I can never carry the one half upon a journey. The enemy lying far from us, we make great marches, and we can stay but a short time abroad, if we intend our safety. By these services we now and then snatch a few cows, and kill fewer of their people. If this, and the safe keeping of the place, be all that is required, I can do it with the one half of the number I have, which would save the Queen a great deal of charge. If the destroying or reducing of the country into quiet, I must have more assistance of neighbour garrisons, or force of mine own. Betwixt this and Carlingford, there lies never a man for the Queen; and of the other side none but those of Lough Foyle, who have hitherto spent their time in fortifying and making places fit to secure themselves. No place in the north lieth more commodious to serve daily upon the enemy than many parts of this government; and, by placing garrisons at Coleraine and in Lecale upon the river of Strangford, you shall take from the traitor more assistance and relief than Spain affords him, besides the destroying of two countries that yields him many men and more fostering; and the river of the Bann being undertaken by skilful fishermen will near defray the charge of that garrison. Sir James McSorley, understanding that I have endeavoured in these businesses, hath treated with Sir Henry Dockwra, making show of submission and service, and hath lately sent a man to my Lord Deputy, more to divert these good intentions than for honest meaning to Her Majesty's service. By these devices they have often heretofore dashed many worthy purposes, and I pray God they work not the like now; for I dare pawn my life he will never be an honest subject to Her Majesty longer than he is overmastered. It may be thought I write this of malice, but I protest unto your Honour I had rather he were a subject than as he is, and I hate every rebel in Ireland as I do him.

"I have sent Shane McBrian to my Lord Deputy, and, for that he is the best man in this country, well-followed, and of good esteem among the nation, I have entreated my Lord to be good unto him, and to grant him his pardon, a patent of his lands, and some entertainment, until his country be in more quiet. If Lough Foyle be supplied, these garrisons planted, and I strengthened with more men, we shall make an easy entrance for my Lord Deputy into Tyrone, for upon these parts lie his greatest assistants; as we are now, we shall but misspend the Queen's money and our own time.

"Tyrone and O'Donnell are yet at Donegal about the late Spanish negotiations. The two ships brought 2,000*l.* in money, arms for so many men, and some store of munition. The Lord of Cantire is returned from James McSorley without any assistants, and James hath put in 300 bonnaughts, upon his own country, and a hundred upon Neill McHugh within these ten days, which argues his dishonest meaning, whatsoever he pretend. I beseech your Honour to be good unto me for procuring my money due from Her Majesty. I have engaged my credit for payment of a greater sum to merchants of London. If I receive not this, I shall be bankrupt both in money and credit, fear of which makes me to importune your Honour.

160 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

"We grow every day weaker than other, which makes the enemy bold about us. My Lord Deputy hath lately reduced my company from 200 to a (*sic*) 150, and our new men and supplies are two parts sick and wasted. To bring us further down, we have had no money in this garrison these sixteen weeks. Eight hundred pounds was lately sent unto us by one Hooper, our paymaster, who was by foul weather and contrary winds driven into Holy Bay, where, not able to weather either point, they thrust themselves into the river of Dundrum; and, being in a small ship and aground, they were set upon by Magennis and taken on Christmas Day. Since which time another merchant ship, laden with wine and iron, was taken near the same place; and, until garrisons be laid in those places before-named, all passengers with treasure, victuals, or other commodities, are subject to like misfortune. Here is in Her Majesty's storehouses good plenty of victuals, which will receive much hurt by reason the houses are so much in decay and ruinous. If this be intended for such magazines, some 200*l*. will be well spent in re-building and repairing those ruins. Our wants of money hath weakened our men, and starved our horses, for having no oats in the store, no man will bring us any as long as we are without money.

"I desire to be excused for tedious writing, and that it would please your Honour to continue your good opinion of me, which is the greatest encouragement I have to follow these miserable wars."  
—Carrickfergus, 1600[-1], January 12. *Holograph. pp. 3.*

[Jan. 12?]  
Mallow.

6. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. "Whereas in my last despatch I humbly besought you to be pleased to move Her Majesty to grant unto the provincials of Munster her gracious general pardon, with such limitations as in the rough draft sent unto your Lordships may appear, so now again I humbly beseech you to procure the same, being a special means for the settling of this disturbed province, infected throughout with a settled hatred, both unto Her Majesty herself, her Government, and our nation; which well appears by the underhand relieving of James McThomas, who is harboured amongst the men of best quality in Munster; insomuch as I find it impossible to have any draught to be drawn upon him without foreknowledge, whereby he may make an escape. The persons who are his relievers are not hidden from me, for of all their doings I have intelligence. But yet, because the error is universal, and especially amongst those of greatest quality, which were never in personal action, I dare not, for fear of greater mischiefs that may ensue, take or arrest any one of these great men offenders, lest the staying of one should breed fear in the rest; and what may ensue thereupon I am doubtful; and to take them all at an instant is exceeding difficult and not without great danger of the sequel. For your Lordships may be pleased to understand, in this last general revolt without exception of any, I do not know any one man of quality in Munster, who was not bound by his oath upon the Sacrament to assist the rebellion. Wherein although some have more overtly declared themselves than others, yet every one in his particular hath given assistance to it. Those which were not

160<sup>o</sup>.

personally out, yet their dependants and followers were in action, and themselves gave underhand aid, both by intelligence and other secret relief. The best way to remedy this common mischief subject to so many inconveniences (under your Lordships' reformation), a general pardon (which formerly I have solicited), is the most ready and sure means; for by the same their former faults being clearly remitted, the taking of any one that shall afterward offend will be no danger, for when the fault is not universal (as now it is), the fear and distraction cannot be general, and therefore no danger in punishing a particular offence. But until then, in my weak judgment, I think it more meet to seem to be ignorant of their faults, than to move sharply in them; nevertheless humbly submitting myself unto your Lordship's wisdoms, am ready to put in execution what you shall please to command.

"The rumours of aids out of Ulster and Connaught doth hold the province more unsettled than otherwise it would be; but yet, as in my former, so do I still remain confident in opinion to hold this province with the force which I have from any general revolt, being assured that no Irish aid will be able to move a general defection. Neither yet have I any trust in their helps to give resistance; the best I can expect is neutrality, for against the Catholic cause they are neither willing, nor yet dare for fear of excommunication, be actors. Her Majesty's forces of themselves (if they come) must make the war upon them, and by whom I make no doubt, but they shall pay well for their coming. But because it may be thought that 2,500 foot, which are now remaining upon the list of Munster, are too great a charge for Her Majesty to continue (the rebellion within the province being suppressed), I have made proffer unto the Lord Deputy to lend him 1,000 foot towards the prosecution of the wars of Leinster, humbly beseeching him, for countenance sake, that they may remain upon my list, to be returned unto me as occasion may be ministered. His answer I have received, who doth expect the same at my hands, and the which (God willing) I will perform. The late rumour of Spaniards landed in Ireland hath bred a great distraction in this unsettled people, who desire nothing more than their coming, being persuaded very confidently in the same by a multitude of priests and friars, which came in the last ships of munition that came to Tyrone, which is confirmed by other intelligences out of Spain lately arrived from thence, whereof your Lordship shall receive with these the copy of a letter sent unto me from the sovereign of Kinsale.

"Albeit the list of Munster is somewhat abated, and that part of the forces, as occasion may serve, will be drawn by the Lord Deputy to prosecute the service of Leinster, yet because that either the coming of Ulster and Connaught men into this province, or Spaniards, or both, may chance to be true, I humbly beseech your Lordships that the victualling until Michaelmas next may be continued to the same proportion, for 3,000 foot and 250 horse, as heretofore, to prevent want, if the forces shall be of necessity continued; wherein the Queen can receive no loss, for, although the forces be either abated or otherwise employed, yet notwithstanding the companies remaining will, before the next winter be spent, consume the victuals aforesaid. Likewise I do humbly



160<sup>g</sup>.

beseech you that as my suit is, that those men which shall be employed by the Lord Deputy, which are upon the list here, so likewise they may receive their payment here, to assure the provincials that my list still continueth, and are revocable at all times to suppress them, if they should start from their loyalty. This I think would keep them in some more awe than otherwise I should be able to contain them, for nothing but fear of Her Majesty's forces can contain them in obedience; and unto this request, as far as I perceive by my Lord Deputy, he is willing to yield. Farther, I humbly pray your Lordships to be pleased to send between this and Easter, for the better provision to answer all occasions in this province, five lasts of powder, with lead and match proportionable, and 2,000 shovels and spades, 500 pickaxes, and 50 crows of iron. But herein those which are ordinarily at low rates provided for Her Majesty's store, are very defective, and in the using of them Her Majesty receiveth great loss, not being sufficient to do the service for which they are provided. Wherefore your Lordships may do well to command the officers of the Tower to provide others that may be more substantial, though at some higher rate, wherein Her Majesty shall receive much less loss than now she sustains.

"In November last, I moved Mr. Secretary Cecil that I thought it very expedient for the security of this province, in respect that in the same there is no safe place, in the which the pledges may be kept which I have now in my hand, that the better sort of them and those of most value might be removed out of the same. And therefore to avoid the inconvenience which might ensue, if any of them should make escape, I do humbly pray your Lordships to write unto the Lord Deputy to require me to send them to the castle of Dublin, where they may be kept without danger, and no charge to Her Majesty, every man being compelled to defray the charges of his pledge. Unto this commandment my desire is to be enforced, for it will be very displeasing to the great Lords here, and cast much malice upon me if it were known; and so, consequently, my ability will be the less to do the service I desire.

"As I was in writing of this despatch unto your Lordships, I understood that one of my servants, called Edward Clifton, whom I sent from hence the 22nd of December, is wrecked upon this coast, whereby my packet is miscarried. But my greatest fear is, that it should be cast on the shore, and thereby much will lie open, which were more meet to be covered. This mischance doth infinitely trouble me for the reason aforesaid, but yet, for your Lordships' satisfactions, I have with these sent you the copies of those letters so miscarried." Begs urgently for more money for his troops.—Mallow, [January 12?] *Endorsed*:—1600. Received by Pa[trick] Crosby at Whitehall the 3 of February.

*Encloses* :—

6. i. *Patrick Martell, sovereign of Kinsale, to Sir George Carew. This evening there arrived at Kinsale a certain ship and merchants of Dublin directly come out of Biscay. They report that they were written unto by some Irishmen out of Lisbon, that all the Irish shipping in South Spain and Lisbon was stayed, and therefore wished all their countrymen in Biscay to come away*

160<sup>o</sup><sub>i</sub>.

*with all speed, or else they would out of hand be stayed likewise. For that there was an army of 9,000 men provided and ready in Lisbon to come to sea, by all likelihood for some part of Ireland, although the Spaniards gave forth that they were bound for the Low Countries. These men also affirm that already, a month ago, two tall ships with munition and treasure were sent away to Ulster, and have likely arrived there.—Kinsale, 1600[-1], January 4. Copy certified by Sir George Carew. p. ½.*

Jan. 4.  
Cork.

7. John Meade, Mayor of Cork, to the Privy Council. "The packet sent by your Honours to the Lord President, of the date of the 10th of this instant November (*sic*), I received the 18th of the same, and presently sent it safely to Limerick, where the Lord President was, and I received a letter of his Lordship, signifying the speedy receipt of the said packet, which letter I have sent your Lordships in the last packet, which I fear is miscarried. And I received another letter from your Honours, directed to me and the Aldermen, which letter did contain that your Honours were informed that the young Earl of Desmond, who lately came hither, was with his company very hardly entertained here, and not well accommodated with lodgings or other necessities. The truth is, Right Honourable, that upon his repair hither, it did not appear unto me by sight of his patent, or in any other manner, what authority he received from Her most excellent Majesty (albeit I held the favours bestowed by Her Majesty upon him a most rare precedent of Her Highness['s] wonted gracious clemency). And where he hath landed at Youghal, he did not repair to the Lord President, being then at Mallow, but came hither first; and therefore it may please your good Honours to be advertised that I did fear it might be offensive to entertain him, or any other not put in authority by Her Majesty, with any public welcomes at the gates of the city, or otherwise, which is only used to the Lord Deputy, Lord President, or such as are authorized by Her Highness. And if I had known it were Her Majesty's pleasure, my good will should never want to countenance any with that measure Her Highness would expect, were it signified unto me by line, letter, or otherwise, from my Lord President, or any in authority. But, Right Honourable, although I hope well of the disposition of the young Earl, yet I did fear the use of some of his ancestors, who have challenged courtesies for duties, and so might entangle this corporation with new customs, which only depends of God and Her most excellent Majesty, and of no other peer or person whatsoever. Yet for private kindness there wanted none, for I assure your good Honours that the young Earl's officers did send to bespeak one Mr. Skiddy's house for some private affection betwixt them, whereby I expected the same should have been ready for his Lordship; but, by mean of certain provant and provision of the garrison's, which was kept in the said house, the same was not so soon ready as his Lordship came hither. Whereupon I entertained him at my poor house, while his lodging were a making ready, and when he had remained an hour or two in my house, his officers would not accept of the former lodging, and thereupon I was fain to lodge him at one

1609.

Philip Martell's house (being an Alderman of this city), being the usual lodging of the Earl of Ormonde, and where Sir Warham Sentleger, here lately in commission, did lie, and the Lord Chief Justice of England, at his being here, and being of the principallest houses in this place. And notwithstanding that the self night of his Lordship's repair hither, there came also 400 of the Welsh soldiers sent hither for supplies, with the lodging of which the officers were much troubled, yet all his company, which came to the Bailiffs of this city to demand lodging, were harboured sufficiently and lodged, without making of any payment for the same; neither would any of them repair unto the usual inns, and, if any were unlodged, it was for want of demanding the same of the officers appointed here for those causes. And concerning his supper, the truth is I expected his steward and others had provided for him the first night of his repair hither, and meant to have entertained him to dinner the next day, but that his Lordship came of himself with his train, who had the best provision I could afford. And his Lordship being at supper, complained of the want of horses, and he would not believe but that the city could afford sufficient horses for him and his troop; which I truly answered, that all the horses of the town, except few garrans for wood, were stolen away this last rebellion, and out of use, for that the citizens durst not travel abroad; and withal I gave him the best advice I could, to send to the Lords and gentlemen adjoining for horses. And his Lordship called for pen and ink to write unto my Lord President; and I, thinking that he meant to write by way of complaint for not furnishing him with horses, prayed his Lordship of good will to acquaint me with his meaning, and that I would endeavour to see him provided to my power. And he said his letters were for Her Majesty's service, and required haste; whereupon I presently dispatched them away at midnight by messenger of the city's, and collected the keys being divided among the Aldermen, as custom used here since King John's time, and I received the next morrow an answer, the contents of which I have diligently endeavoured to observe (at which conference Captain Price was not present); and that was all that passed betwixt the Earl and me touching any letters, protesting before God that he never writ letter to your Honours in my house, but we did pass the time in merriment, and in no such matters of weight which were to be used with gravity and secrecy; only he writ those few lines to the Lord President, sitting at the table, accompanied with me and divers others, after supper; and I marvel greatly that, of such small and public conference, those matters were informed against me, as rather became mere indiscretion and childishness in me, if I were faulty, than any wit or sense beseeeming the place I now carry, or my profession of lawyer. And albeit I cannot make ostentation of discretion or other sufficiencies fit for the place I now bear, which was involuntarily cast upon me, being a burden of great care and charge, yet there is no want of my love and zeal to serve Her Majesty, according my most bounden duty, and to extend my poor power to entertain such as are in her princely favour, whom God Almighty long may bless and prosper against all her enemies whatsoever."



160<sup>q</sup>.

Doubts not but that the Lord President has, and shall have, occasion to make like report of the writer, as occasion shall be ministered.—Cork, 1600[-1], January 14. *Signed.* pp. 2.

Jan. 14.  
Cork.

8. John Meade, Mayor of Cork, to Sir Robert Cecil. Touching the preceding letter. The Aldermen of Cork have also written to the Privy Council. There were other private letters to Sir Robert and others of the Council, in the last packet, which the writer fears may have miscarried. Protestation of his loyalty.—Cork, 1600[-1], January 14. *Signed.* p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Jan. 15.  
Cork.

9. Meyler [Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Although I wrote a little before concerning the state of this province, and that I do know that the bearer, Patrick Crosby, is able to declare what is now to be signified, yet for the present your Honour shall perceive that the common sort are very poor, and willing to have peace, the highest branches still remaining in their wonted jealousy, to revenge their private quarrels, under pretence of Her Majesty's service; by which means, and to get the Queen's pay (being more beneficial unto them than their yearly revenue in time of peace), do study and practice rather the continuance of wars than otherwise. To which effect the traitor, James Fitz Thomas, is so secretly kept, although the Lord President, the young Desmond, and others, have used many means to find him, that he is not hitherto taken; and where he is supposed to be this day, the report of his departure is the next day breathed abroad. And as I now perceive, the alteration made in the reward first offered for himself and his brother, or their heads, hath hindered his prosecution. Therefore, if your Honour do think that the putting down of such pernicious heads be necessary (as I think it to be), let me have your letter promising the fulfilling of the contents of the first articles in every point. The manner of the death of Derby O'Connor, with the little regard had of them that wrought the said traitor's taking once (though it be the chief cause of what quietness we have) doth give but cold encouragement to them or others, to be very earnest in executing the like service. But for any other impediment for the effecting of that and the like service, I know not, but it is said by some that seeing that the young Desmond, for whose sake James Fitz Thomas was taken, and by his coming Castlemaine yielded, Piers Lacy his two sons delivered prisoners, Florence McCarthy's coming in at the least hastened, if not wholly procured, had no power or means to recompense the doers and procurers thereof, so likewise would be, if the rest of the service were ended; and therefore (in my poor opinion) it is fit either to enable him in some sort to do service here, as he is most willing to do, or else according to his desire to suffer his return to England.

"Here we have many rumours from the north, and of the coming of Spaniards; what it shall prove is uncertain. Some ships came thither the last month, some say but two, others four; but whether of them it is no great matter, although they brought many

160<sup>o</sup>.

seminaries. But I do fear that the chief procurers of these unnatural wars will now discover themselves. Hitherto light, young, foolish, unlearned, poor, and vagabond people were only joined openly to this last trouble, yet they have disquieted both the realms, and put Her Majesty to great charge. But now, if the very masters of these inventions will join with the rest, there is the danger. Look well therefore to all the places where the seminaries are nourished, maintained, and openly confessed. A seminary, although he were in company with archtraitors, robbing, burning, killing and spoiling the Queen's subjects, yet he nor his relievers cannot be traitors, but simple, silly creatures, in whom is no guile nor malice, and so suffered openly to preach, curse whom they will, and absolve all ill-doers. And for mine own private, I am now in a worse case than ever I was; the little natural inclination which the chiefest of the Irishry of Ireland had towards me is now, by that taking of the supposed Desmond, turned to unnatural hatred and revenge against myself, and my children.

"In all spiritual and temporal livings I cannot 'rype' 10*l*. at this present. Your Honour promised that 40*s*. weekly should be paid to me by the Lord Deputy, for which I have your letter bearing date in March last; yet cannot I have or receive one penny thereof. Hereinclosed I send your Honour his Lordship's answer; therefore as you have promised that you would see me paid thereof in England, if I were not here paid, I pray your Honour that it be performed. I have received a letter from your Honour and others of the Council in Her Majesty's name to the Lord Keeper to give me some little living in England. Therein I had nothing, nor hope of it. With these and such vain expectations, I do still run in great debts, being still occupied, according your Honour's instructions, about Her Majesty's service. What effect came of my diligence therein, God and many of sound judgment do know it, and the worse sort do prosecute me for it since I left your Honour.

"I am still near the young Desmond and the Lord President to my great charge, in Limerick, Kilmallock, Cork, Mallow, and Clonmell, having nothing to defray the same but ten footmen's pay from the first of November last, being in the whole to this day but 24*l*. sterling. In lieu thereof I would I had 20*l*., for which also I have neither Her Majesty's hand or any other thing to show for continuance thereof. And if this be sufficient means to maintain myself and my children as the world now is, who dare not to depart from me for their doings concerning that service, I leave to your honourable consideration, protesting that I have no less than seventeen persons, men and women, dispersed throughout all Munster, following James FitzThomas in disguised manner, some like fools, others lame, counterfeit blind jesters, and such like, of which every one must have some consideration for their travail, although nothing be performed. And seeing that I am willing to be in Munster, near the Lord President and Desmond for the furtherance of the service, if the Lord Bishop of Limerick be already translated to another bishopric in England (as it is reported), I would be content to accept the same instead of the foresaid promises and allowances, although it be not 20*l*. this year; all which I refer to your honourable censure.

1600.

"One thing in specialty I thought my part to signify to your Honour, which I do see much by the inhabitants here noted in the Lord President of this province, which is, that those that are of the best disposition and judgment do find and think themselves reasonably recompensed in their losses and troubles by their last wars, only by the change of Governor they feel by him, in respect of his predecessors. For in truth, I think very few born in the land itself better able to discern and judge their manners [and] affections, and observe the fittest course and means for the reformation and good ordering of this country, than he; which course I hope he will still observe, though it be in some points to his greater charge than ever was seen in any President before him (as the bearer may particularly declare)."—Cork, 1600[-1], January 15.

[*Postscript.*] "How peace can [? can peace] be established or continued in Ireland, as long as the chief instruments, which should procure and maintain the same, shall have more profit by means of Her Majesty's pay in the war time than the profit of their lands comes unto in time of peace; for which cause many do pray for war and wages, *sed non ego.*" Signed. pp. 4.

*Encloses:—*

9. i. *The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Meyler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel. Has received a letter from the Privy Council concerning him, and will be very ready to give him the benefit thereof. There is no word in the letter of the 40s. a week claimed by the Archbishop. Never had, to his remembrance, any direction as to the same. "Besides, if your Lordship do conceive that entertainment might arise out of the pay allowed to the preachers for the army, I do assure your Lordship hereby, that you cannot be provided for, till some of those now placed do either die, or be displaced, or otherwise disposed of; which is a matter of such uncertainty as I think your Lordship will be unwilling to expect; and yet in that case it will be looked for, that you should preach to some one garrison, for so are all the rest enjoined that have any part of that entertainment."*—Dublin Castle, 1600, December 19. *Endorsed:—"My Lord Deputy's letter, dated the 19th of December, and received the first of January."* Signed. p. 1.

Jan. 15  
Castletown

10. D[avid,] Lord Roche and Fermoy, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Your letters of the 24th of November last, howsoever they do promise me profit, I assure your Honour they are so pleasing unto me, as they do not a little comfort me, especially that I should have so honourable a friend to protect me in my causes, which I hope shall never be but honest. The entertainment which I require is neither with purpose to put Her Majesty to any new charge, nor so much for mine own profit, as to enable me to do Her Majesty service, without which I can do little, let my desire be never so great; but if my power were correspondent to my goodwill, I would do Her Majesty good service; and nevertheless will not fail to yield my best assistance to my Lord President, who deserveth all kindness at my hands, and whose affability, courteous



160 $\frac{2}{1}$ .

dealing, and honourable entertainment, as well to us the noblemen as to others the inhabitants of this province, in hospitality and otherwise, far differing from the usage of former Governors, as we think ourselves happy to be so governed, and think him better worthy to govern a kingdom than a province, if Her Majesty were so pleased, to whom I will be ever a faithful subject and servant."—Castletown, 1600[-1], January 15. *Signed.* p. 1.

Jan. 15.  
Dublin.

11. Warrant from the Commissioners for taking the accounts of Her Majesty's Revenues to James Carroll, one of the deputies of Sir George Carey, Treasurer at Wars, directing him to defalk from the pay of certain, who hold farms of Her Majesty, the debts and arrearages of rent due from them, according to the schedule annexed (*wanting*).—Dublin, 1600[-1], January 15. *Copy.* p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

[Jan. 15.]  
Dublin.

12. Draft, in Sir Geoffrey Fenton's handwriting, of a letter [to Sir Robert Cecil], concerning the arrears mentioned in the preceding, and enclosing a collection (*wanting*) of the sums of money due by the servitors in question.—[Dublin, 1600-1, January 15.] p. 1.

Jan. 17.  
Whitehall.

13. Abstract of the contract with John Jolles and William Cockayne for victualling 5,000 men in Leinster, and 3,000 men at Lough Foyle, for two months.—The Court at Whitehall, 1600[-1], January 17. *Unsigned.* pp. 2.

Jan. 19.  
Kilkenny.

14. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Captain Gerrott Fleming, who is returning from Munster, where he was appointed with his company of horse. He is recommended by the Lord President. Fleming served under Ormonde, especially towards the borders of the north, where his living lies all wasted by the traitors. He also received a maim of one of his legs. Begg that Fleming may be returned with expedition, encouraged to continue in Her Majesty's service, which he has followed ever since the Lord Grey's government.—Kilkenny, 1600[-1], January 19. *Signed.* p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Jan. 20.  
Dublin.

15. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This writing enclosed is a true discovery of the two Spanish ships I formerly advertised to be arrived in O'Donnell's country. This discovery is of credit, for that I have had long trial of the discoverer, whom I sent to Dungannon for that purpose; for that, considering the variable reports divulged of those ships, I was curious to beat out the truth. By the abstracts of the King of Spain's letters, which I may safely assure your Honour do contain the true substance of the letters, your Honour may see what cold correspondence that King holdeth with these rebels, which is no other than complimentary and ceremonious; for he leaveth them to stand in water up to the chin, and yet he suffereth them not to sink altogether.

160<sup>o</sup>.

I have this day sent the original to the Lord Deputy, who is still in the mountains, following a prosecution against the Byrnes and Tooles, who keeping still in their fastness with all their creaghts, it maketh the action longer than his Lordship looked for. And yet I hope the blow is near giving, which will either ruin them, or bring them in upon their knees. I look his Lordship will be at Monasterevan within eight or nine days, and so to enter into the war of Offally and Leix, for maintenance whereof I am daily thrusting up victuals to the Naas and Athy, two staples appointed to feed that war. But the old impediment of want of carriage garrans doth somewhat foreslow the course of victualling, but I hope it shall give small hindrance to the service.

"Before Christmas last, 1,000*l*. was sent to relieve the garrison of Knockfergus, which sum, together with the paymaster and ship that carried it, was by extremity of foul weather driven into Dundrum, where the traitor Magennis took both ship and goods; only the paymaster, after some few days of imprisonment, made an escape overland to Knockfergus, and from thence is come hither to bemoan the disaster. This is the first treasure for this land that hath perished by casualty since Her Majesty's reign; and though this was too much and too soon, yet it is a comfort it was no more, considering what great sums, and oftentimes, other princes, and particularly the King of Spain, are used to lose by transporting treasure by sea to their several garrisons. I hope the paymaster is clear from all conspiracy in this mishap, being an Englishman, and having lost in that ship all that he had gotten of his own in many years. Yet I have advised the Council to call him to strait examination, lest by some underhand practice this loss of the money might be plotted, for Ireland aboundeth with spirits addicted to such mischiefs; yet I think the paymaster to be absolutely clear."—Dublin, 1600[-1], January 20.

[*Postscript.*] "The last letter I received from the Lord Deputy I send herewith, that your Honour may see by his own letter how things proceed in the mountains. Since the writing of the letter, the weather is become calm, and the waters much abated, so as I hope by his next to hear of some greater blow given." *Signed.*  
*Endorsed* :—Received at Whitehall the 29th. pp. 1½.

*Encloses* :—

15. i. "*Advertisements sent from Dungannon to Sir Geoffrey Fenton; January, 1600*"[-1].

"I went to Tyrone according my warrant, and there stayed at Dungannon till Tyrone came back from the shipping. There came but two ships, one great ship and another small ship. At his coming to Dungannon the last Friday at night, I went to him the next morning being Saturday, and dealt in all manner of ways and means I could to know the full truth of the Spaniards' coming here. Whereupon I dealt so far, as of my conscience I will write you as much as Tyrone himself knoweth. First, you shall understand that they brought in treasure ten thousand ducats, 2,000 pieces with some powder, lead, and match. This was divided, one half to Tyrone; and all these parties here, and O'Donnell, O'Rourke, McWilliam, O'Connor Sligo, have the other half. He that called himself Desmond's

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brother was that journey by Tyrone; and being there, they concluded that betwixt Tyrone and O'Donnell they should send O'Rourke's brother with 1,000 men to Munster. Also, Captain Mostian [marginal note by Sir Geoffrey Fenton:—"an Englishman, and revolted to the rebels"] came to Tyrone there, where the ships were, and there he was new christened by the Spanish bishop, and sworn to be true to O'Donnell and Tyrone. He hath 500 men to go with him into Connaught, and there is 500 laid down for Tyrrell for Leix. These are to get men themselves, Tyrone and O'Donnell is to give them pay, and themselves to get victuals; their pay is twenty shillings a quarter, and some powder. As for the King of Spain's letters, I saw them, and heard them read; I will write you the effect word by word. There was one letter to Tyrone and O'Donnell and there was but seven lines. There was another letter to Tyrone himself; there was in it but four lines and a half. But there was neither mention of anything that came in the letter; nor of anything to come, not one word. Whereupon O'Donnell, was like a mad man, when he saw no kind of news, neither of men nor money to come; and presently swore he would go himself to Spain, and would have gone indeed, if the Captain of the Spaniards had suffered him. The Spaniard, seeing O'Donnell and the rest so angry, he told O'Donnell that he wronged himself 'for,' said he, 'do you think that if the King send here any army, that he will let you or any else to know it; no, nor the Council of Spain shall not know it. If you or others did know it, then perhaps intelligence shall go into England, and so draw an army against us; and this is the cause that none shall know what he meaneth to do.' Then they advised themselves to send the Spanish Bishop into Spain, and Robert Chamberlain [marginal note by Sir Geoffrey Fenton:—"Tyrone's confessor"], the priest, with him. By them they have sent to the King, for help of men, and that they had never more need, and that they shall be here by May next. But, by God, Tyrone himself told me that he had no hope of any help, except, peradventure, they will send us a ship with as much as they did now to feed us. 'For,' saith he, 'the Duke de Savoy and the King of France are at war, and that the King of Spain will help the Duke of Savoy, and therefore he will not be able to spare men.' This Tyrone himself told me; this is all the news of the Spaniards.

"My license being so short, and at an end when he returned, that I could not stay longer than that two days I did stay, if you think I may do you and the State any service in those parts, I will, by God, do my endeavour to the uttermost. I request your worship, if you can get me a licence till Shrovetide, I would go down thither. I think they will famish in Tyrone this year for want of meat, for they have no corn nor bread, nor yet butter. They eat nothing but beef for want of other victuals. Here I have sent you a letter, which Tyrone sent me from Donegal, with the effect of the King's letters as near as I can possibly, also with a letter which Tyrone's son's master, that is in Spain, sent over to Tyrone, his son complaining upon



1601.

Richard Oren and Henry, as you may see by the letter. There is some bulls come over from the Pope made the last year, as they call it the year of grace, in print, to be put forth through all Ireland. I saw one that came up, which was sent to Clondeboy. The rest are coming up, and, when they come, I have left order to have one sent me. If I can get any, I will send it; but in the bull he calleth him chief of the O'Neills, Earl of Tyrone, Baron of Dungannon, and Lieutenant-General of all the Catholics of Ireland; this is his style. I humbly take leave, this 14th of January, 1600" [-1]. Encloses:—

(a). "A letter from Tyrone to Richard Weston. Here is no news, but the Spaniard hath sent me some little things to feed of, as he did before. He sent twenty thousand pounds, you may say so, but it will fall out scarce a quarter so much; with some pieces, powder, lead, and match. I do send the Bishop and Robert Chamberlain with his shipping back. Break this letter before this bearer.—Donegal, this fourth day of January, 1601." Signed "O'Neill."

(b). "The abstracts of the King of Spain's letters to O'Neill and O'Donnell."

"That he liketh well of all their proceedings against the heretics, and wisheth them so to continue still, and they shall want nothing that he can do for them, either here or there. At Madrid, — Decembris, 1600."

"The like letter in effect was written from the King to the Spanish bishop; and neither of both the letters did contain above eight or nine lines." Copy. pp. 4.

15. ii. "An abstract of a letter written to Sir Geoffrey Fenton out of Tyrone, dated 29 Decembris, 1600."

"That two Spanish ships were put into Donegal in Tyrconnell, bringing with them only munition and money, but touching money it is doubtful. For the munition, it is thought to be so much as will arm 2,000 men, and yet that is doubted by some that are very inward with Tyrone and O'Donnell. [Marginal note:—"The spy thinketh that both the money and the munition are of far less quantity than is given out; and therefore he thinketh it to be but one of Tyrone's old brags."]

"That O'Donnell went aboard the ships at their first coming, at which Tyrone was mightily offended, for that O'Donnell went thither before his coming.

"That Tyrone made a proclamation at Dungannon and Armagh, that any soldiers, English or Irish, which would come to serve Tyrone, should receive pay. [Marginal note:—"This is but to maintain an opinion that money and arms are sent from Spain, which is but to abuse the people."]

"That these two ships are ready to be returned into Spain, and in them Tyrone sendeth one Chamberlain, a priest of his, and very inward with him." [Marginal note:—"If Tyrone were fully answered out of Spain, he would not send his priest thither, being his confessor, and ex intimis consiliis with him."]

"That Tyrone received one letter from the King, promising him aid of men ere it were long; and the Spanish bishop received another letter from the King, requiring him to encourage Tyrone all that he could." Copy. p. 1.

160<sup>a</sup>.

15. iii. *The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.* "I herewith return you your news from Waterford, that you may send it to my Lord President as you intended, and thank you for advising me what you think fit for the furtherance and advancement of this service. I like well your course of sending store of victuals to the Naas, and pray you to proceed therein to your uttermost, for from thence it may be carried where I shall have need of it; and for that purpose I have given warrant to the Sheriff of the county of Kildare, to send garrans for it thither as it comes in, and gave him great charge myself to be careful of it. I am glad you took order with the companies and warders thereabout, praying you to do the like upon all occasions. The 1,000*l.* in readiness to be sent hither, I would not have broken, if it might be, but kept till I send for it. I pray you cause the Treasurer's men to get in more with all the speed they can devise, for I doubt we shall have need of a much greater sum, and I would have some sent presently to the Newry and the companies that lie in garrison at the new fort. They cannot have less than a month's lendings for the Captains and officers, and drinking money for the soldiers, especially those at the fort, whose former money ended with the last month.

"We cannot proceed here as we would to burn and spoil within the Ranelagh, by reason the waters are so great as we cannot get over; but I find our being here is to good purpose, for here we spend that which would relieve them, and yet hope to do both as soon as weather serves, and to hold on my course to Monastereran, where I mean not, God willing, to be idle. I pray you send the victuals, shovels, spades, &c., to Wicklow, according as you promised, for I do not hear they are arrived yet, and I would very willingly have them there."—*The camp at Ballyarthur, hard by the Ranelagh, this sixteenth of January, 1600*[-1]. [Postscript.] "As this letter was ended, I received the packet you sent me together with your letters, and because in one of them I find the barks beaten back that should have brought our victuals, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence is dispatched hence for some victuals by land, which I pray you and Mr. Marshal send by him in as great a quantity as well you can, especially of bread and cheese, and he will help you with some garrans both for that and some provisions for myself." Endorsed by Sir Geoffrey Fenton:—"From the Lord Deputy, 16th January, 1600[-1]. Received per Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, 18 January, at dinner time, and the proportion of victuals sent the next day to the camp." Signed. pp. 1½.

Jan. 23.  
Kilkenny.

16. *The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil.* "I have of late written several letters unto you, both of the occurrents here, and some things touching my own particulars, and have received no answer of any. If your great and weighty affairs will afford you so much leisure, I would gladly know from you (by this bearer my servant) what hath been done touching my requests for the enlargement of my nephew, Theobald Butler; and also for the

160<sup>q</sup>.

letter (which long since was granted) for the remittal of the rents due to Her Majesty out of such lands and possessions of mine as by the traitors in this rebellion are made waste, for which the Treasurer, Sir George Carey, hath stayed from me above 500*l*. of my entertainment.

"I have thought good to send you hereinclosed a note of such traitors as of late (by my direction) have been slain and executed within the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. Wherein I may not omit to acquaint you with the manner of the late overthrow given to Redmond Burke, the pretended Baron of Leitrim, which in this sort was performed. I having received intelligence that he, the traitors Tyrrell [and] Keadagh O'Meagher, the O'Moores, and other of their confederates, were purposed to invade these two counties, for prevention thereof I divided the few forces I have of Her Majesty, with such as I could bring together of my friends and followers, into two bulks; the one I sent into Ormonde, under the charge of my Lord of Dunboyne and my nephew, Sir Walter Butler, and the rest I kept with myself, for the defence of these borders. Those I sent into Ormonde receiving certain intelligence by my espials where Redmond Burke and his company were, marched by night towards them, and at the break of the day fell on his camp, and had the execution of them for the space of two miles together. In which there were slain dead in the field of armed men 100 and odd, and above eighty more drowned in the river of Noare, besides labouring men and others that followed them. They also lost eighty horses and hackneys, 140 muskets and culivers, with store of pikes, targets, and other arms, with no more loss of our side (I thank God) than four kern slain, and my nephew, Sir Walter Butler, hurt with a pike in the knee, who, with my lord of Dunboyne, bequit themselves well." Doubts not that Sir Robert will further his [Ormonde's] suits.—Kilkenny, 1600[-1], January 23.

[*Postscript.*] "I do marvel that that ruffianly fellow, Tom Lee, is suffered to continue his railing against me, whom I will prove to be as very a traitor as any in action, and that treacherously he practised with the traitors of the O'Moores and others to murder me; which before my Lord Deputy that now is hath manifestly appeared, besides many other great treasons." *Signed.* pp. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

*Encloses:—*

16. i. "*A note of the traitors slain and taken prisoners at the overthrow given to Redmond Burke, the pretended Baron of Leitrim, the 7th of January, 1600*"[-1]. Total, 444. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

Jan. [23.]  
Dublin.

17. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I understand by a letter from the Lord Deputy, which I received this day, that his Lordship meaneth to leave the mountains to-morrow, and so to draw directly to Monasterevan, where I think he will be by the 24th of this month at the furthest. I know no certainty as yet in what estate he hath left the prosecution of the mountains, but I think his Lordship will place a garrison of 500 about Tully, being the westerly parts of the mountains towards Carlow, as he hath



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settled a force at Wicklow, to answer the easterly parts of their fastness; for that, between those two forces so planted, they carry between them the whole fastness of those mountains, and cannot but in short time distress the rebels, if the garrisons be vigilant to seek and take opportunities.

"His Lordship being come to Monasterevan, I know he will lose no time to hunt the O'Mores and Connors, and put the recovering of Leix and Offally to the trial. For the better strengthening of which prosecutions, he hath withdrawn some companies from the garrisons of Dundalk and Ardee, whereby those places are left the weaker to stand against Tyrone's incursions, if he shall break into the Pale. Tyrone is now come on this side Blackwater, with purpose to pass some men into Munster, as your Honour may see by this advertisement inclosed, the original whereof I have sent to his Lordship. But I doubt his chief meaning is to make some sudden road into the Pale, upon this lessening of the garrisons of the borders. He is exceedingly gravelled with the coldness of Spain, and many of his best followers are almost made desperate of succours from that King, who finding likewise that a famine of all manner of food, save beef, doth still increase upon them in Ulster, do begin more sensibly to apprehend their miseries than heretofore they have done, murmuring openly that their undoing is grown wholly from the fraudulent promises of Spain; and I hope their distress will be redoubled upon them, when the supplies shall arrive at Lough Foyle, which I cannot but think are upon the sea thitherward, if not already there; for Sir Henry Dockwra, being reinforced by those supplies, will be able to take the field, and keep it against O'Donnell, and stop Tyrone from helping him.

"Neale Garve being landed here four or five days past, I have sent him this day towards his Lordship, and have advised him to return Neale with all the speed he can, that he may be sent back to his charge, where he hath done good service, and is like to do more, being already deep in blood against O'Donnell. The matters he is to propound, his Lordship may easily answer them, and satisfy him, without deferring his dispatch upon his demands. But of this, and all his Lordship's proceedings in the mountains, with the postulations of Shane McBrian, whom I have also sent to him this day, I think his Lordship will make a full despatch from himself, and send it by Sir Oliver St. John. In the meanwhile I thought not amiss to give your Honour this foreknowledge."—Dublin, 1600[-1], January [23].

[*Postscript.*] "I have sent your Honour herewith a piece of the Spanish money that is now come from the King into Ireland. It may please your Honour to cause it to be touched and tried, to see whether it be counterfeit or right, for in this land there is no means to do it; but, to bring the Irish out of conceit, I am devising to cast out bruits that the silver is not good, but forged." *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall the 3 of February. *Signed*. Seal. pp. 1½.

*Encloses*:—

17. i. Abstracts out of two several letters directed to Sir Jeffrey Fenton.

"Since the writing of the other letter, I received yours, and by this you shall understand that Tyrone is come on this side

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*the Blackwater, and will be at Henry O'Hagan's to-morrow at night with the name (sic) of 1,000 men, but I think they will not be above 500, to be sent to Tyrrell in company with Desmond's brother. If I had warrant to go where he is, he should do nothing but my Lord Deputy should know it. I shall request your answer by the first. When I hear more, you shall know more at large.*"—Dundalk, 1600[-1], January 21, "at night."

"This night, at midnight, I have learned that Tyrone will go towards the Brenny to send 500 soldiers into Munster with Desmond's brother, and Tyrrell must be the man that must conduct them to the borders of Munster. Tyrone hath sent one of his chaplains to Tyrrell, commanding him to go help Feagh McHugh's sons against my Lord Deputy.

"Assure yourself there is very near forty thousand crowns come out of Spain, the truth whereof I could not discover till now. The money is dispersed for Munster, Connaught, and Leinster, and O'Donnell and Tyrone have a third part of the whole. There came two horseload of silver to Dungannon yesternight of Tyrone's part, and he hath given proclamation that that money shall pass through all the country as other money, upon pain of death."—Dungannon, 1600[-1], January 22. p. 1.

Jan. 24.  
Dublin.

18. Captain Humphrey Willis to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since my last letters unto your Honour of the 29th of October, there hath been secretly wrought by O'Donnell and O'Dogherty means to corrupt Captain Alford, who hath the charge and keeping of Culmore with his company. That traitor, Hugh Boy, O'Dogherty's foster-brother and O'Donnell's chief counsellor, was the man that was employed from time to time to Captain Alford. A sum of money was to be given to the Captain for delivering over the town, and inviting of Neale Garve O'Donnell to a feast into the Castle, and so either to kill him, or deliver him over to O'Donnell. The Captain held this Hugh Boy on, and entertained all messengers kindly (thinking either to get him or some part of the money into his hands, which the subtlety of the man did prevent), but at last Hugh Boy delivered the Captain a couple of chains of gold, in part of payment until the money were gathered, worth some 150*l*. So hereupon all was opened. Presently upon the same, O'Dogherty sent to the Governor to excuse him in this, protesting he had no part therein, neither knew of the practice, desiring the Governor to hold him on the same terms he did before, until Her Majesty's pleasure were known. But it was nothing but to colour his former treachery (as I did thoroughly assure the Governor), and by that means, at my departure, he was not hearkened unto. But we have burnt some part of his country, and killed his people as we found them.

"The 15th of November, Neale Garve's brother, with part of the garrison of the Liffer, put into Tyrone twelve miles, and there took the goods of Harry Ovingdon, foster brother to Tyrone, to the number of 500 cows [and] some horses, and killed man, woman, and child. Cormack O'Baron overtook them with some forces, but

160<sup>2</sup>.

durst not fight with them; so they brought the prey to the Liffer quietly, notwithstanding O'Donnell lay with his forces within their rescue.

"The 18th we had intelligence of some Spanish shipping that should put into Erris in Connaught. Whereupon O'Donnell drew presently with twelve horse in the night, leaving the rest of his forces to attend the garrison of the Liffer. He sent for Tyrone, who forthwith did follow him to Donegal, and there they stayed until the Spaniards sent to them. They gave out of the coming of fifteen sail of Spaniards, only to satisfy the country, which fell out to be only two, that were sent with munition to Tyrone and O'Donnell. They brought arms for two thousand men, and great store of powder, lead, and match; and now they are returned. They brought from the King a dividint; for the division of it, two parts to Tyrone, and a third to O'Donnell, which I assure your Honour he will never yield unto; so as I doubt not but the coming of this will put some controversy between O'Donnell and Tyrone, and between O'Donnell and his dependents, as O'Rourke, O'Connor Sligo, McWilliam, McDermott, and O'Connor Roe. For every of these will have a portion of it, and will not suffer O'Donnell to take less than the half ['half-fendell']. Tyrone, he will ever stand upon the King's dividint, and indeed they both love to have the handling of anything that comes so well, that they will be very unwilling to divide with their chief gentlemen, which will divert many from them.

"Neale Garve, laying down some very good plots for the expelling and rooting out of O'Donnell, as also of Tyrone, made desire to the Governor to license him to go to my Lord Deputy, to have some conference with his Lordship about the same for a short time, and so to return again by that time the supplies should come or arrive at Lough Foyle; which was granted him, and, for his better assistance (upon his request), the Governor sent me with him and his eldest son, and his brother's son. Before my coming from thence, Sir James McSorley had sent three several messengers to the Governor, to send me and Captain Thornton to the Skerries, to talk with him about Her Majesty's services; which the Governor granted, and gave me order for it, in my passage to Dublin, and what he would impart to me, to acquaint my Lord Deputy therewith. At the harbour mouth, coming out, Captain Thornton died. So I proceeded, and came to the Skerries, and there received some letters aboard from him, with a man of his own, who[m] he desired me to convey to my Lord Deputy. He saith he will pay Her Majesty's rent that is behind upon good conditions. He was very desirous to have me to go ashore to him, and would have sent in a gentleman of his country, but I had certain intelligence by my espials before that Tyrone had wrought with his bonnaughts to have taken me, or killed me, for the which he would very well reward them. Notwithstanding, if he had sent his brother Randall aboard of me, I would have gone ashore.

"Agnes McJames of Cantire and his sons are fallen out. They would seem to put the father out of his living. They have fully agreed with O'Donnell to be with him this spring with



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1,000 foot. The agreement is passed already between them. A letter from your Honour and the rest of the Lords of the Council to the [*here there is a blank for a word*] of Argyle, McAllen, would presently make them to dispose of themselves otherwise, either by commanding them, or to raise up McIllaine [*Maclean*] against them. If these Scots do come, they must bring victuals with them, or else seek for it in Connaught, for they shall get little in O'Donnell's country. For he prepares himself already to go for Connaught, and there to remain as long as he can, and hath already put the most of his goods there, and, being driven thence, he goeth for Spain.

"Now both Tyrone and O'Donnell are not able to hold out long. This summer, Her Majesty's forces being strongly supplied, both horse and foot shall be able to serve daily on them, so as I hope in God this year we shall bring the north of Ireland to a good pass, [and] that Her Majesty's charge shall then daily lessen, if things be well followed. Tyrone and O'Donnell are now determining to send O'Donnell's brother Rory, and Hugh Boy, into Spain, for all the country now are railing upon them, saying they have been carried hitherunto in hope of the Spaniards' coming, and now they have sent two ships without any man. They say (being so supplied) they cannot hold out against the Queen, that sent here seventy ships at one time, and every week since at least two or three.

"It is very requisite we should have a hundred of good horse sent hither for Lough Foyle this spring, and if we save not them better than we did the last, and effect the service well, it were great pity (in my opinion) we should receive Her Majesty's pay. Now our buildings are brought to good effect, the soldiers have good lodgings to cover them, and for the most part beds of deal boards to keep them from the cold earth. So as we are ready to march into the country, either Tyrone or Tyrconnell, and our men may easily endure it, having so good a rest assured them at their return. All the defect will be for want of carriages, but I hope by Neale Garve's means we shall have some help for carriages. If it may please your Honour to take notice of our sundry manifold and unthought on impediments in our works, as wilful breaking and burning of the tools, selling away of cables and anchors to the barges, running away of both sailors and mariners, driving the boats on ground, and bruising them, of purpose to be excused from labour.

"If it stand with your Honour's good liking, I hold it fit we should fortify both the Derry and some other strong place therein now instantly, to be always a strong defence against all occasions that might happen whatsoever, and to be for ever a place to bridle the Irish, and to make them to reduce themselves to Her Majesty fully. I must shew your Honour the reasons of the waste of our tools for the same formerly sent, as, the sundry uses we had of them, and the inevitable lewdness of the soldiers, that would burn and break them, partly upon necessity, because they were weak and would not hold, partly upon mere villainy to be excused from labour, and we had little means to preserve them, having in a long time no place to keep them apart by themselves.

160<sup>2</sup><sub>1</sub>.

"If it also stand with your Honour's good liking, because I am not ignorant that many will be suitors for lands and living in these parts, even before the country be gained, and divers no doubt be ready to intrude themselves without respect to other men's labour, I have thought good (under your Honour's favour) to signify my opinion in some things, which done, I refer the rest to your better and most honourable judgment. First, therefore, touching the Church lands (whereof this whole island where we inhabit is a part), if either inheritance, lease, or custodiam be granted of any part thereof, it will breed extreme discontent in the Irish, who are yet led with a persuasion of Her Majesty's purpose to make no manner alteration in matters of religion, from which opinion (as things yet stand) I hold no policy to deny it them. Besides such grant should breed mere confusion amongst ourselves, for who would be willing after expense laid out in building, to see another man reap the fruits of his labour, even presently before his eyes, by giving away the ground whereon they have builded; and what inconveniences have already ensued by that error or want of foresight, let the public examples and all men's knowledge testify.

"And touching another commodity which I doubt not will be laboured for, which is the fishing of the river, I know it is freely in my Lord Deputy's power to dispose; only I thought good to advertise your Honour of the full and absolute possession, which Her Majesty hath thereof by holding the Liffer, and therefore whosoever shall farm it in any sort whatsoever may prepare himself presently against the season of the year, that no time be lost. For I do manifestly see the benefit thereof (if it be well plied and taken) will be great, and more than many will conceive of.

"I thought good to make known to your Honour the common and unspeakable course our men have got of passing away by the rebels' country, where they have free leave by proclamation to go safely, and help both of victuals, money, and shipping, to transport them into Scotland, and so home. Of which kind of people I have observed the Welshmen and Lancashiremen to be most faulty.

"I do see that my Lord Deputy doth proceed in the only course for expelling of these rebels, for his Lordship is continually waking and stirring of them; and they speak it privately amongst themselves that there was never Deputy took the like course for their overthrow."—Dublin, 1600[-1], January 24. *Signed.* pp. 3½.

Jan. 25.  
Mallow.

19. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. "Your letters bearing date the 14th of December, I received the 19th of this present; by the which I understand that my despatch of the 2nd of November is come to your Lordships' hands, humbly thanking you for your good acceptance of the same, and especially that you have been pleased so much to favour me, as not only to imbrother my labours unto Her Majesty beyond their merits, but also to be the relator unto me of Her Majesty's gracious and princely favours in allowing my endeavours, which in themselves deserve little, if they were not accompanied with a faithful zeal. Which extraordinary grace from Her Majesty, albeit it cannot increase my

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fervent desires to labour in her service, yet I must confess the comforts I receive by them are such as I shall with more alacrity proceed in them.

“Touching the abatement of Her Majesty’s charges (which your Lordships in your wisdoms have reason to diminish as soon as conveniently it may be), in that point I will not be found backward, as in my two last despatches, the one of the 21st of December, and the other the 13th of this instant, will appear. For in them I have made known unto you that 500 of the list of Munster is already abated, and that I am at all times ready to assist the Lord Deputy with 1,000 foot more for the service of Leinster. And as (upon the reckoning) the one half of the charge of Munster is eased, only for countenance sake my humble suit was, and is, that they may remain still, and be paid as part of the list of this province, by which means I shall be the better able to contain these provincials in due obedience.

“The informations made to your Lordships of the slack, negligent, and corrupt dealings of the Commissaries of the Musters in this province, as I will not labour to excuse them, so is it my duty (as near as I can) to inform your Lordships truly, lest either the Commissaries, Captains, or myself, or all of us, may be unjustly taxed. My opinion concerning the Commissaries in my letters of the 21st of December (which I thank God I understand have not miscarried) is at large delivered to your Lordships; wherein I do think them rather guilty of ignorance than corruption, protesting, upon my duty of allegiance to Her Majesty, that I have not heard (though I have narrowly searched after it) that any of them have taken reward for favour done therein; but that they have favoured, it is likely by the appearance of the small checks imposed. And yet your Lordships may not expect equality of checks in Munster with the like numbers in other places; for (I thank God for it) the loss of men, either by sword, or sickness, hath been much less in this province than in other parts, which the last supply did fully reinforce. And thus far, further, I do assure your Lordships upon my reputation, that the garrison of Munster is the strongest by the poll, and (as I suppose) the ablest of bodies, of any companies in this kingdom; than whom, for the numbers, in my life I never saw better. And whereas your lordships have been informed that the Captains do hire townsmen upon muster days, so gross an error cannot escape the Commissaries’ knowledge, and therefore he must participate with the Captain in that fault. That such fraud hath been used, I do not deny; for, at my first coming into this province, I did publicly punish the same, but since, by any inquiry I could make, have not known the like error committed, being a thing whereof I have an exact care.

“It cannot be denied but that in the army of Munster are many Irish continued in pay, but to the numbers mentioned in your Lordships’ said letters, that three parts should be Irish, who serve at less pay than the other, both the one and the other (under your Lordships’ reformation) is untruly informed. For (upon mine own knowledge I speak it) no man that marcheth under colours will serve at less entertainment than the Queen allows. If your Lordships will be pleased to look upon the list of the companies



160<sup>o</sup>.

of Munster, you shall find that some of them are all Irish, and others commanded by Irish Captains, who can hardly be withheld from entertaining their countrymen. But if the English Captains have not their companies less clogged with Irish than any companies in this realm, let me lose my credit with your Lordships for ever. But since these informations have come to your Lordships (although further urged than in truth there is cause), I will be more vigilant than in former times to give you due satisfaction. But herein I do humbly beseech you in part to excuse me, either for the errors past, or any to come, being almost a work impossible for me to discharge, to undertake a precise reformation of these abuses, by reason of the remote and dispersed lodging of the garrisons abroad in sundry parts, which cannot be overlooked by my eye as those at Lough Foyle; and therefore must be enforced to give credit to the ministers your Lordships have appointed, over whom I will be as careful as I may. And touching the point of protected men retained in pay, I know not any more than one Captain, who is of special good desert (having often bled in service, and whose name I humbly beseech your Lordships give me leave to suppress), that erred therein, and to amend this fault, this much I do witness for him, that I never saw his company of 100 foot come less into the field than 120, 140, or a 160, by poll, and those such as under his leading do as often break their necks in Her Majesty's service as any soldiers she hath; which in my judgment doth well recompense his error. Yet, notwithstanding, if it be your Lordships' pleasure that this be reformed, I will accordingly see your commandment effected, though therein I shall deal somewhat hurtfully to the service.

"For the better establishing of this province, in my former letters of the 2nd of November I did humbly move your Lordships to be pleased to procure Her Majesty's gracious and general pardon (with limitations) to these provincials, to the which I have now received your Lordships' pleasures already signified to the Lord Deputy, yet notwithstanding (if so you will be pleased to grant me the favour) I do humbly pray you to peruse the draft of a general pardon sent unto your Lordships in my last two packets formerly herein mentioned, which in my weak opinion will ease your Lordships of much labour, and be most agreeable to the establishing of this province. To assure the gentlemen of Munster in their future loyalties, a better course than I have already taken I cannot comprehend, or what to do more in the same than already I have done, for there is not a man of quality in this province, but I have either his child, or of his next kindred, pledges, and, for the meaner sort, good assurance by recognizances; which course (so thoroughly effected) hath not in former times by any President or Governor here been seen. Yet that your Lordships may see that in my particular I am not blinded, and that I would not wish your Lordships to be abused, I am so distrustful of their entire loyalties to the Crown of England, as I make no question but these bonds, or as many more as may be imposed upon them, are all too weak to contain them in their duties, if Spaniards invade us. But for either home rebellion within this province, or desire to reinforce themselves with bonnaughts, I am in hope that this late example

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hath made them too wise suddenly to enter again into the like folly, and yet so long as the other parts of the kingdom shall be in flame (except the sword in some measure be held over them), it is not to be expected that they will be generally reformed, and especially in this time, when there is so many of the remnants of this late rebellion remaining, which in time must either be consumed by the sword or gallows ['Gall-house']. But lest the undertakers, upon this small occasion of these scattered vagabonds, shall excuse themselves from coming over to repair their houses and manure their lands, whereby this country may be the better inhabited, and Her Majesty's rents recontinued, I do not know, in all the province, where six of these remain in one company, and amongst them no one either of estimation in blood or land, neither yet any spoil committed by day these two months and more. And to give example to others to be bold, all the cattle of Mallow have lain abroad in the fields without any keeping for the time aforesaid. Wherefore either disability or want of will withholds them hence, and in every part of the province, over the desert mountains, two or three in a company do usually travel. The present state of this province is as I have laid down to your Lordships, but what disturbance may come out of the north, daily threatened and expected by the return of McMorris, Piers Lacy, and John Fitz Thomas (who are there negotiating for aids) I know not; howbeit do hope that they are so well employed there, as they will not be at leisure to lead forces into Munster, and therein I am the more confident, because the Lord Deputy doth assure me no less.

"Florence McCarthy is now with me, and, to clear himself from all his former transgressions, doth promise me immediately to sue out his pardon, and to send me his eldest son, upon receipt of whom I must return unto him the pledges that now I have. But such was his fears, accompanied with known guiltiness of his breach of protections, since he was received into Her Majesty's grace, as he plainly confessed unto me that the same was broken, and therefore did humbly pray, before his coming unto me, the renewing of it, with promise hereafter religiously to keep the same. Unto which request (albeit I was far unwilling) yet lest the denial thereof should have made diversion in the hearts of others in Desmond inclined to peace, who then with him were repairing unto me, to give assurance for their future loyalties, as namely, O'Sullivan More, McFinnin, and the two O'Donnoughoes, I thought it meet in discretion to remit the errors past, and to begin upon a new account, with whom 'ingenerally' I have now taken sufficient order."

Arrival of victuals at Cork. Begs for a continuance of dividing victuals into equal portions to be sent respectively to Cork and Limerick; also that the different kinds may be sent in proportion, "whereas now some contain all biscuit, others all butter or cheese." Difficulty of victualling the garrison of Kerry. Prays that the store of oats may be renewed, and asks for 400 quarters to be sent forthwith to Cork. Horsemeat in Munster very scant.

"Because some more curious than others (as I understand) do give out that this peace of Munster is but coloured, and not intended, in respect the provincials do stand but upon protections,

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and lest these or the like intimations may by continuance and want of answer be apprehended to be true, for your Lordships' satisfaction herein (whom only I am careful to satisfy), may it please you to receive for truth, that every day I am pressed for nothing more than to write unto the Lord Deputy for pardons; unto whom already (I speak within my compass) I have recommended 3,000 persons at least by name, and many of whose pardons are now extant in this province. But herein I do not commend the willingness of the parties, who no doubt had rather live protected than pardoned; but having resumed into my hands all powers from others to protect, and protesting myself never to renew protections hereafter, doth enforce them to sue out their pardons, or to run into new rebellion, in the latter whereof, as they are unable, so are they thereby unwilling to relapse.

"In my late despatch by Patrick Crosby, I did therein account unto your Lordships all which then I thought needful for the state of this province, and therefore do humbly pray your Lordships, if herein be any omissions, to call for those letters, which, together with these, will give you full satisfaction."—Mallow, 1600[-1], January 25. *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall, 5 February. *Signed*. pp. 4½.

Jan. 27.  
Dublin.

20. Auditor Sir Christopher Peyton to Sir Robert Cecil. That he may be paid the same allowances as were granted to James Ware, Auditor-General at Wars in Lord Essex's time, for passing the foreign accounts of Ireland. These are now in his hands, and he has to keep daily several clerks and other instruments for finishing them. The bearer is his friend, Mr. Watson.—Dublin, 1600[-1], January 27. *Signed*. p. 1.

Jan. 27.

21. "A certificate of extraordinaries called concordatums, paid between the 20th of December, 1600, and the 20th of January next following." Examined and signed by John Bingley, and dated 27 January, 1600[-1].

Among the items are payments to John Segrave, "for divers intelligences and other services manifested to the Lord Deputy in the last northern journey" (9*l.*); to Mary Jackson, "whose husband was slain in Her Majesty's service, in consideration to carry her home into England, her native country" (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*); Richard Fowles, "for the transporting of divers unserviceable soldiers from Dublin into England, in the bark *Jolley*" (6*l.* 4*s.*); Patrick White and others, "for their service and labour in ferrying over of the army at Narrow Water" (100*s.*); George Finch, Constable of Athlone, "for the dieting of two pledges for 126 days" (12*l.* 12*s.*); John Francke, "for the printing of divers proclamations for Her Majesty's service" (66*s.* 8*d.*); William Knight, "in consideration of his charges bestowed in the keeping of two orphans, daughters of Richard Fitton, gent., who died in Her Majesty's service in Munster, and not any of their own blood taking any care of them" (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*); and further, among the "prests upon account," Francis Marshall, "for the sending of 1,500 pair of shoes, and a



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like proportion of stockings for the furnishing of the army prepared for the northern journey" (15l.); and to the said Marshal, "for the sending of 1,500 winter suits complete to the Newry, for the apparelling of the garrisons thereabouts" (30l.). pp. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Jan. 28.  
Cork.

22. John Meade, Mayor of Cork, to Sir Robert Cecil. After the departure of Mr. Crosby, received a packet from the Lord President, which he sends by the bearer with all the speed he can.—Cork, 1600[-1], January 28. *Signed.* p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Jan. 29.  
Dublin.

23. Sir Patrick Barnewell to Sir Robert Cecil. "To what end sorted the despatch my Lord of Howth and myself brought out of England, and what course was taken here to redress the miseries of this poor and worn-out country, soon after the effecting thereof, we signified the same in a joint letter to your Honour, whose honourable good favour and regard of our distressed [e]states I must and always will acknowledge to have been the chiefest mean that induced Her Highness to a compassionate respect of us. And howbeit the occurrences here I know are so thoroughly advertised to your Honour, as I could not free myself from imputation of vanity, if I should presume to say aught of them, yet, the condition of things standing as now it doth, I will make choice, rather to hazard what opinion may be conceived of my overmuch boldness, than that I will suppress from your Honour's knowledge the common opinion of such here as wish the good and prosperous advancement of Her Majesty's service.

"The rebel being now brought to a lower ebb than ever since the beginning of these garboyles, and grown distrustful and into a great fear to receive hurt in his person from his own people, doth wholly bend his wit, and useth all his instruments and means possible to uphold that combination, which by his practice hath spread itself throughout most parts of the kingdom; and especially laboureth to retain his neighbours, the men of mark and greatest force in Ulster, from sliding and starting away from him. Wherein he useth this as a most forcible and potent persuasion; that he is acquainted with the condition of our estate, our defects and want of means in what kind soever, our purposes and designments, which himself frameth for the present, as may best serve the drift of his own practice, and peradventure sticketh not to name some in particular, from whom he affirmeth to have received intelligence, which, be it in matter true or false, is made so probable unto them, being otherwise well assured what extraordinary favour he always found in his causes, beyond all right and measure, how he hath been protected in very capital matters, whereof they themselves, as partakers with him in those treacheries, knew him deeply guilty, as it breedeth in them an absolute opinion of the truth of his assertions. To this many there be, and some of my knowledge of the better sort in that province, who are desirous to abandon the Traitor, and submit themselves to Her Highness, if they might effect it without danger to expose themselves to utter overthrow and ruin. But forasmuch as matters of this nature are usually handled when the Deputy is

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on foot with an army, wherein some there be which have been held great friends and favourites of the Traitor, this only doth withhold and deter them from the prosecution of their purpose, lest the same in the managing, before it took effect, being discovered, they might be suddenly apprehended, and so with the present overthrow of their houses, wives, and children, enforced to endure what miserable torment it pleased his tyranny to impose and inflict upon them. Whether then the necessity of Her Majesty's service doth not enforce the removing of a cause producing so perilous effects, the stopping of a course drawing with it such dangerous sequels, I leave to your honourable and grave consideration. My purpose is not to tax any one in particular, how largely soever the world doth speak of some, but do heartily wish, now that the rebel is brought to a declination, that all impediments were removed, which any way might stop the free passage of the good success of the action. Yet rather to answer your Honour's judgment, which peradventure would hold me vain, if I should not descend to some particular, than of mine own disposition to touch any creature living, I must needs affirm that the Moores, Warrens, and the rest of that family of Mellifont, have been always held the greatest friends and favourites the Traitor had in this kingdom; and now none more enriched with Her Highness[s] entertainment, both of horse and foot, than they. And that which breedeth variety of opinions in the minds of many honest men, is to see Sir Gerrot Moore's lands as well inhabited as the best peopled place in England, the rebel not suffering any of his adherents to touch any there, when all the country round about is made merely waste by their daily incursions. Yet do his soldiers, both horse and foot, range into the English Pale, where men are miserably consumed with several sorts of oppressions, his lands notwithstanding being so plentifully replenished with what goods this kingdom doth afford, as I dare affirm a greater number of cattle to be in one village of his, than in a whole barony or hundred in the inner parts of the country.

"But my purpose is not to complain what hurt any soldiers do, assuring myself his Lordship will redress it here without further trouble to your Honours. Only I am humbly bold to signify my poor opinion to your Honour, and that I protest without malice, what hurt Her Majesty's service doth receive by employing therein such as are well-known to have been the Traitor's fastest friends, whilst men of all sorts are thereby possessed with opinion Her Majesty hath a purpose to compose matters with them. And what good will arise when by the contrary the world shall rest assured of her absolute determination to extirp him, besides that hereby those impediments will be quitted, which peradventure hitherto hath debarred some from submission, and the way laid plainly open to all such as have any purpose to abandon the Traitor, whereof what good may grow I will not be tedious to your Honour in recounting the innumerable particulars thereof.

"Tyrone is returned from Killibeggs in Tyrconnell, whither he went to meet two frigates arrived there with munition, and though the report of that supply be much exaggerated beyond all truth and measure, yet I understand by some come from those parts,

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and by one lately arrived here out of Spain, that the proportion was only 3,000 pikes, 2,000 culivers, 1,000 muskets, with a correspondent proportion of powder, lead, and match. And for the treasure, which is said to be infinite, it is but 25,000 crowns, all in reals of eight. He hath given out proclamation where his power extendeth, that whosoever will come to serve the King of Spain under his command shall have 20s. a month, and is now come within these two days into the Brenny, towards the frontiers of the English Pale, whereof divers do diversely conjecture; some, that he purposeth to send from thence 1,000 Connaught men, entertained for some designment in Munster to disturb the well-begun quiet of that province; others, that he intendeth the invasion of the English Pale, to divert his Lordship from the prosecution of his confederates in Leinster. Yet I think it more probable, which I hear by some borderers, that the cause of his approach to these parts is to regain the McMahons or Reillys, of whom many stood upon terms of revolt from him, an opportunity I well hope his Lordship will not overslip to take hold of."—Dublin, 1600[-1], January 29. *Signed. pp. 3.*

Jan. 29.      24. The remain of munition in store in the Castle of Dublin, on January 29, 1600[-1]; also, the supply of same needful to be sent out of England.—1600[-1], January 29. *Signed by Sir George Bouchier. pp. 2.*

Jan. 31.      25. Captain Nicholas Dawtrey to Sir Robert Cecil. "I need Dublin. not trouble your Honour with any particularity either of the northern journey or this late journey made into the Glynns of Leinster, where my Lord Deputy kept his Christmas. But such they have been and to such purpose, as the northern hath given the capital Rebel such a blow, as if it be well followed this spring, and the army be reinforced betimes, he will be, by midsummer next, brought unto a weak estate, that Her Majesty's great and high charge, that she hath been at, cannot continue, but will daily decrease after it. But if the army be not betimes in the spring supplied, it will be an occasion to lead on Her Highness['s] charge so much the longer. The traitor Tyrone hath of late received some comfort of munition from the King of Spain; some says he hath received money; also some others are of a contrary opinion for money, but for munition they all agree. He is put in great hope to be supplied from the King with men and further means of pay for them, as the Traitor himself gives out. But all will be prevented if the supplies come betimes out of England, that there may be a good continuance of a sharp war made in the first of the spring. Some will hold an opinion it cannot be before new grass be come for horses; but I say if there be good store of [at] least oats sent out of England for provender for horses, horses will live well with old couches and oats, and one month's war made in the first of the spring is worth five months' war made after midsummer. But I see all men of my profession are not of one opinion, for I fear me some would linger and continue the war, and some other of more conscience and



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remorse to their country would end it as speedily as they could possibly do it. My Lord Deputy is none of them that would have it continue, but ended with speed, as may appear by his actions, for he went from Dublin to keep his Christmas in the county of Kildare, at a place called Monasterevan; but suddenly he turned up the mountains, and marched to the Glynns, sending one hundred horse and 500 footmen to meet him one other way. On both parties he got great store of prey, and met near Ballinacorr, where they found good store of bread, wine, ale, and *aqua vite*, which the traitor Phelim McFeagh had provided, and there they killed many rebels, and took Phelim's eldest son prisoner, and burnt and spoiled all the country thereabouts, gathering in the corn round about them for horses, and there his Lordship bestowed one or two and twenty days, eating, burning, and spoiling, killing and destroying all that could be found in the country, and then returned, leaving Sir Henry Folliott at Wicklow with some 300 footmen and twenty-five of my horsemen. His Lordship, being within six miles, turned towards Monasterevan, where men thought he would have given his body some rest. He contrariwise returned back again unto the enemy's country, where he took a great prey, and had anew killing upon them; and those men and cows that escaped my Lord Deputy fell unto Sir Henry Folliott and my horsemen, whereupon the horsemen turned in the cows from the enemy unto our footmen, and carried them away. But the rebels, gathering all their force, which might be some 500 men, got before our men, and put themselves in battle with full resolution to fight. Whereupon our men resolved to fight and charge them first with the horsemen, the foot coming up roundly unto the push of the pike. The enemy was put to flight; the harm we had was, five horses were hurt with pikes, whereof two of them was slain, and twenty of our men hurt and slain. Of the rebels, there was two principal men slain, viz., Tibbott O'Toole and Edmund O'Kelly, and sixty and odd rebels slain upon the ground, besides those that escaped hurt.

"I never saw any Lord Deputy take the like pains in my life, for he gives his body no rest, and although he were a very sickly gentleman in England, yet he keepeth health here the best of any man, besides that he is endued with notable virtues befitting a general in such a country as this is; for he hath excellent temperance in all things to discern between man and man, as matter and matter, that cometh before him. He hath secrecy in so excellent a measure, that his intent cannot be discovered before it be done. Also, he hath affability to please all men of service, and severity to make the wicked live in fear of him, valour to do as becometh his place, when he entereth unto (*sic*) any action against open rebels, [and] judgment to drive any rebels or rebel to draw good blood of the rebellion he cometh from, before he will take him to mercy. As for pledges or hostages, he regardeth them not. These virtues God hath endued him plentifully [with], and withal hath given him a great blessing, that all things that he himself, or any man by his direction, taketh in hand, prospereth and goeth forward, insomuch as his Lordship hath cast the coward out of Her Majesty's army, that sometime troubled it very much, and

driven him amongst the rebels, where I hope he shall continue unto the end of this rebellion.

“As my Lord Deputy hath kept his Christmas in the Glynnys (where he hath brought them unto very weak estate), so he will keep his Shrovetide in Leix and Offally, where he will (with God’s help) bring them as low in state.

“I must trouble your Honour a little with the state of the army, for [in] my poor opinion the footmen are very low brought, so as I would take it, there is not half the number that ought to be, yet there be some captains can shew fair companies, although there be some can show as bad. The horse companies be reasonable well for numbers, but their horses brought down with continual travail and ill weather, and by the ‘agence’ of my Lord of Howth and Sir Patrick Barnewell utterly overthrown; so as, for my opinion, it were much better for Her Majesty to save the pay of her horsemen in her purse, than to have her horses starved, as they are and must needs be, by the late book of reformation and orders, as they call it, of hay a quantity, and litter a quantity, oats, three pints at a watering, that is three quarts a day for a horseman. As for hackneys they will allow none, but only for horses, and that in a sparing sort, as may appear by the first article for the feeding of horses in their book of order, which book I have here withal sent your Honour (*wanting*). My Lord Deputy, hearing the complaint of the horsemen for horsemeat, as he was going the journey, sent me back unto the Commissioners for the country to deal with them upon the points that was so hardly laid down, all the Captains of horse giving their word unto my Lord Deputy, that what conclusion soever I made for the quantity of horsemeat, hackneys and boys should conclude them all. My demand was but half a quarter of oats, which is a barrel of Bristol band, containing thirty-two gallons, and 750 weight of hay, which is not half a load of trussband in London. Such a load and such a barrel we desire but to serve a horseman for his horse and hackney for sixteen days, which is not unreasonable for two horses, who hath of hay but a trussband for four nights, and one English pick of oats, which cometh not unto a bushel a week for a horse, as your Honour, if you vouchsafe to examine your own stables, you (*sic*) shall see, for your Honour’s horses that hath not the tenth part of the riding that our horses have here, and (*sic*) yet have more allowance. If this be not for policy to overthrow the horsemen of this army, faster than the enemy can do, let my judgment for ever take no place with your Honour, but this can take no place with the Commissioners here. The Commissioners answereth, and assureth, and confesseth that the allowance cannot be amended by them without it be remedied in England; whereby the conclusion must be of this matter, that, if a horseman may not be allowed a hackney and a boy, they cannot do service. For the English horse, not one amongst three will live here; as for example, of all the horses that I brought over, there is not the one half of them alive, and where there was one slain or died in the last northern journey, there is three dead by means of their orders (as they term it) of reformation, through starving since we came home. And such new horsemen as I have taken into my

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band, double-horsed, in place of such insufficient and bad riders as I brought out of England, are ready to give over the service for want of horsemeat. If the state of the horsemen be pulled down, here little good can footmen do in this rebellion.

"I do perceive the poor country findeth little relief by this book of orders, for with the great charge of carrying of horsemeat unto the towns of garrison, and the great tax that my Lord of Howth and Sir Patrick Barnewell raiseth upon them for their charge unto England, this one year will charge them more than three years did, when the horsemen lay upon them. Wherefore the poor inhabitants of the Pale do curse the agents for increasing their trouble and charge."—Dublin, 1600[-1], January 31. *Signed.* pp. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Jan.

26. "The genealogy of the houses of Ormonde and Mountgarrett, since King Henry the Seventh his time." *Endorsed* :—1600[-1], January. pp. 4.

Jan.

27. "A note of the competitor houses of the Butlers for the earldom of Ormonde." *Endorsed* :—1600[-1], January. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

[Jan.]

28. "The humble desire of Sir Richard Martin, knight, Master and Worker of Her Majesty's moneys, concerning the making and working of Irish moneys."

Prays that he may quietly enjoy his office, according to his letters patent. The first making of Irish moneys very chargeable, owing to the ministers and workmen not being acquainted with such kind of work. Has searched out the means whereby the moneys may be made "much more fairer than heretofore." Prays that his enemies may not reap the benefit of his travail. Concerning the making of red and white Irish moneys.—[1600-1, January.] p. 1.

Feb. 2.  
Mallow.

29. Sir George Carew to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "I am so infinitely distracted between the earnest desires I have to satisfy your Lordship's commandments, and the present dangers which I see hang over this province if I should observe them, as that I stand amazed what counsel to take, being in myself wholly addicted to obedience, and by necessity (in a manner) enforced to pause upon the same, until I may receive your Lordship's answer to these, and then (without further protraction) I will be ready accordingly to observe your Lordship's commandments; wherein I humbly pray you deliberately to advise, being, as I take it, especially material for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service.

"The next day after I received your Lordship's letter of the 27th of January, being the 30th of the same, for the better expediting of your directions, I addressed several warrants unto the Captains residing near unto me, commanding every of them to meet at the towns of Clonmell and Fethard by the sixth of this month, there to receive such further directions as the Lord Audley (whom I appointed to command them) should direct. The list consists of 1,050 foot and Sir Richard Greame's horse. Sir Garrett



1609.

Harvey's lieth so far remote in Kerry, as I could not in a short time draw them to the rest. Wherefore, for that particular, I humbly pray to be excused. And for Sir John Barkeley's company (who are part of the list above said), I had directed them by warrant, according your Lordship's former pleasure signified unto me (before the receipt of your last letters), to repair into Connaught, but have now countermanded them, and do hope they are not yet passed. Thus your Lordship may see my willingness to obey your directions, which I did as gladly and affectionately consent unto, as you can desire. But since having this day received these enclosed letters from the Earl of Thomond and Mr. Comerford, I do make humbly bold to present the consideration of them to your Lordship's wisdom, before I do thoroughly accomplish your commandments. Wherein my hope is that your Lordship will both give me thanks, and hold me excused, because the public service doth hold me unto it. In my judgment, I am persuaded that this intelligence is true, drawn thereunto by many and sundry the like advertisements from all parts and persons lately reconciled. Whereof I could send your Lordship bundles of papers of divers men's relations, and now confirmed in the same by these enclosed, which (as your Lordship sees) threaten the present disturbance of this province not yet well settled. Yet nevertheless that it may appear unto your Lordship, that I am not backward to perform anything which your Lordship shall require, I do yet continue (though not without some hazard to this province, if these northern forces should presently invade us) to send the said companies to the *rendezvous* aforesaid, with direction to them there to remain, until your Lordship shall return me your pleasure in answer of these, and then what you shall prescribe unto me, I will dutifully and carefully effect, assuring myself that your Lordship will have such a special regard to the state of this province, as that you will not withdraw them, but upon certain knowledge of the untruth of this intelligence. But (as a Councillor) to speak my opinion, if your Lordship can otherwise follow the prosecution in Leinster without calling forces from hence for a time, it were very expedient to forbear the same, until this cloud be overpast, which cannot long hang in suspense, for that all the danger is between this and the end of the next month, after which time, until the cattle be strong and give milk there is little doubt."—Mallow, 1600, February 2.

[*Postscript.*] "From whom the Earl of Thomond had this last intelligence I know not, but, to confirm the same to be true, I have a letter sent unto his Lordship from Tibbott Ne Longe, dated the 21 of January, that did then report their assembly to invade Thomond and Munster. I doubt not but your Lordship knoweth the truth of this intelligence better than we here, unto which I do humbly submit my opinion; but if oaths and protestations of them that have been their familiars, and very lately in their company, may be believed, the forces threatened will assuredly come into Munster." *Copy.* pp. 2.

*Encloses:—*

29. i. [*Donogh O'Brien*], *Earl of Thomond*, to *Sir George Carew*. "Being employed here for holding sessions at Ennis now, I have received advertisement that *Redmond Burke*,

1600.

*Redmond Ne Scoupe's sons, and Hugh Mostin, with 2,000 men, are appointed to come from the north for Clanrickarde and Thomond, and that Con O'Neill, base son to Tyrone, John FitzThomas, McDonogh, Piers Lacy, and divers others, are coming with 2,000 and five hundred bonnaughts for Munster; which I thought good to signify unto your Lordship, and if your good leisure would permit your coming to Limerick, it would not, as I take it, grow to any prejudice for taking such further assurance of proceedings with the country, as then shall seem good to your Lordship; wherein all my best assistance to effect your Lordship's good desire shall not want. And I hope by your Lordship's coming to receive full advertisement of all occurrences from Ballyshannon, Sligo, and that parts (sic), for I have employed espials of purpose thither. According your Lordship's direction, I have sent order for the speedy sending away of Sir John Barkeley's company." Sends letter received from Tibbott Ne Longe.—Ennis, 1600[-1], January 31. Copy. p. 1.*

Feb. 2.      **30.** Indenture for the coining of Irish moneys, made between the Queen and Sir Richard Martin, of London, and Richard Martin, his son, citizen and goldsmith of London. *A note at the head runs, "The base Irish indenture, 2 Febr. An". Reg. Eliz. 43". Copy. pp. 25.*

Feb. 3.      **31.** F[lore]nce Fitzpatrick, Baron of] Upper Ossory, to Sir  
Culchel. Robert Cecil. Thinks good to advertise him of a piece of service he has lately done. "I have killed and hanged, the last of January past, the number of 200 soldiers of the traitors at one instant, besides their Captains and other their leaders, which names I have sent in a note to Mr. Crosby. I know Mr. Crosby will impart [to] your Honour the state of my country, and how I hazard myself and my sons daily, with such small forces as we have, in Her Majesty's service, without any kind of maintenance. Therefore I hope your Honour will hold a good course both for my credit and assistance."—Culchel, 1600[-1], February 3. *Signed. p. ½.*

Feb. 4.      **32.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "If, after so long detaining Sir Oliver St. John here, I return him with a despatch in many things imperfect, I beseech you to impute it to this, that it hath been still interrupted with my continual meditation of the present service, and my desire to give Her Majesty thanks with my works rather than with my words; which God knoweth how faithfully I do intend, and how many sleeps I break to perform; as also with the multitude of the businesses of this kingdom, and extreme importunity of the solicitors thereof, unto the which all that live with me can be sufficient witnesses. I have had long conference with this bearer, and delivered him some memorials, to satisfy Her Majesty, my Lords, and yourself in divers things, which by speech were delivered from you, as likewise some propositions to be delivered from me. Next to my desire to

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kiss Her Majesty's fair hand, I desired my coming over, for nothing more than to have conference with you in many things, which I presume might have much advanced her service, and find I cannot otherwise so well perform as by my presence. I do think it necessary that all Governors employed here should sometimes give unto Her Majesty a personal account of their proceedings, before they do absolutely give over their work; and I doubt not but thereby Her Majesty should find herself much better served. If I might have leave to come over somewhat before or after St. George's feast, it is likely to be the best time for me to be spared, the which if I might obtain, I desire it should be kept as a secret, both here and in England, until the instant of my departure; and, if it so please Her Majesty, I will come as single as a post; and, if she will have it so, lie in the porch of her doors, and not see my wife till my return to her army, as Uriah did. Sir, I will as little trouble you with my own private as I may, and forget it in all things till my return, except in such as I do imagine doth concur to enable me to do Her Majesty service here. But, as I have already given you thanks for the favour intended towards me touching the Stannary, the which I understand by Mr. Michael Stanhope, so I must continue the like, yet press you no farther to proceed therein, than out of your own judgment or affection you shall think fit. Though I acknowledge unto you that, if God ever enable me to live in any sort answerable to my calling in the place which I have chosen to make my chief country seat, that there could few things come unto me more acceptable than this office. But believe me, Sir, upon the faith of a Christian, that I am, for anything I know, two hundred pounds a year worse than I was when I first began to prepare for this journey; and for anything I can see am likely to return a mere beggar, except Her Majesty do graciously relieve me. Yet if Her Majesty shall not think me worthy of any relief, nor fit to do her any further service when I return, I will only, as boldly as a subject may presume to do with a Prince, challenge this favour, to shut myself up within the walls I have made at Wanstead, and by her grace to be protected in a quiet life though poor, which I mean to spend in earnest prayers for her. And this I desire, for this I know I shall not enjoy without her favour after this unfortunate government. And for yourself, believe me, Sir, that even at this time I am persuaded that you are a worthy and faithful servant to the Queen, and an honourable friend unto me, and do much disdain that humour in any subject, if there be any such, that will think me tied by any respect from having my affection free, being built upon so just foundations." Apologises for troubling Sir Robert with his private affairs. Highly recommends Sir Oliver Lambert's services, and begs that he may be admitted to the Council of Ireland.—1600[-1], February 4. *Holograph.* pp. 2.

Feb. 4.      **33.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "Touching the matter of musters, wherein I find Her Majesty so much and so justly offended, and myself so greatly grieved that I can give her therein no better satisfaction, I desire you to impart unto her what



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I have thought fittest to let Her Majesty know by you ; which although it may be full of error, yet I protest it doth proceed from the sincerity of my affection to do her service, and merely unmingled with any private respect. The frame of that business hath been none of mine. The uttermost that I could do was to give the ministers of those affairs all the assistance they could require, and to endeavour by general oversight, which could not be so effectual as it should be, to cause Her Majesty to be the better served. The frame that now is I am sure is naught. That which I propound, I am confident may be better, but it cannot be worse. The Muster-master of this kingdom is one whom, out of my particular affection and charity, I cannot but commend to Her Majesty's favour ; but not for this place, in the which he is only a bare cipher, and whose extreme weakness doth multiply the corruption of all the ministers of that office. The Controller, upon my knowledge, how sufficient soever he be, is corrupt, and a traitor to the Queen's profit. The twenty Commissaries were (such as they were chosen) a course that the captains could not have desired better to colour their deceit. The last course that you took to make the next adjoining gentlemen of this country a kind of mustermasters was worst of all. For first, of all people in the world they are generally most corrupt, and there is none, that dwell near a garrison, that dare offend it, or, at the least, that shall not receive much commodity to please it. So that the good that was apparent to be reaped thereby, was that from them we should be sure to receive false certificates of the strength of every garrison, and the rebels a true [one] of their weakness. For all the borderers have intercourse, and most of them fast affection with the rebels. I think the best course that can be taken is, presently to establish a Mustermaster-General, of as good sufficiency and reputation as you can find any willing to undertake that place ; and that if you think any of the profession honest enough, that he be a man of war, and, if it shall please Her Majesty, graced so far as to be one of her Council here. What instructions he shall have, I leave it unto you, [and] what conditions unto him whom you shall choose, to propound them for himself. If I may farther presume to name whom I think meetest for the place, I protest before God that, for many respects, I think Her Majesty cannot choose any, by whom she may be better served for his sufficiency and sincerity, than this gentleman, Sir Oliver St. John. Farther, Sir, I dare undertake upon my life that by your experience hereafter you shall find it true, that what course or care soever can be invented by you profoundly there, or diligently executed here, the army will never be kept strong, until it shall please Her Majesty to pay them well, and all with money and victuals, and not apparel. For I protest, before the majesty of God, that I do believe that it is the chief cause of the weakness of the army, and that by the incommodities that do arise thereby, the Queen hath lost far more men's lives than by the sword. The which I do so strongly apprehend, that I will rather undertake to make the war with twelve thousand men in list well paid, and with money, than with sixteen thousand in list paid as now they are. Many of the reasons that induce me thereunto I have imparted to be delivered unto you by this bearer, as too long to be written, but believe it,

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Sir, that the abuse and confusion of this matter of apparel is intolerable to Her Majesty and her poor soldiers, and of all others least hurtful to the commodity of the Captain, who, except it be out of the desire to have a fair company, hath, as I conceive it, no extraordinary cause to desire this change."—1600[-1], February 4. *Holograph. pp. 2.*

Feb. 4.  
Dublin.

**34.** Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Since his last, there is nothing, either civil or martial, worthy of advertisement; only understands that the Lord Deputy is despatching Sir Oliver St. John from Trim to England. This letter is to acquaint the Lord [High] Treasurer and Sir Robert with the victualling causes, and specially with the state of the magazine at Dublin, which is the nursery to feed all the companies for Leinster, and some garrisons in Ulster. Prays that the undertakers may haste away a further supply.—Dublin, 1600[-1], February 4. *Signed. p. ½.*

Feb. 4.  
Dublin.

**35.** Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. "After view and consideration of manifold abuses and disorders committed here in mustering Her Majesty's forces, as well by the Commissaries of the Musters and others that have received benefit thereby, to the hindrance of Her Majesty's service and profit, both in regard of the insufficiency of the Commissaries and their negligence to serve Her Majesty as they ought, having many times detained their books long after taking of the musters, and when they were taken and come to me, I have found them so strange and confused, as we had much to do in drawing them to any good course, and (*sic*) therefore (Right Honourable) I have concluded with Mr. Birkinshawe that he shall present unto your Honour such particular points as concern Her Majesty's service, both in that and all other causes touching mine office, with humble request to have a reformation accordingly, and in such sort as your Honour's grave wisdom shall seem expedient. To which purpose I have sent over my deputy, the bearer hereof, in company with Mr. Birkinshawe, to attend your Honour for the satisfaction of any questions that may grow concerning the musters, whose return I shall expect very shortly, with answer in this business, which I beseech your Honour to further."—Dublin, 1600[-1], February 4. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Feb. 6.

**36.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. "I have thus long detained Sir Oliver St. John (though to the incommodity of his private affairs) to be an eye-witness and a faithful relator unto your Lordships of some such my endeavours, and the effect thereof, whereby I desired rather to shew my thankfulness unto Her Majesty and you, than only by naked protestations, which unto persons of great power and authority are common to be made, as well by the best as worst deservers, and have been and am unwilling to cumber your grave consultations, or to mingle the business of this important war with my private griefs or petitions; and therefore will repose my confidence and comfort in the justice of your Lordships' judgments, and the sincerity of

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my own conscience, and the consideration of my poor estate unto Her Majesty's best pleasure, unto whom I do owe myself and it; with this humble desire unto your Lordships, to consider that the more I do launch the impostumes of the subject or rebel in this generally infected state, the more likely are your Lordships to be troubled with the clamours of such as feel the present smart, or love their own disease; though I (as I look for health or help to my soul) do only faithfully intend their cure, and proceed in it sincerely with the best of my discretion and uttermost of my labours, wherein I am so far from not acknowledging what sound assistance I may receive from your reverent directions, and what good fruit I may reap by your favourable admonitions, that I desire continually to read them, and will respect them above any human precepts; but do only with all humbleness desire your Lordships, that you will not be too easily induced to ground either upon the relation or complaints you shall receive from hence, before the project be thoroughly considered, or my own cause by myself answered. For I must needs say that the statesmen of this country, as they that have once learned an evil accent of a language, will be more hardly induced to pronounce it well, than they which are new to begin to learn it, so that they for the most part love rather to maintain their errors than to amend them, and out of that love have gotten a habit to judge amiss. Neither dare I at any time to make unto your Lordships any certain project to be accordingly executed, which by the experience I have already found so many accidents may give just reason to alter, but must desire from your Lordships to enable me with the matter for so great a war, unto the which the judgments of your ministers here and the present occasion must give such a form, as may best effect that nothing be ministered by Her Majesty, or expended by us, in vain. To the which end if God concur with His unsearchable working, all my meditations and labours shall be to find out and practise the best ordinary means in this work to accomplish Her Majesty's and your Lordships' chief purpose. I have presumed to confer with Sir Oliver St. John of many things more apt and able, as I conceive it, to be by him remembered and delivered to your Lordships than by writing, whom I can do no greater favour and justice than to recommend him to your Lordships, with my humble desire that you will do the like to Her Majesty, for a gentleman of extraordinary worthiness in himself, but especially for his zeal to Her Majesty's service, and to whom by his desert to me I am bound, and ever will give the best satisfaction in my power, both here and always."—1600[-1], February 6. *Signed.* pp. 2.

Feb. 6.  
Culchel.

37. F[lorence Fitzpatrick, Baron of] Upper Ossory, to Patrick Crosby. Sends some particulars of his defeat of the rebels on January 31 last, with names of divers killed. Encloses letter to Sir Robert Cecil [*see* No. 31], "to be perused, before the ensembling or delivery thereof."—Culchel, 1600[-1], February 6. *Signed.* p. 1.



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Feb. 7.  
Trim.

38. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Council to the Privy Council. "I, the Deputy, have begun a prosecution of Phelim McFeagh and the rest of the mountain rebels his adherents, and, entering suddenly upon them, have spoiled and ransacked the countries of Ranelagh and Cosshay, swept away the most part of their cattle and goods, burnt all their corn and almost all their houses, leaving them little or nothing that might relieve them. And to finish that work by me begun, I have planted two strong garrisons upon them, the one at Wicklow upon the east side, and the other upon the west at Tullagh; by which they are so hedged in, as I hope that work will not be long, before those rebels be starved, or driven out of their country. Upon the east side, I would gladly have planted nearer them, but that our ship, laden with our tools and other necessary instruments, was beaten back, even at her entrance into the harbour at Wicklow, and to this day could never more be heard of. This done, I drew down to Monasterevan with the rest of the forces, of purpose to undertake the Moores and Connors of Leix and Offally. But after I had stayed there a small time, and had settled a correspondence for proceeding in that service, between our forces in those parts, and some suspected subjects dwelling near, of whom till then I could not be so assured, that they would sincerely yield us their best furtherance, I discovered the Moores to be so weak in Leix, by reason their chieftain, Onie McRory, was killed, their country spoiled, and their corn and houses burned the last summer when I was there, which disabled them now to keep their bonnaughts to defend them, and that the Connors were fled from that part of Offally next us; as it appeared a harder matter with a great force to find any that would make resistance, than with a smaller to undertake that service; wherefore, leaving there some few companies that might join and answer one another, so assisted as I noted, I removed hither, where, we all are of opinion, is the fittest place for service, as things stand at this present. For if Tyrrell, who in Offally is now the chiefest rebel, do assemble his forces in any part of that country lying south from us, we can from this place soon fall back upon him, when our spial can assure us where he is. If, on the west side those northern rebels, who are desirous to go into Munster, should offer to pass the river of the Enny, as we hear they mean very speedily to do, and for certain have no other way, we have laid our companies so as they shall hardly escape us without fighting, and that with as good advantage to our party as we can in reason desire. If neither of these two fall out, we intend to be doing in the Brenny which lieth but a little to the north of us; and, seeing it hath pleased Her Majesty to give us warrant to pass the country of Fermanagh to Maguire, we have thought it a very fit time to carry him with us to the Cavan, and to plant him there or thereabout; which if we shall be able to perform, will undoubtedly be a service of very great consequence. For we find that his son Tirlogh, who is there amongst them already, with two or three hundred only of his own followers, doth with that small number give them very great annoyance, and, being strengthened with a garrison at the Cavan, would both free the Pale from all those incursions, which out of the north are always made that way, and in short time, by

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stirring, open a passage to the garrisons of Lough Foyle, who will not be then so far asunder, but that they may hear from one another, and haply meet upon occasion. The hope of this and other great services from Maguire and his son hath moved us to give him the best contentment we could, by granting him his country according to Her Majesty's pleasure signified. And because we find Her Highness likewise pleased that Neale Garve, now here, should be returned well contented to his country, who in our conceivings is like to prove a very rare instrument to do her service, we have promised him the country of Tyrconnell to him and to his heirs males, in such sort and at such rent as his grandfather, Callogh O'Donnell, had the same; reserving only Ballyshannon with some 800 acres of land about it, and the fishing of the Erne, to Her Majesty, either for a garrison or such other uses as it may please Her Highness to put it to. With this we could very hardly cause him to be satisfied, so highly doth he prize his own deservings and the loss he pretendeth to have had in coming in, which he rateth at above ten thousand pounds. And therefore we most humbly desire your Lordships to procure us warrant from Her Majesty in this sort to pass his country to him, seeing we could not by any means draw him to be contented with less, and were loath to return him discontented. He is likewise to have 300 foot and 100 horse in Her Majesty's entertainment at half-pay, and pardon for himself and all his followers; which though it be a great matter in show, yet seeing he is to bring in the men serviceable and to pass the muster, and so to maintain them in the service without further charges to Her Majesty, we think Her Highness shall be greatly eased in her charge thereby, so long as she hath occasion to use them; and when there is no further use of their service, they are to be discharged at her pleasure, and so much we have made known unto him.

"Where it pleaseth your Lordships to propound the sparing of fifty horse from some of these garrisons to Lough Foyle, to be supplied again from some other place, where there is less use of horse, we humbly answer that we do not know how it can be done with any conveniency. For, seeing of all the horse here in Leinster there are but two troops only that are English, which are mine, the Deputy's, and the troop of Sir Henry Davers, the rest, all or the most part, being Irish, who will hardly be drawn to lie in garrison, or to watch and do duties in a camp, much less to go into that remote part of the north, but will rather leave all and quit the service, we hope your Lordships will consider how unfit it were to leave any of these, when we shall have occasion to keep the field, they being the chief strength, and the rest but the countenance of our army, our experience having taught us to esteem them so. It is true there are 100 horse at Knockfergus, which were sometime the Earl of Southampton's, and do now go under the name of Captain Jep[h]son; but indeed thirty of them belong to Rory Oge McQuillin, and twenty more to two other Irishmen, whom it was thought good policy to keep contented so; and how hardly any of them may be spared thence, we leave also to your grave consideration.

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“Before the receipt of your Lordships’ letters, I, the Deputy, had a purpose to digest those numbers at Lough Foyle into bands of 150, knowing well that a company of 100 is both in that place and elsewhere (as the world goes now) over little for a man to live on honestly; and therefore as I could, by death or otherwise, alter any, I increased divers bands to that number, which I am glad to find approved and confirmed by this direction of your Lordships. And as for the victuals brought from Lough Foyle, and sold at Dublin, as is informed, we have given order to have that matter duly examined, and will cause severe punishment to be inflicted, if the parties can be found that have offended.

“Having thus briefly delivered unto your Lordships both what we have done, and what (God pleased) is intended, we are humbly to entreat your Lordships to remember us with money, victuals, munition, and working tools, all which we shall presently have great use or need of; and the service here will receive no small hindrance, if all or any of these be wanting; for we mean (God willing) to lose no opportunity, if we may be furnished and provided for. A minister of the ordnance shall forthwith attend your Lordships for such supply of munition and other necessaries, as we think needful to be added to the old remain here. Of victuals great store must needs be sent, for till Midsummer this country affords but little; and without money your Lordships know soldiers are out of heart, and so will ever be, which, for the service sake, we beseech your Lordships [to] think upon.”—Trim, 1600[-1], February 7. *Signed. Seal. pp. 5.*

Feb. 7.  
Trim.

39. Sir Oliver Lambert to Sir Robert Cecil. “Your letter (sent me by my father) gave life to my soul, that long groaned under the burden of disgrace, and the assurance of your honourable favour encourageth me to tell you frankly, I am able in my profession to do you service. In my affection, I will be ever true and faithful, and am none of those heretics your Honour speaks of; for, if my friend (your honest follower) had delivered a letter which I sent in due time, open for him to peruse, your Honour had understood me better long since; but it sorted not with his humour, and so [he] concealed it.

“For that my Lord of Essex left me Marshal provisionally, I am loath to dispute. Sure I am I have the seal for it, with all authorities, as ample as ever any. For my Lord Deputy, I excuse him for giving way to his friend. He dealt honourably and plainly with me, and made me know how and by whom he was wrought against me. For the Marshal’s place I am not now otherwise ambitious of it than shall stand with your best liking, though I bear the brunt of the business; but most humbly desire your Honour to be a mean to Her Majesty to think me worthy the government of Connaught, as a recompense for twenty-two years’ service, a place to rest my decayed limbs, when these wars shall be well qualified, and grow towards an end. My Lord Deputy giveth me leave to write thus much to your Honour, on condition never to leave him whilst he keepeth the field, nor seek to dwell in the province till the war be made there, whither it must run in the end. My Lord Deputy, I



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presume, thinketh me worthy a good turn, and I hope keeps not my careful endeavours to finish this war from your knowledge. Out of my small experience, I dare engage my growing credit with your Honour, that safely, on my word, you may freely tell Her Majesty that this war hath no long life, if my Lord Deputy go forward as he intendeth, and you second him as he expecteth.

"To conclude, if it shall please your Honour so much to bind me to you as to make me Governor of Connaught, which I doubt not but I shall sufficiently discharge, I will ever acknowledge so honourable a favour, and endeavour by all duty to make myself deserving it, and humbly desire your Honour to accept 500*l.*, to be disposed of at your pleasure."—Trim, February 7. *Endorsed*:—1600[-1]. *Holograph. pp. 2.*

Feb. 7.  
Trim.

40. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir George Carew. "Since you are so confident that the intelligence my Lord of Thomond sendeth you is true, I will not so much weaken you, nor burthen myself with the success, as to call any of your companies from you, but leave them to your own disposition, as you shall think fittest, although I should have had great use of them in making the war in Leinster. But where you are advertised, by the letters of my Lord of Thomond, that in two several parties there are 4,500 coming out of the north, you may judge how unlikely that is, when, after the fight of the Moyerie, Tyrone was never able in his own country to draw 1,200 men together to affront me. And out of my experience I dare affirm thus much, that when you shall ever hereafter find 4,000 fighting men of rebels together, I will be content to yield myself their prisoner, and, when you know that above 500 men be sent out of the north into Munster, to acknowledge myself in a great error.

"The poor rogues Redmond Burke and some of the Connors are run into the north to seek aid for themselves and Tyrrell; and I do think that, if Tyrone were able, he would send the uttermost he could spare, to assist the rebels of these parts, and to trouble Munster. But if he send with them any, I am confident they will be very few, and they shall hardly find passage out of the north this way. I do think that the drawing of your companies so far as you have already done, can be no way prejudicial to the service, yet I hold it good, if you take the danger to be so great from Connaught, to make head at Limerick. When the storm is overpast, it may be I shall be as glad to receive them that way towards Athlone as anywhere else. For Sir Gerrard Harvey's company, I must continue to desire your Lordship to send hither with the first you send, and, if you can spare none, that you will send that company to some near place, that I may send you another in exchange of it."—Trim, 1600[-1], February 7. *Copy. p. 1.*

Feb. 9.  
Dublin

41. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. "The passage being ready, I received even now this enclosed paper from a merchant that lately came out of Spain, which, for that it is the first of that sort that to my knowledge is come into this kingdom, I

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thought convenient to send you; whereby you may perceive what great hurt the suffering of Jesuits, friars, and seminary priests to remain in the Pale (who, I doubt not, are well stored of this stuff) will do. Here they swarm, and some of them, namely the friar Nangle (who stands indicted of treason, and hath been above a year with the traitor Tyrone) protected. This I cannot possibly remedy; and it grieveth my soul to see how they have prevailed with this people, that, except Fitzsimmons, whom by a strange means I myself caused to be apprehended, we cannot catch one of them. I wish, to prevent further mischief in time, that some direction were sent to the Lord Deputy to use all means to expel these firebrands out of the Pale, and force them to live with the rebels, where they may do least harm. The merchant that gave me this paper, told me that there is a preparation of eight or ten thousand men at Lisbon, which is given out to be for Flanders, and is the rather to be suspected. He saith, likewise, that the shipping of all nations are stayed, and that the ship which brought him stole away."—Dublin, 1600[-1], February 9. *Endorsed*:—"With a Bull of the Pope's." *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Feb. 9.  
Dublin.

**42.** Captain N[icholas] Dawtrey to Sir Robert Cecil. His pay far less than that received by any Captain of horse in Ireland, by reason of their extraordinaries. The "suppling up" of his band with seasoned soldiers has been very chargeable. As for the serving men that came over with him upon the horses that their several masters sent, the "horses were exceeding good, and the men tall men for action, but the worst keepers of horses and the worst riders that ever were found out. For they not only killed their horses, but themselves, with sloth, for they had not endured one month of ill weather; but they gave over either to stir to get horsemeat or shelter for horses or themselves; whereby many of them died with agues and fluxes, and some ran away for fear they should not have leave to pass into England; others that lay sick, hurt, and impotent, I gave passport unto, because they were good for nothing but to hang upon their master's beef-pot and his buttery. Insomuch as they have killed more than the one half of the geldings they brought over, and the rest are not like to recover, although that they have cost me a great deal of money, the physicking of them. To help this mischief forward, it was my Lord of Howth's and Sir Patrick Barnewell's provision for feeding of horses, as I have written unto your Honour in my other letters, that it will make an end of the rest, and not of them only, but of as many strong horses as shall come into the army.

"All things here are at an excessive price, insupportable for many to endure. For oats, they are at 20s. a quarter, and yet not good; beer, 2d. a wine quart; ale, 3d. a quart; wheat at 50s. a quarter. Beef and mutton is now lean, and will not be meatable before June. My Lord Treasurer hath made a restraint of corn and victual to be brought into Ireland, which makes the dearth the greater here.

"It was informed me that it was Her Majesty's pleasure I should have here, besides my horseband, 200 footmen, and that I should

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command the garrison at Armagh, and be a Councillor of the war here. But I see that my letters here doth not bear that fully that was written in my behalf, and yet they have a shadow of such a thing, as that I should lie at Armagh, and give counsel unto the war, and especially that of Ulster. Which, and it please your Honour, my Lord Deputy understandeth, according unto the letter, that I should lie at Armagh with my band, and give counsel unto the Colonel that should lie there to govern the place. And yet his Lordship is my very good Lord. For my part, I desire neither of these places of command or authority, for it is easier to obey than command; which estate I desire to live in, and will discharge my duty therein, as far forth as any man that serveth in the army."

Begs that out of the supplies now to be sent over he may have a band of 200 men, well-armed, in addition to his horseband. It is "a common fault here that no pikemen weareth curates and morions." If he has this footband he will make them wear their armour, every man of them, and the shot to wear their morions, which is not usual here, being a thing that my Lord Deputy would willingly have amended in the army, which will best be by example. There is a fault in the furnishing of footmen out of England, which is, that in every hundred there wont to be forty pikes, which is too many by 25. If your Honours cause, in every hundred of men, fifteen pikes and fifteen targeteers well-armed, and the rest to be shot, whereof twenty musketeers, this is the fittest arming of men for this service; for in the plains they will not deal with us, but only in woods and rough grounds, where horsemen can do them no harm, for they fear our horse very much.

Prays Sir Robert to move the Queen, "that she would be pleased to change my name in my pension out of the Exchequer in England into another man's name, so will it yield me some money towards the payment of my debts there, which would quiet my conscience very much, and both myself and creditors shall be bound to pray for your Honour. For unless I sell it outright I shall lose it, for I see not any possibility to redeem it from the mortgage of two hundred pounds I borrowed upon it."—Dublin, 1600[-1], February 9.  
*Signed.* pp. 2.

Feb. 9.  
Dublin.

43. John King to Sir George Carey. "Her Majesty must either return back Sir Robert Napper to look to her revenues, or take some other course in them; else these two Barons will in short time make the very growing rents within the county of Dublin desperate. I assure your worship I am of opinion that Her Majesty might get more rents, if there were no Exchequer at all, as it is now used, than is paid by their courses now; for the very seizures which the Sheriffs do return are put back with chamber orders, and not paid into the Receipt; and such as make contempt, and are sent for by warrant by the Serjeant-at-arms, are let pass with some recognizance taken at home, that no order is observed, or the Court held in any reverence or estimation. I dare be bold to say that these Barons never, since I had aught to do in the Exchequer under your worship, committed any person, either for contempt, or until he had paid his debt, if it were for the Queen's



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cause, such is their natural regards to their kinsmen and friends, and so small care to do Her Majesty service, which feeth them. There is no doubt but good officers might recover 1,000*l*. a year now of that which is made desperate; and besides, these judges are so simple, as the lawyers of the Pale, Burnell and the rest, do stoff abroad how they use them in the Court, where they never give judgment judicial of anything, but refer all until the afternoon, when they are in these chambers. It doth so grieve me to see things carried from Her Majesty in this unconscionable sort, as I am bold to write it to your worship, and do almost daily say as much to the Barons themselves, but to no purpose, as it falleth out. Her Majesty may have above 2,000*l*. by way of fine to pass new estates of these farms, which are forfeited for non-payment of rent, and have good security besides for payment of the said rents hereafter; so as there is no such cause why Her Highness[']s rents should be so ill paid as they are, if these which be farmers were dealt withal; as in good equity they should be. For through the whole Pale almost, the farmers have so good pennyworths, as if their lands yield but the sixth part of that in former times it did, they may pay their rents with the profits thereof. If Mr. Chief Baron come not over in time, it would not be amiss that Sir Robert Gardener had some superintendence in the Exchequer for the time, or some other person of like condition, if there were any here. And yet I believe Sir Robert will be in England shortly, for I know he maketh account so, being exceeding discontented with the order against him for the port-corn. If Mr. Pyne be in England, I beseech your worship call him to account for the rents which he received in Munster, and cause him to make payment thereof, for the tenants will look to be discharged of so much as he received of them upon your worship's warrant; and the same is yet unanswered, the paymaster in Munster alleging that there is no such remain of entertainment due unto him, as may countervail the same. There is no speech now of Dougan to be called to any account, and therefore, if your worship return hither, it were meet yourself were in commission, to join with the rest for taking of his account, for his receipts in six or seven years cannot be less than 1,500*l*., and he will wade through it well enough where corruption will take place, such is the misery of this climate especially in anything which may conserve Her Majesty.

"Since I wrote last, here hath not any great alteration fallen out of anything, the Lord Deputy remaining still about Trim, and now drawn to a head in some strength to prosecute the service either in Offally or the Brenny. We had some late expectation of Captain Tyrrell's coming in, for Mr. Draper was with him three days together in Kinnaltie in parley, as it is termed here; but for all that nothing is done hitherunto, only he and the O'Connors have so dispersed their goods, as there is not twenty cows to be found in one place within all that country, and the force left with Tyrrell not passing 200 men in all, as I find by a letter received from Sir Tibbott Dillon lately. Tyrone came up lately to the borders of Monaghan, to stay some of the McMahon's, which were about to come in, but, having taken some pledges, he is returned

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home into Tyrone, having little else now to brag upon, saving his expected aid from Spain, and some little coin [he] hath received by the last two Spanish ships, which he hath proclaimed shall be current through all his country; and so it may, I believe, for the quantity thereof. Leix is for the present so well quieted, as a couple of horsemen may ride safely to Maryborough the fort, that country being become almost desolate. This winter service will quite harry all Leinster, I hope, especially if my Lord Deputy proceed as hitherto he hath done; only I doubt, if his Lordship grant many pardons and protections, he shall find a new work the next summer. There is some hope that, the beginning of the spring, our forces will be able to pierce into Ulster two ways, the one by the Blackwater, and the other through Connaught at Ballyshannon, which if I might live to see, I would not doubt, now that Her Majesty hath an army at Lough Foyle, but in a few months Tyrone would be either beaten out of Ulster, or so pulled down as never able to raise head again. Neale Garve maketh no great matter of it to overthrow O'Donnell, and O'Donnell, by his confederates of Connaught, is not much inferior to O'Neill, being in villainy otherwise more dangerous of the two." —Dublin, 1600[-1], February 9. *Endorsed*:—"The copy of part of a letter sent to Mr. Treasurer of Ireland by John King, his deputy-receiver of the revenues." *Copy.* pp. 2.

Feb. 10.

44. P[atrick Plunket, Baron] Dunsany, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Though it be very needful for me to make my own griefs known unto you, as from whom I may only expect remedy, yet, because the end of my coming hither was not to please nor profit myself, so much as (in Her Majesty's service) to do the duty of an honest man, which (God he knoweth) few of us do perform, I will leave my private, until I may have leave to go thither, or until I do send purposely about my own wrongs. In the mean I thought it my duty to signify this much unto you, that in the service of cutting off a bad graft, which when I took my leave of you I promised to set a work, I have essayed many ways. But, what for the difficulty and danger of the attempt, and for the distrust of requital in any proportion of a service of that consequence, I found mine endeavour still frustrate, until now, to my greater comfort and hope, I procured (with all circumstance of secrecy and oaths) the matter to be broken to one of greatest nobility, spirit, and valour, amongst them, promising unto him the place and honour for his reward. Whose ambition took the sooner and faster hold thereof, because his birth doth in a sort warrant him to proceed, as being lineally descended from the chief house. And forasmuch as, if the matter take wished effect, some others might labour for the honour of the project, it may please you to understand that Henry Oge McHenry McShane is the man, being lineally descended from Con O'Neill. This my proceeding I have imparted to my Lord Deputy, which I hope in God will take effect.

"If I should write unto your Honour how weak our companies be, and how our Captains, for their greater profit, will have them none other; how at Lough Foyle there were not (before the last

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supplies) so many scores as Her Majesty paid hundreds; how the Newry is in the same plight; I should show my folly therein, yet I cannot but utter this much of my grief, to see Her Majesty thereby so much abused, and the service only thereby slackened. The last habiliments which Tyrone received from the Spaniard do improude him much, and do confirm his colleagues, who before in every place were ready to fall from him. The Spanish bishop promised to return with men, and with the news of an honourable match for his son in Spain. O'Donnell sent unto me a great deal of breath savouring of a rebutting disposition, which I imparted to my Lord Deputy, who thereupon I think will sound him. But, forasmuch as he talked of a liberty of religion, whereof in his country they were never barred, his Lordship did distaste the matter more. Howbeit in my conscience, O'Donnell's meaning is to make his submission appear to be upon the more honourable ground, and not for any zeal or great care he hath of that business; who, if he were once Her Majesty's, would break the neck of all Tyrone's designs abroad and at home. For which respect only, and for the good ensuing thereof, I would not think it amiss whosoever were sent to treat with him would (to bring him over) go beyond his commission a little in that point, and so willingly expose himself to blame and punishment thereby to give life to this languishing state, and stay to this infinite waste of Her Majesty's treasure.

"Tyrone labours all he can to set fire again in Munster, to keep men occupied afar off and the better to retain those he hath; and, to entertain others, he hath proclaimed to give soldiers double the wages he gave hitherto, which was but a mark a quarter of a year to a soldier, beside his bonnaught; which money and meat the inhabitants of those parts hitherto did pay, but now they are lightened of the payment of the money, being made four nobles to each soldier a quarter, which he taketh upon himself henceforward to discharge. My Lord Deputy's keeping the field, as he hath done these six weeks continually, doth much dismay the rebels, in which course it were good he should be well heartened, for continuance whereof from time to time there is no greater want than of carriages, which, would to God, were supplied from thence, though my Lord Deputy hath bought some hundreds of carriage horses, which they call garrans, to be found by the country, but that will not [be] had."—1600[-1], February 10. *Holograph*. pp. 2.

Feb. 11.  
Mallow.

45. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "Ere this time I doubt not but you have received three packets from me, the eldest (*sic*) of them bearing date the 22 of December, of all which as yet I have received no answer. My Lord Deputy hath often earnestly entreated me to meet him upon the borders of the province, whose commandments I was willing to obey, but what reasons to defer it, I know not. The motions were his own for matters of great importance (as he wrote), as well touching the public affairs as other particulars. What his Lordship's meaning is in either, I know not. The last letter which I received from him was dated the 27 of January, which came to my hands the last of the same, in the which he did pray me to send him an aid of 1,000 foot and 50 horse. The day



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following, I sent forth my warrants unto divers Captains, commanding them to be at Clonmell by the 6 of this month, and to obey such directions as my Lord Audley should prescribe unto them; who hath the commanding of them, being in list 1,050 foot and 50 horse. In the meantime I received a letter from my Lord of Thomond, the copy whereof I do send your Honour herein-closed, and the like from Mr. Justice Comerford (*wanting*). [*In the margin* :—"The originals from the Earl of (Thomond) and Mr. Comerford I did send to my Lord Deputy."] Whereupon I dispatched my messenger presently to the Lord Deputy, the copy whereof you shall likewise receive, by the which it may appear unto your Honour how ready I was to obey his first request, and that, notwithstanding the troubles threatened, I did command the companies aforesaid to march to the rendezvous appointed, from thence to be disposed of as his Lordship should direct. But hitherto I have received no answer from him, whereat I do greatly marvel, and which will turn me to some hindrance, if they should any long time remain there; for in that town the Queen hath no staple of victuals, and the soldiers live upon their lendings, which in the treasure of Munster will quickly make a great hole. When I wrote unto my Lord Deputy the letter aforesaid, I did send the copy of the same to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, to send it unto your Honour for my apology, if the same were ill taken; but, for the more assurance, I thought good to send you the like from myself, humbly beseeching your Honour to defend me, if it be said that the staying of the troops at Clonmell, until his Lordship's pleasure be farther signified unto me, be any hindrance to Her Majesty's service. Since my Lord of Thomond's letter, I have received another from him, the copy whereof, and also one from a gentleman of the county of Tipperary, called Thomas Cantwell, [*? I send unto you (wanting)*] all of them agreeing in substance with the first, which is, that forces are coming out of Ulster, but differ in particulars. The like advertisements I daily receive from the gentlemen of Munster, and therefore am of opinion that Tyrone's purpose is to disturb the province in some sort or other. Whether my Lord Deputy will command the forces aforesaid from me, I am yet doubtful, but, if he do, I hope in equity I am excused, if any evil do succeed, being my duty to obey his directions, and the rather because I have forewarned him of the troubles threatened and likely to ensue.

"Sir, to seek to be excused before an accusation be informed, is commonly the quality of an offender, and therefore I am unwilling to draw any such suspicion upon myself, by sending my apology before I am accused. But the motives of the same are certain observations which I note in my Lord Deputy's coldness unto me of late, writing unto me but seldom, and more formally than accustomed, and partly by report of those which come from him, that the proceedings of Munster are envied by them at Dublin; all which, added together, moves me to be jealous, and careful to prepare my defence.

"This province is throughout reduced to external obedience, and I have no fear so to hold it, in despite of all the aids that Tyrone can give them, if my forces be not withdrawn. But if they shall fall into the province when I am weak, I do fear the task which

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will follow will be hard to overcome. To lose the advantage which I now have in Munster were great pity, and I see no great necessity which my Lord Deputy hath to call them away, having his army 14,000 in list. If Tyrone send no vaster men hither, I would as readily send the troops above-mentioned as his Lordship is willing to command them; but otherwise (knowing that the hearts of these provincials are no less traitorous than at the first), it would be grievous unto me to see my works, so lately raised to good conformity, to be instantly ruined, and no better I have reason to expect.”—Mallow, 1600[-1], February 11.

[*Postscript.*] “My Lord of Upper Ossory of late hath done good service, having slain of the rebels dead upon the place, 157, and among them Coppinger, Sir Walter Raleigh’s man, that saved John FitzThomas from killing this last summer by Nugent, as your Honour hath been formerly informed.” *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.*

*Encloses:—*

45. i. *D[onogh O’Brien], Earl of Thomond, to Sir George Carew. [See above, No. 29. i.]—Ennis, 1600[-1], January 31. Copy certified by Sir George Carew. p. 1.*

45. ii. *Extract of letter from the White Knight to Sir George Carew. “9 February, 1600[-1]. By a letter I received from my son-in-law, William O’Mulrian, of the 7th of this present, I understand that Hugh Mostin, with 1,500 men, has come to O’Kelly’s country, and O’Donnell to come after with other forces, all bound for the borders of Limerick; and likewise that the gentlemen of Munster cometh to these parts with as many as they can get.” Carew writes underneath:—“As I was sealing up of this letter to your Honour, the White Knight did write unto me, and, among other business, did send this intelligence unto me, agreeing with the former.” Endorsed by Carew:—“A branch of the White Knight’s letter, received the 10 of February, 1600”[-1.] p. ½.*

Feb. 12.  
Mallow.

46. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of Captain Henry Sheffield, who has due to him in Sir Henry Wallop’s time 100*l.* and odd, as Serjeant Major-General, and almost the like sum for his foot company. Recommends Sheffield’s services.—Mallow, 1600[-1], February 12. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Feb. 12.  
Derry.

47. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. “Within two days after Mr. Baxter’s departure (by whom I wrote my last letters), I had notice of Sir John O’Dogherty’s death, and withal of the faction that immediately grew between Phelim Oge, his brother, and Cahir, his son, that both stood to be chosen Lords of the country. Cahir was foster-child to Hugh Boy (he that had practised with Captain Alford for delivering Culmore), and therefore supported by him and all that sept, and had in his own hands his father’s goods, the castle of Bert (which stands upon the passage into the country), and a reasonable strong party of friends. Phelim was in possession of the creaghts, had a good party of followers, and kept himself within the straits and strength of the country. Cahir

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presently made way to me, by the means of Hugh Boy, that wrote an humble and submissive letter, that in case I would procure this young man the living from Her Majesty, in the same sort his father had it, whether he were chosen by O'Donnell or no to the title, he would hold for the Queen; yet always with this proviso, our supplies being landed, by whose means I might be able to defend him. This offer I was contented to entertain a speech of, and yet (because I had found Hugh Boy so false before) immediately dispatched away a messenger to Phelim, to let him know that I inclined to favour his cause, in case I might find him well affected to depend upon Her Majesty's favour, and to hold the country to her use; and, receiving no present answer, sent another with like message, and after him again divers others, and yet, in fourteen days together, could hear nothing from him. This meanwhile doth Cahir solicit me here, and daily advertiseth me of O'Donnell's preparation to come down with forces to proclaim a Lord, and withal to drive away the prey of the country. Wherefore, though before I had no intent of favouring his side, both in respect of the former practices wrought by Hugh Boy, as also for that I judged the other's service (being in possession of the strength and straits of the country) to be of better importance to the Queen, yet, seeing the other defer his answer so long, and to so many messengers as I had sent, and hearing withal that he was the man whom Tyrone and O'Donnell intended to make Lord, I thought good to serve my turn upon the other, by promising forgetfulness of all wrongs formerly past, and leaving him now in hope of favour, only to the end I might maintain the faction on foot, which otherwise I was in doubt might be reconciled, to the prejudice and hindrance of Her Majesty's service; and therefore first gave him a truce, that his people might inhabit, plough, and sow the ground, and withal undertook that, according to the testimony of his affection and the merits of his service, I would deal effectually (as much as in me lay) to procure him the land by Her Majesty's gift, to him and his heirs, as his father had it. This was no sooner concluded between him and me, but one of my messengers returned from Phelim, who now (at the last) desireth the same which the other did, and proffereth, in case he may obtain his demands, he will work with the country that they shall stay at home, rebuild their houses (which we have burnt), stock their land with cattle, and plough and sow it with corn. And at this very instant withal have I certain knowledge of O'Donnell's being come down on this side the Liffer, with 1,000 foot and 100 horse, gathered of his own and Tyrone's men, all that ever they could make between them. Against this force, I considered (without the entire help of the country themselves) I was not able to prevent the driving of the prey, and therefore thought best to leave both these factions in hope of obtaining their desires by my means, so that I gave also unto Phelim the like truce for his people, to inhabit and plough as the other had, and they have both promised, which of them soever shall be appointed Lord by O'Donnell, to keep the country, and declare themselves, whensoever the supplies shall come; but to have joined either of them wholly to my side presently, I neither could, nor indeed hold it greatly material; but they have both also



promised that, though O'Donnell should by force compel them to carry out their cattle at this time, they would return with them again within one month after, do what he can.

"I am not ignorant but they seek to serve their own turn, hoping (as they constantly give it out) for the Spaniards' aid, but howsoever, seeing it is out of my power to prevent either their going or staying, I thought better to procure the country to be inhabited and manured, whereby our forces (when they come) shall be sure of relief, and especially of garrans for carriage, when we shall make a journey into the land, than to suffer it by waste, to our own hurt as much as theirs. Of all this proceeding, I have by this bark (which is bound for Dublin) advertised my Lord Deputy, and because the winds may prove unfit to go thither, and yet good for England, I have willed the master to put ashore at either, where he best may, and immediately to send away my letters, to the end they may declare how opportunely the supplies should now arrive, and most humbly and earnestly to desire their hastening away.

"O'Cahan hath made sundry motions for his coming in, but I reject him, for that I expect no good from the man; but when he shall be compelled to it by force, the McSwynes, Fanat and [Ne] Doe (he that was in possession of the country till McSwyne the traitor escaped from us, and spared half with him) do likewise make their way, and (I think) unfeignedly. Many of the country, beside, we can hardly keep out, for do what we can in the day, they steal in by night to the Irish quarter at Liffer, and being once in, cast themselves to our mercy, affirming they are pursued to be hanged by O'Donnell, because their Lords and chief friends are with us, and whither else should they go, or what should they do? And indeed it is most true (to our knowledge) that O'Donnell hath of late hanged many of good account, and daily doth, wheresoever he conceives the least cause of suspicion; and, amongst others, he dashed out the brains of Neale Garve's child (of four years old) against a post, being in the mother's custody, his own natural sister, whereby as he is grown terrible, so is he no less odious to the whole people. So that I am assured (by all probability), were our forces such as we could draw forth any competent number, to make a journey up into the land, the whole country would immediately fall to our side, having Neale Garve and Cormack McO'Neill to come in unto.

"Since the writing of my last letters by Mr. Baxter, we have had two services done by the garrison of Liffer; one, by a draught of a brother of Neale Garve's, who gave upon O'Donnell's camp in the night (himself being gone forth that day before, and leaving 100 men to guard it), being in a wood, plashed, and very strongly fortified for any sudden assault, chased the men out of it, possessed it, burnt near 200 houses that were in it, and all their corn, which was much, for they had gathered it from all parts of the country, as to a sure fort, and for their provision all the winter; the other, by a draught of one of the Irish Captains also, with Tyrone, where they got 300 cows, slew above forty men in fight, took above three-score new Spanish muskets and culivers, and four prisoners, whereof one (Tirlogh McQuin) a man of special note and account.

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"I would have sent your Honour the Commissaries' certificates of the musters last taken, but that, some of them being yet above at the Liffer, I was not able for the present to make it perfect; but this is the sum, I am sure; present men 1,083 foot, sick 473, and 64 horse, in all the garrison together, beside the Irish. Of these, I assure your Honour, we are not able to draw forth, leaving our forts anything sufficiently manned, above 200, and though we could much supply their weakness by the Irish, yet to trust ourselves with so small a number to their courtesy, being stronger of themselves than we, and having an enemy beside in front of us, we neither hold for policy, nor should undoubtedly do good, if we did; and therefore again I beseech your Honour the supplies may be hastened away with all possible speed, and that as well some horse may be sent as foot, for that those we have are weak. Our use will be great of them, and the country (our forces being once strong) able to go far up, affording them plenty enough of forage, having at first some convenient quantity of oats from England to feed them, till we go abroad; and surely I am of opinion that forty will very well suffice till the summer service, by which time I hope to see a strange alteration.

"It comes to my mind that your Honour may think it strange, that, after so many abuses offered by Hugh Boy, and written of by myself, I should now deal in his favour, and seek to procure that country to be given to the Irish (so ill deserving it), rather than to advise it should be disposed to Her Majesty's own natural subjects, that I know might live well upon it, and be a people of whose fidelity the Queen may be far better assured, than ever she can of these. If the time did serve, and that Her Majesty were minded to make a perfect invasion, and gain by piece-meal, and keep sure that she had once gained, I should be soon most constant in that opinion; but, seeing it will require long time to draw over and settle a colony, and beside much disanimate the natural people of the country from ever yielding themselves upon any commodities, when they shall see their livings given away before their faces, I cannot but think it shall most further Her Majesty's service, that they be referred thereunto, who have means of themselves immediately to manure it, and may with as little danger as if they were mere English, be kept in subjection, the garrison at Colmacatrene being once settled. Yet, if I fail in my judgment, I refer myself to a better, and humbly desire to know (as I have writ for the like to my Lord Deputy) to which side, or to what conditions, I should most incline."—Derry, 1600[-1], February 12. *Endorsed*: —Received 8 March at Whitehall. *Holograph. pp. 6.*

Feb. 14.

48. "Articles of agreement between Sir Henry Dockwra, knight, Governor of Her Majesty's forces residing at Lough Foyle, on the one part, and Hugh Boy McDavid, of the sept of the Clan Davids in the country of Ennishowen in Ireland, on the other part, concluded and signed the fourteenth of February, 1600" [-1].

"First, Hugh Boy doth on his side, as well for Cahir O'Dogherty, son of the late Sir John O'Dogherty, knight, and his followers, as also for himself, his two brothers, Edmund Grome and Phelim

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Reogh, and their and either of their followers, fully and absolutely submit themselves to the obedience and subjection of Her Majesty the Queen of England, whom they do all acknowledge as their true, right, and lawful sovereign, renouncing all former leagues and combinations, either with Tyrone, O'Donnell, or any their adherents or rebellious confederates, against Her Majesty, and do in all humility desire Her Majesty's most royal, gracious, and merciful pardon for all former offences committed by them or any of them to the very day of the date hereof. In regard whereof, they do vow and protest perpetual loyalty and subjection, and with their whole power and best endeavour to further and advance Her Majesty's service, to discover anything they know hurtful or beneficial to the same, and to employ all the means that they or either of them are able to make for the speedy suppressing and extinguishing of all rebellion and rebellious persons that do or shall wilfully hold out against her sacred and regal authority; and, for the better testimony and assurance of their fidelities, will presently deliver in such pledges of his or their sept or nation as the Governor shall require.

"In consideration whereof, the said Sir Henry Dockwra doth, by virtue of his commission under the Great Seal of Her Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, assure him of the same pardon with free and perpetual forgiveness and forgetfulness of all former offences whatsoever, both for their goods and persons, as also for the goods and persons of their and either of their own peculiar followers, in as ample and large manner as himself desireth it.

"He doth further promise and assure him and them that he will presently set up and proclaim the said Cahir O'Dogherty as Lord of the country of Enishowen under the Queen, and give a free and continual peace to him and as many of the country as will follow him, and live henceforth under obedience, like good and true subjects to Her Majesty, and that he will join with them in suit that Her Majesty may be pleased to bestow on the foresaid Cahir, to him and his heirs for ever, the title of O'Dogherty, with all such lands and living[s] as lately belonged to Sir John O'Dogherty, his father, with all privileges and rites to the same, in as ample and large manner as the said Sir John had it heretofore, by virtue of Her Majesty's gift under Her Highness[s] letters patent, paying all such rites, rents, and customs as have been usual, or were reserved to be paid by that former gift and patent of Her Majesty's.

"He doth also assure both Hugh Boy and his brothers that he will use the like endeavour to procure them all their lands and livings, which they or either of them now hold, either of their own by inheritance, or custom, or by the gift of the late O'Dogherty, as also such lands as he now holdeth from and under O'Donnell, to them and their heirs for ever, in like manner and upon like conditions. And until such time as Her Majesty's express pleasure may be herein known, and those things procured and confirmed, he doth for his own part faithfully promise and bind himself to keep and perform whatsoever is contained in any of these articles, lying in his hands to keep and perform, to the uttermost of his power, and without any manner fraud, circumvention, or guile.



"He doth promise to aid, protect, and assist with the Queen's forces, at all times when it may be done with convenience, the said Cahir, Hugh Boy, and his brothers, and all their country and followers, being true and obedient subjects, against Tyrone, O'Donnell, or any other enemy whosoever, that shall either seek to oppress, rob, or spoil them, or any of them, or that shall stand out in actual rebellion against Her Majesty or the Government by Her Highness['s] authority established; and that at all times when the Governor shall have occasion and think good to employ the said Cahir, Hugh Boy, or any of their people upon present service for Her Majesty, he will store them with sufficient powder, match, and lead, for maintaining a skirmish and fight as occasion shall be given, as also to assist them in like manner with powder and munition at any time for defence of any fort or castle held for the Queen and to her use with the Governor's consent, against any enemy. And because the said Cahir is at this present in hand with O'Donnell, and uncertain whether he shall escape or no, and come himself in person to possess this grace and high favour of Her Majesty, and to yield his reciprocal subjection and service, the Governor doth promise that in case he come not in convenient time, that then he will proclaim and set up some one of the next of his kin, that shall hold and keep the title and lands to his use, if at any time hereafter he get loose, within [*here space left blank*] years' space, within which time if he come not, he whom the Governor shall so establish shall hold it for himself in the same manner the other should have done.

"And whereas the said Cahir, Hugh Boy, and his brothers have most humbly entreated Her Majesty's gracious favour and dispensation for liberty of conscience, the Governor doth promise him that for his part, till Her Majesty's direct pleasure may be known, he will not trouble or molest any of them for the same, so long as they behave themselves withal like good and faithful subjects, and he doth assure them that as Her Majesty hath hitherto governed this kingdom with mildness and mercy, not calling any man in question for his religion, so he knoweth nothing to the contrary, but Her Highness is still resolved to continue the same course.

"He doth further promise that upon any service done, either by Cahir, Hugh Boy, his brothers, or either of them, but especially for Hugh Boy, he will become an humble suitor that Her Majesty will be pleased to bestow a pension or living in recompense of the same upon them or either of them, as the quality and nature of his or their service shall deserve, and that for his own part in the mean time he will deal liberally with him out of his own purse.

"And he doth further promise to use the said Cahir, Hugh Boy, and his brothers, with all fit and due respect, as forgiving and forgetting all former quarrels and offences, and that none of Her Majesty's subjects under his command shall offer him or them any manner indignity or wrong whatsoever, but according to the quality of his offence the Governor shall see him punished.

"He doth also promise that whatsoever prisoners shall happen hereafter to be taken by Cahir, Hugh Boy, or any of his brothers, or by any of their people, if they take them with their own force, without aid of English, they shall have liberty to detain or release

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them for their best advantage, making the Governor acquainted with the conditions they are released upon, and the time of their enlargement, and yielding him the fourth part of their ransom. And if they take them with help of the Queen's force, they shall have their shares in him or them proportionably to the number of men that were at his taking, except it be some special man of note, whose enlargement might much prejudice Her Majesty's service. But if it fortune that Cahir O'Dogherty cannot escape out of O'Donnell's hands, then the Governor shall permit the exchange of any such prisoner for the said Cahir, yea and give any that shall be taken by the English for like purpose, if it do not manifestly appear to Her Majesty's detriment as aforesaid. And for any prey or booty of any goods or cattle, they shall enjoy themselves, paying a fourth part to the Governor, if they take it with their own forces, and their proportionable shares, if they use our help.

"He doth further promise that he will be an humble suitor to Her Majesty that whensoever the said Cahir and Hugh Boy, or either of them, shall give sufficient and evident assurance of their loyal and true dispositions to persevere in their obedience, by the nature and quality of the service they or either of them shall do, that then Her Majesty may be pleased to restore all such pledges as are delivered in for him or them, or either of them, that shall so give good and sufficient testimony of his or their fidelity." *Copy. pp. 5½.*

Feb. 14. 49. ——— to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends the names of the two men whom Captain [Thomas] Lee usually employed as messengers to the rebels. They are, Darie O'Dempsey, of Recardeston, and James McGnode, of Castle Rebane. Darie and a priest of "the mere Irishry" were sent by Lee to the traitor Tyrone "about September last was twelvemonth." Knows not by what authority. It was before the Earl of Essex came out of Ireland. "It were good to write to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and to the Earl of Ormonde, to learn of these men as much of Lee his proceedings with the traitors; and, if they need a protection, that they may be protected for a time, till the uttermost of Lee his practices may be known of them." Gnode may be found in Castle Rebane, if search be made privily for him, but O'Dempsey can hardly be found without a protection. When Sir Robert can speak with the writer, he will let him understand the best means for securing O'Dempsey.—"From my lodging," 1600[-1], February 14. [*The writer has not put his name to the letter.*] p. 1.

Feb. 18. 50. [Ludovic Stuart, Duke of] Lennox, to Sir James McSorley  
Holyrood House. of the Route. "This gentleman, called Thomas Douglas, brother to my Lord of Whittingham, one of His Majesty's Council here, having travelled these six or seven years by past in France, Italy, Spain, and Germany, is now desirous to see Ireland also. In consideration whereof, and that his brother is our friend, our duty moves us to recommend him in such sort to you, as he may

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enjoy your favour so long as he remains with you ; and that thereafter it may please you to cause convoy him surely to the Earl of Tyrone, with your own letter of recommendation, bearing that he may have the like favour of his Lordship, so long as he remains in his company, and in the end have his Lordship's passport and letter of recommendation to some other nobleman in that country. And in thus doing you shall have us aye the more ready to pleasure you, occasion serving. So we end for the present with very hearty salutation. From Holyrood House, the 18 day of February, 1601" [*Scottish style ; 1600-1, English style*]. *Signed. p. 1.*

Feb. 20.  
Dublin.

**51.** Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Received but this morning Sir Robert's letter of January 13. The 100<sup>l</sup>. he asked for when last at Court were not for the charges of his journey, but arrears due to him in 1592, when, by express commandment of Her Majesty and the Council, he attended at Court for three years touching the cause of Sir John Perrott and other weighty affairs of Ireland. Was promised satisfaction before he was returned to his charge, but received none, other than the Lord Treasurer's word that he would take order to have the money sent after Sir Geffrey. Commanded by the Queen to haste away to Ireland without staying for any cause whatsoever. "And had it not been that your Honour told me what scarcity of money there was then in the Receipt, I would have put up my petition to Her Majesty for that arrear of my allowance in '92, which I doubt not but Her Majesty would have given order to see answered unto me, for that there is neither honour nor equity, that I should be commanded to attend at Court three years together upon mine own purse, wherein I cannot but hope that in some better time I shall be better measured for that allowance ; neither hath that right been denied to any servitor, since I served in this land." Hopes Sir Robert and the Council will have consideration of him. Since the dispatch of Sir Oliver St. John, nothing has happened worthy of advertisement.—Dublin, 1600[-1], February 20. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

Feb. 21.

**52.** "The names of such men as were slain and hurt at Tyrrell's Island, the 21 of February, 1600"[-1]. Hurt, 45, whereof English, 12 ; slain, 16, whereof English, 6. *Unsigned. pp. 2.*

Feb. 22.  
Lough Sewdy.

**53.** Sir Francis Shane to Sir Robert Cecil. "As I writ unto your Honour of the declining estate of this kingdom, so now, God beginning most mercifully to bless Her Majesty in regaining thereof by her Deputy, by his great care and toil, I think it my duty to impart the present estate thereof as near as I can, and withal my simple opinion how to proceed in suppressing these rebels.

"First, it hath pleased the Almighty so to bless the endeavours of that noble gentleman, Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, as he hath quitted Munster of almost (*sic*) her rebels, the supposed Desmond excepted, who is no man knoweth where, his brother Shane, the Baron of Lixnaw, and Piers Lacy banished with



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twelve men to Tyrone. The Lord Deputy, God be praised, this winter hath so plied Leinster, as he hath very well cleared the Glyns, Kavanaghs, Byrnes, Tooles, and Moores of Leix. Now resteth Offally, Fercall, and borders of Westmeath, where Captain Tyrrell hath set up his rest, and by plain tyranny oppresseth as well those of his own faction, who are weary of his yoke, as also the subjects next adjoining. From him also, not only his old followers, but also the bordering rebels, do fall in heaps, so that now his strength exceedeth not at the most 200, whose weakness being well known to Tyrone, he endeavoured to supply, and also, thinking to kindle a new fire in Munster, came in person as far as O'Reilly's country, as well to send the said Tyrrell some forces, as also to send the brother of [the] supposed Desmond, Lixnaw called McMorris, and Lacy into Munster, these last with 2,000 men, and Tyrrell with 1,000, as the enemy giveth out, but in truth both the supplies could not exceed 1,500. But the Lord Deputy, then in Leinster, understanding of their coming, came with part of his forces to Trim, to stop these devils, and the supplies that came to Lough Foyle drew Tyrone back; so that these his great plots vanished, by which Munster is delivered of a second war, and Leinster were won, if the State will ply it for a short time, and so much the sooner, that it is disappointed of her northern succours. The substance of the Irish war in Leinster dependeth now upon Tyrrell, who, being prosecuted, cannot but fly into Ulster. His friends about him now, pinched with famine, beginneth to feed on horse flesh already, and his prosecution will not continue so long (opportunity observed), as it should give any impediment to the intended course for Ulster, which in my conceit is to be attended more these three months, March, April, and May, than the rest of the year (except what the garrisons shall perform in winter). It is to be held in memory that the sinews of every war consisteth chiefly in men, meat, money, and munition, whereof Tyrone can command but one, and those naked beggars. For meat, his country affordeth small store, having no other tillage but what he reapeth sowed these three months, and by cows he hath, which will be so weak that, during these three months, they are not able to drive three miles a day. So that, if Her Majesty will advance the war in the north these three months, the reasons aforesaid do conclude that Tyrone, barred of his tillage, and stripped of his cows, must faint. For money and munition, wherewith they are furnished from Spain, might have been letted, if Ballyshannon had been garrisoned, as was this last year intended. And except Her Majesty will thoroughly plant a garrison in Ballyshannon, and support Lough Foyle in such sort as they both may annoy the enemy, as well in winter as summer, and withal allow a couple of pinnaces ['pynnesses'], that shall cut them as well from their Spanish as Scottish munition, this war in time will soak the wealth of England in great measure. Your Honour must conceive that as long as the Irish shall be suffered never so little tillage with their cows, they will never quail, every bush in summer and the green grass affording them means good enough for such brute beasts to feed upon; but winter yieldeth nothing but snow, ice, and rain, which the Irish can no way abide, to which extremity the garrisons this half

160<sup>2</sup><sub>1</sub>.

year may drive them unto. The State here had a notable ring in Tyrone his nostrils, but did not hold it, which gave a wonderful liberty from north to south, which had it been maintained, doubtless Tyrone had never gone that wanton and vain-glorious progress into Munster, much less have returned without a blow, I mean the Cavan, which once was well planted, and then curbed the north in such sort that no enemy offered to come southward, but dissolved, took heart, and so ascended into Leinster and Munster, and well near became mistress of the whole kingdom; therefore this Cavan is to be re-planted with a very good garrison.

"It behoveth that I acquaint your Honour with the state of Connaught. O'Rourke and O'Connor Sligo are malcontent with the division of such Spanish alms as was sent, whereof they had no share. O'Donnell hath planted the county of Sligo with his people, as driven thither by the garrison of Lough Foyle. What extremity then will Ballyshannon bring upon him? even fling him headlong out of his country. But to return to Connaught, which hath wanted government these two years almost, which Her Majesty of necessity must re-establish, and in my simple judgment she cannot make choice of a fitter man for that government than Sir Arthur Savage, an old soldier, and well experienced in Ireland, one well acquainted with the situation of every part, and disposition of the people. This my opinion I have heretofore yielded unto your Honour, and if I were to deliver it twenty times, I would continue the same, not for any private respect (I protest), albeit much beholden to the gentleman, but as seeing none fitter to manage that government, if you will have that province reduced to the ancient obedience of the Crown, which by an absolute government must be effected, but then Her Majesty must afford the Governor means immediately from thence, as to Munster and Lough Foyle, and not by a secondary means, which is the break-neck of all governments. Let men, meat, money, and munition, be proportioned from thence for that government, and if in a short time it be not reclaimed, let me lose my credit with your Honour, and my life also; which performed, if it be thought fit, the Governor may reside at Sligo, and then Her Majesty may ease herself of the charge of Ballyshannon, and lay it upon the Governor of Connaught, being the very confines of his government.

"It resteth that I omit not Westmeath, the inhabitants whereof have played a part in these wars, many of them having, some their kinsmen, some their allies, some their foster-brethren, some their followers, as rebels, of purpose to scourge such as they hated, to save themselves, but chiefly such as depended upon the States, as Sir John Tyrrell and Iriel O'Farrell, and such like. But the chiefest organ, alienating the subjects' hearts from Her Majesty, are the friars of Multifarnham, and wandering priests, wherewith the country swarmeth. Another mischief is, that the law is buried in oblivion, insomuch as no sessions hath been held here these three years, but only one, and that procured of purpose by my Lord of Delvin (wherein he was himself chief), to compass to himself most of the counties of Longford and Cavan, under colour of a grant from Her Majesty, which is but a new introduction to a new war, if the world were quiet. Those two mischiefs may easily be

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remedied, the first by razing to the ground that abbey, the den of scorpions, and by a provost and martial law to punish these massing priests; the second, by reviving again the law, by keeping sessions every half year by English judges only, all such of that bench as would support men in villainy to be removed. I am loath to make known unto your Honour that near eighty were quit by proclamation, and none executed this last sessions, whereas, if men were strictly dealt withal, few in the country but may be touched, yea men of good calling with heinous matters, if the time served." Asks pardon for having been prolix.—Lough Sewdy, 1600[-1], February 22. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Feb. 24.  
Camp at  
Dunore.

54. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I am, and ever shall be, glad that any man's life, though it were mine own, may give any safety to the estate of my dear Sovereign, unto whom, above all private affections, I do owe a love and duty. And although my long and inward familiarity with the principal actors of this miserable tragedy may give just reason to a provident Estate to look upon me in this matter with some jealousy, yet I am confident in mine own conscience and in my Prince's favour and justice, and doubt not but my proceedings, hitherto and hereafter, shall shew themselves to be fruits that proceed from a root without all corruption. And for the present I dare assure you the army is free from the infection of this conspiracy, and doubt not but to contain it firm and obedient to resist or suppress anything that shall grow in this kingdom, if therein there hath been any seeds of this sedition sowed. For myself, I beseech you, Sir, make this my humble petition known unto Her Majesty, that it will please her to believe that nothing on earth, neither an angel from heaven, shall make me deceive the trust she hath reposed in me, and when she doth think otherwise, it shall be no punishment, but a benefit, for me to die. There is nothing but the extremity of the weather that doth keep the service I have in hand from some such issue as I had determined to acquaint you withal; but since it may be deferred longer than I looked for, I think it fit to write thus much to you, whom, above my own particular obligation, I must still love more, the more you prove yourself so watchful and worthy a servant to our royal mistress, whom God preserve most happy for ever." —From the camp at Dunore in Maceoghan's country, this 24 February, 1600[-1]. [*Postscript.*] "I received your letters in this place the 22nd of this present." *Endorsed*:—Received 8 March at Whitehall. *Holograph.* *Seal.* p. 1.

Feb. 26.

55. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "My very good Lord, I hope it shall not seem to your Lordship any neglect that you have heard no more from me these twenty days, considering how great and important causes have held, not only Her Majesty, but all her Council and *public ministers* from *all other* business of any other place, but here at home; where *no small* blow was like to be given *at the Court*, if God had not, by His providence, hindered their designs. For, my good Lord, know



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this now from me, that although at the arraignment the late Earl of Essex did, with many vows and protestations, seek to extenuate his fault, by denying that ever he meant any harm to Her Majesty's person, and that he did take arms principally to save himself from my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, that should have murdered him in his house *on Saturday night, with such inventions*, and with an intention to have removed me *with some others* from the Queen, as one who he did think desirous to sell the kingdom of England to the Infante of Spain, with such other hyperbolical inventions; yet before he went out of the hall, when he saw himself condemned, and found that Sir John Davis, Sir Ferdinando Gorge[s], and Sir Charles Davers, had confessed all the conferences that were held at Drury House, by his directions, for the surprising of the Queen and the Tower, both in a day, which argued a premeditate treason, which he did labour to have been only proved a sudden putting himself into strength, and flying into the City, for fear of being committed overnight, when the Lords sent for him: which upon my faith to you (to whom I will not lie) was only to have reproved him for his unlawful assemblies, and to have wished him to leave the town, and retire into the country, he then brake out to divers gentlemen that his *confederates that now had accused him* had been principal inciters of him, and not he of them, even ever since August last, to work his access to the Queen with force. Whereupon, when he had been in the Tower one night, he sent to the Lord Thomas Howard, being Constable of the Tower, by Mr. Warburton, to entreat him to move Her Majesty to send unto him the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, and me, the Secretary, by name, that he might now discharge his conscience, and confess his great obstinacy, in denying those things at his arraignment, wherewith he had been charged, as also to reconcile himself to his enemies, and especially to me, whom he desired to forgive him for wronging him [*sic*; me] at the bar, where he had pretended that the cause of his taking arms was the rather to save the kingdom of England from the Spaniard, to whom it was bought and sold, particularly urging it upon me, that had been a dealer in the peace, adding also that he had heard that I had delivered to a Councillor, that the Infante had the best title. To the which when I replied, and pressed that the party that told it him might be brought forth, Mr. Comptroller was named by the poor Earl of Southampton, who, being sent for into the seat of judgment, very like a gentleman and a Christian, cleared me, that I did never speak of that in other sort, than as reporting what a strange book was come forth of one Doleman, dedicated to the Earl of Essex, which did maintain that title to be the best. Thus do you see, Sir, who I think would easily free me from such a barbarous imputation, how great an injury he did me, for which God forgive him. But now, Sir, to resort to the place I left. When it pleased Her Majesty to send us four unto him upon the Saturday, he did, with very great penitency as ever I saw, confess how sorry he was that he had made so obstinate denials at the bar, desiring that he might have liberty to set down in writing his whole project of coming to the Court in that sort. Which he hath done, and even indeed, concurring with Sir Charles Davers, Sir John Davis,

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Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Mr. Littleton's confessions, *declared* that he sent divers articles to be considered of for that matter; as namely, whether it were not good, at the same time of coming to Court, to possess the Tower, to give reputation to the action, if the City should mislike it. Next, that Sir Christopher Blunt should take the Court Gate, Sir John Davis should leave some company in the Hall, and go up into the Guards' Chamber, where there should be some persons, *who by two or three unsuspected one after another should aforehand be gotten into the room; and therein observe this one special direction, which was given, that they should have seized upon the halberds of the Guard (which commonly, your Lordship, stand piled up against the wall); and Sir Charles Davers should likewise have been in the presence, where some other gentlemen should likewise have made good that place; whereby my Lord of Essex, with the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Rutland, and some other noblemen, should have gone in to the Queen, and then, having her in their possessions, to have used the shadow of her authority for removing of all they misliked, and for change of the Government; and so to have called a Parliament, and have condemned all those that should have been scandalized to have misgoverned the State.*

"This is the substance of his confession, which he first delivered verbally unto us; then he used these speeches, asking particularly forgiveness of the Lord Keeper, and desired him to report it to the rest, whom he caused to be imprisoned in his house, sorrowing in his heart that they had been by this occasion put in any fear of their lives by his followers. Then he did most passionately desire in Christian charity forgiveness at the hands of those persons whom he had particularly called his enemies, protesting that when he had resolved of this rebellious act to come to the Court with force, he saw not what better pretext he could have than a particular quarrel, and to none so fit to pretend quarrel, as to those whom he had, at the bar, named his greatest adversaries. Whereupon, being earnestly invited still, even on the pain of his soul's health, to say what he knew or could reveal, especially of that injurious imputation to me (whom as a Councillor he had so wronged), he vowed and protested that in his own conscience he did freely acquit me from any such matter, *and was ashamed to have spoken it, having no better ground, and professed to bear no malice to those others, the Lord Cobham and Raleigh, whom he had named his enemies, and by whom (but as they had been ill willers to him) he knew no other, than that they were true servants to the Queen and the State.*"—*Endorsed:—26 February, 1600[-1]. Draft minute with corrections in Sir Robert Cecil's hand: these are put in italics. pp. 4½.*

[Feb. 26.] 56. [Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy.] "After that, he made an humble suit to the Queen, that he might have the favour to die privately in the Tower, which Her Majesty granted, and for which he gave most humble thanks, as appeareth by this note enclosed (*wanting*), which is the copy of that which was subscribed by the hands of those three Divines that were with him. He suffered yesterday in the Tower with very great patience and

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humility, only notwithstanding his resolution that he must die, the conflict betwixt the flesh and the soul did appear only thus far, that in his prayers, both of Our Father and the Creed, he was fain to be helped, which he desired not to be mistaken, it proceeding only out of the present weakness of the flesh at the instant; for, otherwise, no man living could pray more Christianly than he did in his invocations to God, derived even then from his present conscience and meditation. This death of his was the more hastened by that bloody practice of 'Thom' Lee, who, not four days after his apprehension, conspired with Sir Henry Nevill, son-in-law to the Lord Treasurer, and with Sir Robert Crosse, assuring them that he would deal with some other gentleman of resolution to the number of four, who should at supper time, the Queen sitting in her Privy Chamber, have taken her, locked her doors, and, as he sillily pretended, only have pinned her up, till he had forced her to sign a warrant for the Earl's delivery. Which vile purpose being discovered by those two gentlemen, and avowed to his face, he being that very night watching at the Privy Chamber door, to discover how he might the next day have had access, he was seized on, and being examined, confessed thus much, only vowing that he would not have hurt her person, whom God bless, except others would have forced in upon her, to hinder that course which he pretended of their delivery.

"It now remaineth, my Lord, that I let you know that the rest, that are like to die, are these, Blunt, Merrick, Davis, Davers, Littleton, and Cuffe. Of the noblemen, which are in the Tower, as namely, Rutland, Sandys, and Cromwell, excepting Sandys, I presume the other two shall have mercy. Only I protest, the man that grieveth me to think what may become of him, is the poor young Earl of Southampton, whom (*sic*), merely for love of the Earl, hath been drawn in to this action. But in respect that most of the conspiracies were at Drury House, where he was always chief, and where Sir Charles Davers lay, those that would deal for him, of which number I protest to God I am one, as far as I dare, are much disadvantaged of arguments to save him. And yet, when I consider how penitent he is, and how merciful the Queen is, and that never in thought or deed, but in this conspiracy, he offended, I cannot write in despair, as I dare not flatter myself with hope for Sir Charles Davers. Nothing hath more alienated the hearts of men to deal for him than this, that, above all others, till he saw all their own hands, he was most obstinate in impudent denial; for whom, I presume, your Lordship thinketh I am not a little grieved. Your Lordship shall also understand that Sir Henry Nevill is likewise in displeasure for having been acquainted with this matter by Cuffe, and not [having] revealed it, which in a gentleman of his wisdom hath been no small crime, nor to me no small grief, [he] having married my own cousin german." *This seems to be but the closing part of the letter in No. 55.* [1600-1, February 26.] *Draft.* pp. 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>.

Feb. 26. 57. Duplicate of No. 55, in the handwriting of Levinus Muncke. [*It is curious that Sir Joseph Williamson has written at the beginning*



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*of this document, "Sir Rob. Cecyll's hand," and has endorsed it with the words, "Sir Th. Wilson, Secr. to Sir Rob. Cecyll."]*  
*Endorsed :—1600[-1], February 26. pp. 3.*

[Feb. 26.] **58.** Duplicate of No. 56, in the handwriting of Levinus Muncke.  
 —[1600-1, February 26.] pp. 2.

Feb. 26. **59.** Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This day, by a  
 Dublin. bark of Liverpool, I have received out of Cheshire and Wales a thorough confirmation of the attempts of the late traitorous Earls and their accomplices, which before I had but by report, and that without any certain ground, the author obscuring his name, and would not be known. By this passage also it is certified that Captain Lee, pretending a monstrous treason upon Her Majesty's person, was executed for the same. In both which God hath used to Her Majesty's safety, as well His preventing mercy in the Earl's attempts, as His preserving mercy in the conspiracy of Lee; and hath left to herself, being His magistrate, to chastise the rest, not by a favourable justice, but by a resolute course to cut them off, whose main drift was to cut off her. And to your Honour I say, whose life no doubt was laid for in the plot of these treasons, you are to remember that, in practices of treason against the person of the Prince, it cannot be safe to stand long upon ordinary formalities of justice, but to provide that the punishment of the parties do precede their judgment. For, in such a peril as this, that embraceth the whole kingdom, if you begin by execution of the traitors, it is a safe course; for that, when you have prevented the danger of the State, by the death of some of the chief offenders, you may have time enough afterwards to use the wonted ceremonies of proceeding by course of law. Where the treason is evident in a mighty traitor, it is a dangerous counsel to delay execution, even as to construe things doubtful in the better part is a principle not safe to be followed in matters concerning the safety of the Prince. The Lord Deputy hath this day sent hither some of the proclamations, which some of this Council thought not meet to be published. But I am not of that mind, deriving my reason from this, that inasmuch as those traitors are proclaimed in England, we ought not to be fearful to proclaim them here. And I have now written to his Lordship lying in camp, to divulge the matter through all the provinces of the realm, that the Irish rebels might take notice how graciously God hath put into Her Majesty's hands those English traitors, and that without moving any stir in any part of the realm. Only one of the proclamations is delivered to the Mayor of Dublin, and another I have caused to be affixed upon the Tolseale\* door, for all men to read.

"I humbly beseech you to give me some comfort to make a step over thither for a time, not for other cause than to be at hand with your Honour, to show the love I bear you in this time of trial.

\* Tholsel, Tolsell, or Tolsey, the place where the corporation or merchants met, e.g. the Tolsey of Bristol.

160<sup>2</sup><sub>1</sub>.

For, I speak before God, I am not carried with any other motion, neither will I be troublesome to Her Majesty, or you, with any suit. Your Honour may remember the cautions I gave you at my being there touching Captain Lee, namely, that he had a murdering heart and a murdering hand. You have reason to doubt that the garden is not thoroughly weeded, by cutting off of Lee, for that, from the place where he was infected, others may be corrupted. For you may in reason think that the stroke of such an enterprise was not reposed upon one man's hand alone. The Lord of heaven and earth bless and preserve her Majesty against the evils of these dangerous times."—Dublin, 1600[-1], February 26. *Endorsed* :—Received 8 March at Whitehall. *Signed*. pp. 1½.

February. 60. "An account of 9,000*l.* sent into Ireland for the payment of Her Majesty's army there."—1600[-1], February. *Unsigned*. p. 1.

March 2. 61. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the  
Dublin. bearer, Captain Clare. Begg leave to return into England for a short time.—Dublin, 1600[-1], March 2. *Holograph*. *Seal*. p. 1.

March 3. 62. "A note of the men slain and hurt in Farnamurrogho [Tyrrell's Island, co. Westmeath], under the command of Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, the [3] of March, 1600[-1]." Total of the hurt, 21, "whereof English, 7." Total of the slain, 14, "whereof English, 2." *Unsigned*. pp. 1½.

March 4. 63. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the  
Mallow. bearer, Lieutenant Phillips, who received a maim at the taking of the Castle of Glan.—Mallow, 1600[-1], March 4. *Signed*. *Seal*. p. 1.

March 5. 64. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending  
Mallow. the bearer, Lieutenant Povay, who has served well under Sir Charles Wilmot. Hopes he may obtain a company of foot in Munster.—Mallow, 1600[-1], March 5. *Signed*. p. 1.

March 5. 65. Sir Christopher St. Lawrence to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Writes of the Lord Deputy's prosecution of Captain Tyrrell. "First, he found him in an island, which was very hard to be won but with the loss of a great many men. Yet, in his honourable disposition, he would not leave him unput out of it, because it was held to be his only place of retreat, and appointed me to go with my regiment, to guard those that were appointed to view the place of entrance; being commanded I should not view it myself, but to maintain the fight while they viewed it. At our coming back, they did assure my Lord they would enter it without any loss; upon which the Serjeant-Major, out of his old malicious humour to me, appointed

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Sir John Bartlett to command my regiment for the entrance the next day, which fell out not so well as they did expect, which made him very sorry that he had made show of his malice to me in that open audience, since it did not fall to that indignity or dishonour he meant to impose to (*sic*) me; but the world knows his honest and his extraordinary courses, and so do you. I need not tell you more of it, but, to be short, Tyrrell quit his island and his castle the next day, upon which I made my discontentment known to the Deputy, which he freed himself from, and [I] do assure myself he is too honourable to do any gentleman that wrong, and I think myself much less, in regard he put me the next day to follow that traitor Tyrrell through all the fastness of Fercall and Offally, and [he] durst not stay nowhere till he came to Moyligh and Farrinamorchan, where he had fortified himself. My Lord Deputy having intelligence that he was there, sent for me to come to him, and sent me to fight ['faytte'] with Captain Tyrrell, whe[n] my Lord Deputy said I did the part of an honest man, and that he would certify the Queen of my good service. I pray God he do, for I have lost my blood often in her service, which I think she hath never heard on (*sic*); but that is all one. I will as long as I live serve her truly, for I do assure me she will make me a recompense for the loss of my blood. Upon Friday last, being the third of May, I met with Tyrrell in his sconces within a wood, where I entertained a skirmish for three hours, and [it] grew so hot at last, as we skirmished within two pikes' length one of another, and one while we beat them, and then they beat us, and we them again, so as at last, having two Lieutenants slain, Captain Boyce his men forsook him, as [*sic*, ? and] they ran all away. Upon which I came down myself with some sixteen targeteers and twelve pikes with twenty shot, and met Captain Tyrrell at the push of the pike; where I killed his serjeant and thirty-six soldiers of his men, and forty hurt, with himself, young Captain Tyrrell, Mortogh McTorlogh, Donnell McArt O'Molloy, and broke them, and made them quit their sconces and the whole wood, with the loss of two Lieutenants, one ensign, fourteen soldiers slain, and seventeen hurt, and myself with two pushes of pikes, which hath done me little hurt; and this is the whole manner at large. Thus, wishing you good fortune, and us money, and little rest, which I know, as long as a soldier can go, we shall never stay still, I rest, this 5th of March, 1600" [-1].  
*Signed. p. 1.*

March 6.  
Cork.

66. John Meade, Mayor of Cork, to Sir Robert Cecil. Arrest by him of one Donnell O'Coman, a notable malefactor, who was arraigned and executed for a robbery committed upon a Frenchman, late of Rochelle. Also, "one John Anias, lately there restrained in the Tower, was found upon the walls of this city, poorly arrayed, bare-footed, and altogether disguised from his wonted attire. Who being brought before me, I examined his name, and he said his name was John Maguire, whom I did know by eying him narrowly, and committed him to the gaol, where he is to remain, till he have his trial by law; with whose apprehension I have acquainted the



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Lord President, for which he was very thankful. Your Honour hath received notice heretofore of his behaviour since his last departure from thence, wherefore I think it unnecessary to repeat the particulars. Here remain in this city nine hundred soldiers and the Lord President's horsemen, with which horsemen the city is greatly charged for their diet, being ever a country charge, for which I hope his Lordship, upon his repair hither, will take order." Begs Sir Robert's furtherance of the suits of the city, and of the Mayor's own particular causes. Thanks for the last letters received from the Privy Council.—Cork, 1600[-1], March 6. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 7.  
Dunalong.

67. Sir John Bolles to Sir Robert Cecil. "It grieveth me much to understand that the ill hap which my letters have had in their conveyance hath been an occasion to move your Honour to censure me, as one not so sincere in Her Majesty's service, nor so unfeignedly devoted to discharge the duty which I have vowed to carry toward you, as I have made show of. The ever-living God is my witness, that I am as far from all hollow-ness of heart in either of these two, as I am from thrusting out mine eyes with mine own fingers. And as for giving your Honour frequent advertisements, I, to the uttermost of my understanding, endeavoured to inform you of all the important occurrents in this place, and to avoid troubling you with matters which were of no moment. About that time when Captain Hart came over, I addressed two letters to your Honour, and they were delivered by the Provost-Marshal to one John Lineall, a merchant which served this place with beer, and were enclosed in a letter of mine to his father, an Alderman of Chester. In the first, I set down the lamentable alteration of the army, the great loss of meal, salt and other things, at the Derry, the excessive charge and small relief of the hospital, the disproportion betwixt the means this garrison had and the power which doth affront it, and divers other particularities more fit to be writ than repeated now. In my second, I had acquainted your Honour with the happy change which the coming of the supplies did work in our estate, with the humours and disposition of Neale Garve, with my taking of the Liffer, and fighting with O'Donnell, and some other services which this poor garrison, so much shortened in means, had then done; and lastly, I recontinued my suit for freedom from this place, wherein I was so curbed, or at least that, wanting means to do anything, I might be excused for doing nothing. Not long after, I writ by Captain Sidley, of the delivery of which I have no doubt; since which time I have not writ over other than one to my Lord Treasurer, by Mr. Field, the Commissary here, in answer of his Lordship's unto me by Captain Covert. Neither can I write so oft as I would, for all the shipping lying at the Derry; they are sometimes gone before I hear of their dispatch, and sometimes the wind will not suffer a boat to pass in divers days together. This is all whereby I can excuse myself unto your Honour of any imputation of neglect, which hath been laid upon me for anything past, which if it please your Honour to admit, I will be so careful in making choice of my messengers, as I trust to avoid all blame hereafter.

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“The state of the war in this place never was so hopeful as it is now (if Sir Henry Dockwra be not now the second time deceived by Hugh Boy for them). O’Dogherty’s country will be both secured and preserved, which is the thing he aimeth at above all other. O’Donnell is no longer able to stay in these parts, but is gone into Connaught, and left his brother on this side. Barnesmore with 300 men by name, but not 100 by poll, all which had this week been cut in pieces by the garrison of Liffer, if an extreme rain had not suddenly made the rivers unpassable. Tyrone came lately to the Newtown, and is returned back without doing anything more than that he spake with O’Donnell and O’Cahan. The Bishop of the Derry (who is said to be the first and chief contriver of this general defection and combination with the Spaniards, and hath himself been thrice at Rome and oft in Spain to negotiate) God gave into my hand upon Ash Wednesday at night, but, before I could come to him, the soldiers had slain him. We got there about eighty lean cows, and burned many more in the houses, besides sheep, goats, and corn, and slew betwixt 80 and 100 persons. This was in O’Cahan’s country, and his people, being gathered in small numbers together, fought with us the marching of five miles, but so coldly that in all that time they killed but one of our men, and hurt five. I took a scholar there prisoner, whom because he carried no arms, neither ever may, being within orders, and for that my troop is weak, and horse is that which here doth all the service, I have agreed to ransom for some horses and some oats, whereof at this time we have great want. This I beseech your Honour to procure me to be excused of, for I confess it is more than I can precisely justify; and yet, under your honourable correction, by getting horses and arms out of such men as carry no arms, we are more strengthened, and the enemy more enfeebled, than by the killing of twenty such. Notwithstanding, if your Honour dislike with (*sic*) it, I will avoid the like hereafter, and humbly crave pardon for this which is past.

“The people from all parts come flocking in so fast, that it is scarce possible to keep them out, so much do both the laymen and clergy pretend to desire peace. Whereby, in my poor opinion, there are two ways opened to the pacifying of this land; the one speedy, but of doubtful continuance; the other assured to make a perfect cure, but will ask more time; yet neither of both (*sic*) sure to prevail without a plantation at Ballyshannon. The first is by the priests, who, as divers of them have deeply sworn to me, are more desirous of peace than the people, if they might be assured to have their consciences free, and to enjoy the livings they have, which they yet account as lost, whensoever Her Majesty shall possess the land in peace. Hereof if they were satisfied, they would soon draw in the laymen, for such is their power over the consciences even of the wickedest of them, that they dare in nothing disobey them. The second way I take to be, denying to receive any of them in, but such as come in armed, and by some bloody service testify their purpose to be loyal. Hereby shall all the peasants, women, and children be forced to live of the last year’s store, and, being kept by dispersed garrisons from ploughing, must the next year of necessity starve. How infallible a course this is, the late wars of Connaught,

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finished by this means only, can testify. But, if a middle course betwixt these two be held, the protraction of the war will be greater than Her Majesty will like, and if in the meantime any disaster should happen, all that had gone before were utterly lost."

Apologises for his boldness in writing. As to his return, "having oft troubled your Honour with this suit in vain, I will henceforward with patience expect the time which your Honour shall please to assign for my freedom."—Dunalong, 1600[-1], March 7. *Holograph.* pp. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

March 7.  
Galway.

68. Captain Henry Clare to Sir Robert Cecil. Since the Lord Deputy's return from the North, has lain in Galway in garrison with his company of 150, without any further command. "And forasmuch as I am subject to an imputation of small or no desert, because I am not raised as others of my sort, I have presumed to send your Honour a copy of a certificate which the inhabitants here gave unto me (the original being with my Lord Deputy.)" Begs Sir Robert to make his endeavours known to Her Majesty. Never served any but her, "and if I would but have made a dependency upon those that swayed the wars, I should have been raised with the first and the highest of my sort; and thereof I think there is not any make the doubt that knoweth me. It is here reported that Her Majesty is now to make a Governor of Connaught. If I might by your honourable favour obtain that command, I would not doubt to do Her Majesty as good service therein as any of higher style, and prove no less thankful to you than any whosoever.

"Here is lately arrived one Captain Blake, born in this town, who since his coming hath been with McWilliam, an archtraitor of this province; and, being demanded what authority he had so to do, answered that he had sufficient from my Lord the Earl of Nottingham and your Honour; whereof I held it my duty to advertise you, because he is here held a very dangerous man, having served the King of Spain, and been in rebellion with the said McWilliam. He is a recusant, and much favoured in this town by the most obstinate of that sort, who would very gladly (as it is thought) work an alteration, if they knew how. A new McWilliam is chosen within this sennight, which seeketh to cut off the former. I hold them both rebels, yet the Queen may receive good service by this means; for there will be killing on both sides, and it cannot light amiss upon any. The rebels by these winter wars are discomforted and overthrown everywhere; and they in the north are like all to starve, for a wine quart of oatmeal is now there worth eightpence sterling. They had from Spain, a little before Christmas, about five thousand pound[s], with some munition, which hath done them more hurt than good, because there is dislike grown in the division."

Prays that if he be not preferred in Ireland, he may be bestowed in some place in England.—Galway, 1600[-1], March 7. *Holograph.* p. 1.

*Encloses:—*

68. i. *Certificate given by the town of Galway to Captain Henry Clare. Stating that, since his coming to lie in the town, he*



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had, with his own company only, banished the rebels of Jar-Connaught from those parts, and had taken from them a strong castle, called Muckullen, to the great and singular good of Galway, and the general advancement of Her Majesty's service thereabouts; "so as those rebels, who were wont daily before, and at his coming, to spoil us at our very gates, to stay our fuel, and take our lives, goods, and prey, at their pleasures, do not now come near this town, which was never affected [effected] in these parts for us sithence the beginning of these wars, and yet there hath been here in garrison five hundred men at once for many months together, and at no time less than Captain Clare performed this service withal." Therefore, "as well for the accomplishing this service, as also for the well and civil governing of his soldiers amongst us," they have witnessed this, "as the greatest gratitude we have to bestow upon him." —Galway, 1600[-1], February 13. There are fifteen signatures, including those of the Bishop of Kilmacduagh, William Daniel, preacher, Patrick Lynch, and five Aldermen. Copy. p. 1.

March 8.  
Dublin.

69. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have no special matter to write from hence, more than is mentioned in my former letters, only the Lord Deputy is still in the prosecution of Leinster, and hath not so much as seen Dublin since the 23rd of December, but doth continue abroad, awaiting occasions and advantages against the rebels. His Lordship hath of late expelled Tyrrell out of an island in MacGeoghan's country, which was his chiefest fastness, and now being got into another island between the borders of Kildare and Offally, his Lordship hath settled forces at Monasterevan, to attend him there, and is returned himself to Trim. Such further events as time shall produce in this service shall be advertised to your Honour with the best speed I can. In the meanwhile, the late stirs in England being reported here diversely (for we have nothing by writing) might be a ground to draw some astonishment in this realm, were it not that the terror of the Queen's army doth contain some, whom otherwise neither zeal nor duty would do: and I hope that the army being well guided will be still a strength sufficient to bridle such as would break loose, how ill-disposed soever they be; for, I assure your Honour, that in the well-governing of this army, and keeping it together, is the safety of this kingdom. And yet I cannot but think that those late treasons in England were contracted with intelligence and combination here, which I humbly wish may be called into inquisition hereafter, though now the present staggering time there may be thought will hardly bear it, wherein there is no doubt but good use may be made of some of the followers of those Earls, to the discovering of their parties within this realm. For the furtherance whereof, against the time you shall be fitted for such a matter, some preparations and collections may be gathered here, and laid up in store, which till their meet time are better to be covered with silence.

"Tyrone continueth within the bounds of his country, without attempting anything abroad. He is greatly pressed to send forces

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into Munster, to raise up new stirs there. But I think he can hardly spare any men from himself, neither is there means to pass them into Munster, for that the straits and passages I hope are so well guarded, as it will not be safe for them to venture.

"Tyrone heard of the stirs in England before any of the State had so much as an inkling ['in incklinge'] thereof, and I am written to from one near about him, that he was advertised of all those matters from two Earls in Scotland, who of long time have entertained with him a dangerous intelligence against Her Majesty and this Estate."—Dublin, 1600[-1], March 8. *Signed.* pp. 1½.

March 9.  
Plymouth.

70. Christopher Harris to Sir Robert Cecil. "It may please you to be advertised, there came unto me this day, at the fort of Plymouth, one Timothy Williams, of London, mariner, who came lately from the Groyne, where he, having been taken a prisoner, was forced to serve in the King's ships. He reporteth that there are two flyboats, one of 200, the other of 120, making ready to go for Colbegg [Killibeggs] in Ireland, to transport thither a Spanish friar, with some store of munition and money; which friar was also there the last year with two ships and like provision, to take view of the country, and now purposeth to settle himself there. He also reporteth that there are three Spanish men-of-war, which are appointed to keep this coast, the one of 203, the other[s] of 50 tons apiece, in one of which he served, and having been some twenty days at sea, were with foul weather forced back to the coast of Spain, where at the first landing he gat from them. He likewise saith there is an Irishman, whom he well knoweth by favour, but not his name, that some six weeks sithence went from the Groyne to Rochelle, thence to be embarked for England, employed as a spy for the Governor of Galicia. He proportioneth him to be a man slender, and of tall stature, a red beard, his head (*sic*) of the same colour, a wart under his nose upon his upper lip, and a scar in the middle of his forehead, which he got the last year in a skirmish with the Tyrone against Sir Samuel Bagenall. This Williams promiseth to haste himself to your Honour, endeavouring himself for the apprehending of him. He saith also, that the 27 of the last month, he met Sir William Stanley in Bayonne in France, riding towards Spain, who enquired of him whether my Lord of Essex were still in disgrace, and who were now chief about the Queen, which he, being a mariner, not acquainted with these things, could not answer." Purposes with all speed to accomplish Sir Robert's commandment touching Allen and Dorrington.—Fort of Plymouth, 1600[-1], March 9. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 10.  
Derry.

71. Sir Henry Dockwra to the Privy Council. "I have by Captain Hart, on the 8th of March, received four several letters from your Lordships together, dated of the 16th of November, of the 2nd, the 8th, and the 21st December. The first contained your Lordships' pleasures touching the provision and distribution of the New Land fish to the soldiers, in which I had before observed the

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very course your Lordships had now prescribed; but how discommodious that quality of provision hath been, both to Her Majesty and the army, I had before signified, and I think Mr. Skinner, the Commissary of the Victual, the like. The second containeth sundry matters, and beginneth first with an admonition of my duty touching the musters, and the care I ought to have to the frugal husbanding of Her Majesty's treasure, which your Lordships seem to think (according to the checks and defalcations) should be yet remaining in a far greater quantity than in deed it is. I have often endeavoured to make mine excuse touching the meddling therewith, and the difficulties wherewith I could not but be much encumbered, to look into the particular reckonings of every Captain, and the manner of issuing the same, and thought my excuse sufficiently grounded upon reason, in that the Treasurer had his particular instructions, which I had neither authority nor will to alter or contradict. And therefore, seeing the charge of the victual contained within his account, and all to be reduced into the nature of ready money, I thought mine own account had extended no further than to what I had received myself, or caused to be disbursed; but, seeing your Lordships do yet require a stricter account at my hands, I will strive to acquit myself to your Lordships' expectation, though (God is my judge) I have hitherto refrained busying myself therein, for none other cause but the doubt I conceived of an evil construction, as meddling further in a matter than either my authority would bear me out in, or than any man would require at my hands. But this, it may please your Lordships to take notice of, is the state we now stand in for money. Here hath been none at all since the last of January, and even then (by the paymaster's accounts) was much due unto several Captains. The reason of issuing it so fast I wrote unto your Lordships once before, which was, the course of payment held by the Treasurer's men, in accounting with every man what victuals he had received, and giving the rest in ready money, which course I forbade upon the arrival of the last 3,000*l.*, and yet [it] hath been continued still, and when I required a reason as finding fault therewith, the paymaster produced a warrant from my Lord Deputy prescribing that course, and requiring him to follow it, as he would answer the contrary at his peril. I know the construction was not according to my Lord's intent, and yet, seeing the words had some colour of bearing him out, and that himself was then presently going to Dublin to make up his accounts to his Lordship, I thought I might justly excuse myself by admitting his answer, and referring him over to him that had authority sufficient without exception to censure his doings. To the other point, concerning the musters, I have tried many ways to satisfy your Lordships' expectation, and yet how offensive I have been to some, and little pleasing to others, to whom I have desired to perform my duty, God knoweth best, and myself hath the most sensible feeling of; for I have both incurred the displeasure of many, and yet I fear little satisfied the expectation of any. But, howsoever they are pleasing or displeasing, my endeavours shall tend the best I can to equity and due consideration on both sides; and what the state of the army is found at this present, your



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Lordships shall see by the several certificates, which in my conscience are not now much different from the very truth. The next point in the same letter concerneth the monthly certificate of the state and charge of the army, which I have always referred to the Commissary of Victuals for his part, to the Paymaster for his, and to the Commissaries of the Musters for theirs; and ever have I called upon them to make them perfect and frequent. And yet, seeing your Lordships require to have it more particularly, I will not fail of sending it, so often as convenience of passage will give me leave, which sometimes happens not in two or three months together, as may be conjectured by these letters I have written, for I assure your Lordships there hath not been any passage by which I have not written, how little soever the present occasion required it. And whereas your Lordships note in the certificates of August a palpable partiality and abuse, for that the checks were so small, the numbers of sick men so many, and my demand of supplies so great, it was a time wherein myself then lay hurt, and could not so perfectly judge of the strength of the army, nor look into the state of the certificates. And sure I am at that time the sick men were incredibly many, and the numbers of able not to be supplied under 2,000, according to the list they then stood at of 4,000. And for any partiality or connivance of mine (God is my witness) I was free from either. And where your Lordships make mention of Her Majesty's gracious care in providing an hospital with drugs and all other necessaries thereunto, which your Lordships seem to think might have been a means of discovering the true state of the sick men, had it been erected and ordered according to the true intent it was provided for, your Lordships have been misinformed in the negligence laid to my charge, and do far mistake in the use you seem to conceive thereof, though it had been set up and fitted with all things, even to the full proportion allowed. For first, for mine own part, I caused with much difficulty (for that there was no wages allowed to carpenters, but their pay as soldiers) a house to be made up within the ruined walls of an old church, capable of twenty-eight beds, with a kitchen, and one room more adjoining, which was as much and more than I could have finished, had I not extraordinarily stretched myself to get it done; but had it been made according to the full proportion, which was for 100 beds, I assure your Lordships on my faith and knowledge (as many more shall be witnesses), it would not for a long time together have relieved the fifth or sixth part of our sick men. But, seeing your Lordships are told (as I am credibly informed), that there hath been no hospital at all, and that notwithstanding a general defalcation hath been made for maintaining one, I leave the verity of their reports to the knowledge of those honest men, which have been eye-witnesses to all, even from the beginning; and howsoever I may be thought to draw a base and irreligious gain from the poor men's box, God in heaven knoweth my innocency, and freeness of my heart from ever harbouring any such thought, Who will justly visit my sin (and I bring it upon mine own head), if I should so profanely and falsely call Him for a witness to my corrupt and most detestable hypocrisy. But I must confess I have refused to give out that to the Captains

and Lieutenants of the army, which I know was intended for relief of poor souls that had none other means to help them with; which bred me (even to my face) much hatred. And yet, a Captain (that I hear should be the reporter of this false suggestion), I assure your Lordships on my faith, had his share in this kind of relief, and therefore of all others (under your Lordships' correction) had least cause to complain. And where again, by the same letter, your Lordships seem to be informed of a most notable abuse in giving forth of beer to the soldier for his drinking money, insomuch as that which was contracted for at Chester, after the rate of 6*l.* the tun, should be here given forth at 16*l.*, this I must say in answer, there never came any beer in this place, which I would suffer to be given into the Captain's hand, to be divided to the soldier, for I manifestly saw it was impossible to prevent it. But if I had, the Captain himself, or some one or other of his officers, would undoubtedly drink out the greatest part themselves, and make the poor soldier pay for all; in which case I had experience by giving out the sack provided by Her Majesty, delivered at a most reasonable rate, passing good of itself, and much fought for by the soldier, when it was in a victualler's hand, and yet wonderfully grugged at, both by Captain and soldier, when it was given them as the Queen's allowance. But for the beer the rates were ever set to the victualler, to sell at 2*d.* the quart, and whosoever exceeded that rate forfeited it to the Marshal; and yet I know there came oftentimes beer from other parts, which was sold for 10*l.*, and sometimes for 12*l.*, a tun; and so have I paid myself, even at the highest rate, in which case the victualler was warned at his peril, either not to buy, or at least not to sell, above the common and ordinary rate; which order might perhaps have been neglected, and not complained of. But if I aver an untruth, let me be convicted by the testimony of common knowledge, and my shame shall be worthily laid upon me, as procured by mine own intolerable impudency. And where it seems that complaint hath been made for uttering the kettles at the rate of 40*s.* a piece, it is true I gave them out to Travers at 36*s.*, and so was the price set down by your Lordships' direction; and for the 4*s.* overplus, it was the Commissary's fraud, if it were exacted, which I never had complaint of; and let their bigness and weight be considered, and any man judge whether there were a mechanical gain made of them, or no. And where your Lordships expect an account at my hands for the spare arms which are conceived could not but be very many, in respect of the great numbers of men that have been decayed, I would it had lain in my power to answer them, even to your Lordships' expectation and mine own desire. But seeing they were given forth into many hands, and every Captain the charge of his own company, and the place we live in so unfit for either repairing or preserving them, by reason of the want of houses, and the extreme intemperancy of the weather, I hope your Lordships will not think it a matter fit to be required at my hands in particular for all. And yet, that your Lordships may see there hath been somewhat done by admonishing the Captains in that part of their duties, you may be pleased to call to mind that the first supply of 300, and the next of 700, have been only furnished at the Captain's own private charge. And so, to conclude the

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answer of that whole letter, your Lordships shall understand that of the Queen's pinnace you write should come hither, instead of the crompter, I have yet had no newer tidings; and for the death of Captain Thornton, I doubt not but your Lordships were long since informed of, and his ship I sent away to Dublin, upon special occasion of business to my Lord Deputy, almost two months ago, and she is not yet returned. The third letter containeth only the alteration of your Lordships' minds for sending the pinnace, which I had not observed, till now that I perused it again. The fourth is only concerning the particular number of supplies, together with their several sorts of arms, which is answered in a note thereof apart by itself.

"And now your Lordships may be pleased to understand that upon the first arrival of part of our supplies, I presently employed them to the stopping of the passages into O'Dogherty's country, whereby I prevented the carrying out of 1,200 kine, which O'Donnell had appointed to be cut, as a bribe for making Phelim Oge Lord of the country; but because I had given a truce for twelve days to the whole country but two days before they came, for that I was not then able to prevent the driving of the whole land, if they should have attempted it, I forbore making roads or incursions upon them till the time of truce was expired; but instantly after I made a journey with 300 men, having Hugh Boy as a guide to direct them to the places fittest to do service in, which he honestly acquitted himself of, insomuch as after the first night I returned myself (having special occasion of business to revoke me), and within two days after he had taken all the pledges of the whole country. Howbeit, Phelim Oge himself, his eldest son, and two of O'Donnell's men, escaped on foot in the night time, notwithstanding I had spial upon their persons, and good guards all the while upon the passages, which they might easily do in so small a number, though we had set ten times so many to have prevented them. So that now I begin to take an estate of the island, and, having already sworn all the chief of the several septs, do intend to enjoin them to be every man answerable for his own people, that none of them go abroad to serve with the rebels, and then, having made a small fort at Colmackatreyne, and another at Cargan, the country is safe from all manner of danger, both of invasion from any other part and from rebellion in itself, and the commodity of having it in peace, manured and dwelt upon by the natural inhabitants, of such importance to the relief of all the forces, both in respect of the victuals it will always afford upon time of necessity, and the change of diet which it will give continually to the soldier, beside the help we shall find of their garrans and churls, whensoever we shall go a long journey, as I see not the means how we could possibly have held out any long time without it, except we had been supplied almost every month with new men, nor how we could possibly have ever made a journey far up, without an intolerable charge and hazard of bringing horses out of England to carry our baggage withal. I have this night sent out 200 men to take possession of the Abbey of Ramollan, in McSwyne Fanat's country, which I fear they will burn before they come, for I have intelligence they begin to fly already. That garrison settled,



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I doubt not of present possession of all Tyrconnell, which is almost wholly wasted already, so that, having finished the business on this side, I am resolved next to be doing with O'Cahan, who importunes me daily for a truce, with promise to come absolutely in, whensoever Neale Garve comes back; but I reject his demands, because I know they proceed from no good intent, and doubt not, when I am ready for him, but I shall quickly spoil his country, and bring himself upon his knees; which done, I am not of opinion that any man in the north will hold up head, except it be in nature of a wood-kern. But their hopes are altogether built upon the help of Spaniards, and my account made as though I had to deal with them; but after the present state of the country, if they do come to these parts (for to other parts of Ireland I am undoubtedly persuaded they will), it will be shortly. For their promise is as solemnly and confidently made as can be, to be upon the coast in mid May at furthest. Wherefore I am of opinion (under your Lordships' correction) it should be most necessary to send over yet 1,000 men more, and forty or fifty horse, which your Lordships see, by the state of the musters, the unable men being discharged, and the decays considered that will necessarily fall before that time, will very well be borne. For the foot there shall not need any supply of arms more than swords; and if of horse there be but one half furnished, I think we shall go very near to furnish the rest with the overplus in our hands. If the Spaniards come not at all, it will be the last levy of men (I presume confidently) that shall be ever requisite for these wars of Ireland; and if they do come, it shall be more than necessary to have them in readiness, and further to secure the entrance of the Lough (that they assault us not by water, which we have most cause to fear), it should be very requisite that some of Her Majesty's ships were appointed to lie upon the coasts.

"This gentleman, Captain Vaughan, is much acquainted both with the reasons of my proceedings, and the state of [*some word appears to have been omitted here*] we stand in every respect, and therefore his knowledge (with your Lordships' leave) shall suffice to excuse me of a good part of my labour. And yet I would not omit by myself to acquaint your Lordships with the loss we have had of two of our boats, the horseboat lately sent over by your Lordships, and the barge assigned and fitted to serve the garrison at Liffer with victual, beside another of mine own, which I lost together with them by this occasion. There was a small bark taken by the rebels on O'Dogherty's side, coming in with beer and other provisions to this place. Two of the men escaped in their cock-boat, and brought me presently word. The weather was calm, and the bark not carried out of the Lough, and therefore I thought might easily be recovered; neither had I been deceived, had the weather stood calm or indifferent fair, as it then was. But upon a sudden, being past Culmore, there arose a storm, and forced them down the Lough, and out into the sea, with exceeding peril to the men that were in her, which had been all cast away, had they not by good hap fallen upon some of the ships that brought our supplies of men, who saved the people, all saving four, but lost both the barge and mine own boat. At the same time was the horseboat coming down laden with beer from Dunalong,

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and, being taken with the same tempest, was turned over and over, and so driven a mile below the Derry, where I presently sent men, though with great danger, to recover her. They got to fasten a cable and an anchor to her, and so, her bottom upward, as they found her, left her till the storm might cease and grow calm. In the mean time at night came the rebels espying her, and with a small boat, whereof they have many, portable upon a man's shoulder, they cut the cable, and drew her to the shore, where presently they cut her in pieces, and set fire on the timber.

"And now to conclude my letter (which I fear is already grown to too great a length), for that I feel the smart of evil tongues, and have been informed of many wrong tales which should be suggested against me to your Lordships, I humbly beseech your pardon, though for mine own defence I may seem to exceed the rule of good manners in touching some other men's lewd behaviours, which I should not have done, had I not by necessity been provoked thereunto. I understand there is one Rydgway, a late Lieutenant to Captain Atkinson, that hath slanderously reported many things to my disgrace, even at your most honourable table. What the crimes are he chargeth me withal, I know not in particular, but shall gladly answer them, if your Lordships be pleased to call me to account. But how little credit ought to be given to a man of his quality, I beseech your Lordships but to consider by this. He was accused before me for falsifying a certificate, by which he gained ten suits of apparel more than was due, and seeing him manifestly convicted of the fault, even by his own confession, I reprehended him sharply, and had indeed displaced him, but that I was overruled by the importunity of his friends. Afterwards, having never been at [a] day's service since his coming to this place, he required his passport, when our whole strength stood in the officers of the army, and the rebel lying then encamped, and daily threatening to assault our quarter; which upon these considerations I refused to give him, and thereupon he took it himself, and stole secretly away. I think him not yet so impudent that he can deny either of these things to be true, for the world shall convince him, if he do, by their public knowledge, and I desire no more. But your Lordships may be pleased to call him to an account, and use him (this being found true) according as in your honourable wisdoms you shall think him worthy of, or at least conceive of his information by his behaviour, and I shall hold myself deeply bound to render unto your Lordships the perpetual fruits of my most affectionate duty."—Derry, 1600[-1], March 10. *Endorsed*:—By Captain Vaughan. Received the 26th at Whitehall. *Holograph.* pp. 10½.

March 10  
Derry.

**72.** Sir Henry Dockwra to the Privy Council. "I had scarce finished my former letters, when Captain Covert arrived with two others from your Lordships, the one dated the 18th, the other the 29th of January, in which your Lordships first require an orderly certificate from the Commissaries of the Musters, of their entries and discharges, to be sent over from month to month, wherein I have declared unto them your Lordships' pleasures. In the next

160 $\frac{2}{3}$ .

point I am taxed for suffering some companies to stand in list, which are found by the musters to have not above the number of 19 or 20 able men, which seeing it pleaseth your Lordships to lay your commandment upon me to redress, I must and will do hereafter, though I am not ignorant but it will be termed presumption in me, and should I know be disannulled again, were it not for this authority which your Lordships have not only given, but enjoined me unto. The next point is touching the decay of arms, which is noted even in the men which appear and pass for serviceable at the musters, the reasons whereof I have answered in my other letter. The fault of having but one preacher is no ways mine, nor to be imputed to my charge, the entertainment being reserved in the treasurer's hand, and not at my disposition. The other points are such as require no answer, but generally this, I will in all things to my power endeavour to satisfy and accomplish your Lordships' commandment.

"In the other letter I am taxed as careless for suffering the victual to be unlooked unto, Travers[s] men being sick, and havoc and riot made thereof by every man that would. Your Lordships are therein mightily misinformed, for Travers indeed left his charge in the hands of the most dishonest and insufficient men that ever I knew, and did before his going employ such clerks of companies in his business as he was not untold were known for shifting and cozening fellows. The burthen I knew, when he was gone, would be laid upon me, and glad I perceive he was to cover his own lewdness with so fair a pretence. But your Lordships shall know, his men falling sick of drunkenness, and within few days dying thereof, I required Baxter to take upon him the charge, than whom I knew not a fitter man, seeing he had before been chosen by your Lordships to the like office for Ballyshannon. He had no sooner entered into it, but he found many abuses, and thereupon I made stay of Thompson (one of the clerks whom Travers had used), and kept him under sureties till a ship went that I sent him in to Dublin. Another (called Shaw) I sought after, but he stole away and escaped my hands. Of Thompson I took an examination, which I sent unto my Lord Deputy, tending wholly to the abuses and extreme negligence of Travers, and therefore whatsoever fault was committed by my ministers of the victual, it was justly to [be] imputed to him that made choice of them himself. But sure I am much more prejudice had redounded both to Her Majesty, him, and the whole army, had I not employed Baxter as I did. And whereas it is conceived that by my negligence a wharf hath been omitted to be made, and thereby the provisions of victual received much detriment in the landing, neither is the place so incommodious of itself, as it seems to be reported, nor the labour and charge of making a quay so easy to be performed, though I must confess a small matter in respect of a Prince's purse would make it serviceable and very much more convenient than it is. But it is little marvel he pretends waste by salt water, that would not be at charge to remove such things as were landed upon the very edge of the bank, but suffer[ed] them to be overflowed at every spring tide. Mr. Travers is not ignorant but he hath often been warned hereof, but I must deal plainly with your



160 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Lordships (as I have also advertised my Lord Deputy of the like), it was his only shift to cover his falsehood, in that he had exchanged the now fresh wheaten meal, which was provided in England, for old musty rye meal, which he brought from Dublin, as there are honest men in this army will justify. In the giving forth of the sack allowed by the Queen, he used like fraud, and sold it to his own private use, as I have since his going learned, and had notice of under honest men's hands. Of the hospital beds he took four to his own use, as your Lordships may see by the account which was made of them by Captain Covert. Neither is the fault to be imputed to me that I charge him with these things so late, for of most of them he knows himself. I have often admonished him, and in the end advertised my Lord Deputy of as much. And whereas your Lordships are informed that for want of stowage there was a ship laden with New Land fish returned upon the Queen's hand, I assure your Honours, on my faith and credit, there is no such matter; and yet, if there had been, I am of opinion in my conscience, it had been more for the Queen's profit than to have kept it as we do. For the preys of cattle, I shall gladly follow your Lordships' directions, though even till now that O'Dogherty's country is quiet, it was impossible to have kept any longer than they had been a killing. The cannoniers and carpenters your Lordships have sent will be of special use, and principally the carpenters, but I assure your Lordships their work, being paid but a groat a day beside a soldier's allowance, will be such as I would be loath to buy for myself at 2*d*. Your Lordships may think otherwise, but I know the contrary by experience, and have been forced myself to give soldiers of my own company 20*d*., and sometimes 2*s*. a day, to work upon my house, and when I stuck to give it them, I had been better have spared than used their service. To conclude, seeing your Lordships are thus often abused by wrong informations, I humbly desire it may please you but to examine the truth of some of them thoroughly, and let the false tale-bearer be punished according to his desert. For besides I hear your Lordships are told there should land certain arms from this place, which had been embezzled and sent to Chester. I cannot deny but such a thing might have been done, and yet I nothing in fault, for I cannot myself attend to search the ships; but yet, if that suggestion were true, I dare engage both my credit and life; with matters of which nature I will hold your Lordships no longer."

—Derry, 1600[-1], March 10. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 3.*

March 10: **73.** Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. "What state I have now fully reduced the country of Ennisowen into, I have partly written in my general letter to the Lords and partly this bearer can inform your Honour, that was acquainted with the first reasons and fashion of my proceeding. I know it may be suggested that I have undertaken too far in binding myself to be a suitor to Her Majesty that the successors of Sir John O'Dogherty should inherit that land for ever, which his own perverse and obdurate perseverance in rebellion had worthily deserved to lose. I plead nothing in his excuse, but the mark I aim at is the furtherance and advancement of the service to a speedy and secure ending of the

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wars, which I assure your Honour could not be done without much more time and charges, should not this country be inhabited and manured this present year; and that to have done by people of our own nation, I think your Honour will easily conceive had been a matter merely impossible. Many men would perhaps have expected rewards out of this portion of the country, and, amongst others, I am persuaded with myself, I might have had as fair pretences to ground my suit upon for Her Majesty's liberality as any man else; but (God is my witness) I have willingly abandoned that hope, which I have long had in my heart, only that the Queen's service might be preferred before any private man's gain. Yet your Honour seeth how far I have bound myself, but no ways (I hope) exceeded the due respect I owe unto Her Majesty, who may freely use her own pleasure, if the reasons that moved me to consent so far as I did were not sufficient to procure them confirmed. Now it will perhaps be objected again by others, that I have taken in the Archtraitor, even the next to Tyrone and O'Donnell themselves, unto the Queen's mercy, graced him too far, and given him credit upon too slight assurance. It is true that Hugh Boy (even in mine own opinion) was a rebel of that nature and degree, and I have given now that countenance and favour, which little belongeth to a man of that quality; but that I trust him further than I may with assurance, I dare adventure the hazard of mine own credulity upon the peril of mine own life. The man is acquainted with the most secret counsels of all the rebels in Ireland. The services he hath undertaken, to assure me of his fidelity by (*sic*), had been sufficient if they had taken effect, and that they did not, it was apparent to be no fault of his. Yet to secure him the better, I have taken his children as pledges, and may whomsoever else I will, at whensoever I list (*sic*). But some will say, why did I not wage him to deliver up the castle of Bert? It was not understood, but his reasons of excuse, me thought, were just; it was easy to be taken at any time, not capable of above twenty men at the most, which could do little good to keep the passage, nor beside was so situated, as that it came near it by a good mile. He had gathered all his goods to the place, and had no where else to keep them, and stored it with the country provision (which our nation could not have lived upon) for himself and his family all the winter. And lastly, it is as freely commanded by the garrison of Colmackatrene, as a little house is that stands under a castle. He hath told me the whole discourse of the manner of the contract with the Spaniards, and what they have promised, and will surely put in practice to perform this summer, if God prevent them not. The particular fashion of the contract is needless to repeat, and, if it be required, the bearer is made acquainted withal. But the substance is this. The King hath very constantly promised to send them at least 5,000 or 6,000 men by the middle of May, before whose coming there shall arrive two ships laden with munition at Killibeggs, to assure the readiness of the rest, and to prepare and arm the people against their coming. To Munster, he saith, is their course directed, and the towns of Waterford, Cork, and Limerick have bound themselves to receive them, beside Florence

160 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

McCarthy, who, he assures me, hath written to O'Donnell that, upon the first news of their being upon the coast, he will declare himself against Her Majesty, and presently raise the country in arms. I am not ignorant but all this may be a deep policy to secure me in this part, even so as having the country in quiet, and himself in chief credit and authority in it, the Spaniards may come, and he suddenly revolted to their side, to our singular damage and almost apparent ruin. But I have many reasons to induce me that that should not be the mark he shoots at, and yet, if it be, hearing once that any fleet draws near upon these coasts, I will make sure work enough with him and his brothers. Against the will and ordinance of God there is no resistance, and no man can foresee what He hath decreed in His secret counsel; but I assure your Honour, if this prevention of the Spaniards come not, I see not any question at all in human reason to doubt of the present extinguishing of this long, chargeable, and mischievous rebellion. Of all these things I have written to my Lord Deputy at large, and a fortnight since sent away my letters by sea. If anything else be amiss in the agreement with this people, I beseech your Honour impute it to my want of skill, for (God in heaven I call to witness) I have according to the measure of my judgment done all with a true, faithful and impartial intent for the good of the Queen's service, which notwithstanding I humbly submit to your honourable correction, and Her Majesty's absolute will and pleasure."—Derry, 1600[-1], March 10. *Endorsed*:—By Captain Vaughan. *Holograph. Seal.* pp. 3.

March 10.  
Galway.

74. Francis Martin, Mayor of Galway, to Sir Robert Cecil. Has acquainted the Privy Council "with the miseries of this poor place and wrongs offered unto the inhabitants by the garrisons, especially of Captain Clare, that hath here brought in amongst us certain Irish soldiers, people suspected, seized upon Her Highness[s] keys of this place, marched with his men in arms to our Tolssee or Townhouse, where the brethren sat to consult, as also, contrary to our ancient privilege, gave order to stop the intercourse of our fire and fuel, five of his soldiers by direction from the said Clare to have assaulted myself in person, bending their pikes at my breast, so as I escaped in great danger of my life, with a thousand other mischiefs and outrages committed by his soldiers, which for brevity I omit, only touching those particulars, insomuch as the Corporation standeth jealous that some insolent Captains shall attempt to deprive Her Highness of her rule and dignity, and also destroy Her Majesty's good subjects in this place, if in time it be not prevented, having thereof the example of Captain Mostyn, who lately revolted, and by his treachery destroyed the poor town of Athenry, eight mile from us, as by my said letters more at large may appear; with the which I thought it my duty amongst the rest to acquaint your Honour, as the only patron of this poor place, daily appearing unto us by your Honour's wonted favours always shewed to our poor suits. And to prevent all further mischief, inasmuch as I understand your Honours doth intend to employ in Her Highness[s] service in these quarters, with a charge of 150,



160<sup>o</sup><sub>1</sub>.

Captain Blake, naturally of this place, a man of experience, sufficiency, and wisdom, also of means, possessions, wife and children, in this town, and one out of doubt that ought to prefer Her Majesty's service and the weal public of this poor place, to his uttermost endeavour," prays therefore that order may be given "as well for the removing of the said Clare herehence, as also for condign punishment according his deserts, and that the said Captain Blake be here placed with his said charge, of whose loyalty in all duty we rest ourselves assured; with whom also the Corporation will take that order that no Irish suspected shall be henceforward here received, but all of them to consist of mere English, and our own natural children, that in these extremities a great sort wanteth means, to whom in like sort upon all occasions we ourselves shall be aiding, helping, and assisting, to the advancement of Her Majesty's service, and maintain the glory of our ancestors, the only instruments by their own industry that did always reduce this province to Her Majesty and her noble progenitors.

"And forasmuch as Her Highness hath by her letters patent granted unto this Corporation privilege to parley [with], confer, and receive the bordering rebels into Her Majesty's protection, whereof now there is some use, as well for the furthering of Her Majesty's service, as the common utility of this poor distressed place, I likewise humbly crave" the confirmation of the premisses, and the signification thereof to the Lord Deputy and Council.—Galway, 1600[-1], March 10. *Endorsed*:—Received at Whitehall the 28th. *Signed*. pp. 2.

March 10.  
Chester.

75. Robert Brerewood, Mayor of Chester, to Sir Robert Cecil. Forwards the enclosed letters, received of one William Bradshaw, servant to Sir Ralph Lane. They are directed, one to Sir Robert, another to Sir John Stanhope, and the third to the writer. The letters were delivered to Bradshaw, to be conveyed to the writer, by one Tarleton, owner of a bark of Liverpool. For that they seem to concern Her Majesty's service, has charged the post with the speedy carriage of them, though he had no especial warrant so to do. If he has done amiss, craves pardon. Will hereafter send Sir Robert's letters "in like occasion."—Chester, 1600[-1], March 10. *Endorsed*:—With a letter to him from one Udall. *Signed*. p. 1.

*Encloses*:—

75. i. William Udall to [Robert Brerewood], Mayor of Chester. Has been accustomed to send letters of the like direction to Mr. Thomas Francis, the post of Chester; but, as this is a more dangerous time, and letters such as these may be more easily intercepted, has made bold to direct them to him, beseeching him to send them to Mr. Francis with a charge to forward them safely and speedily to Court, according to their directions. "I am well known to Mr. Francis, the post. He knoweth how my letters have been intercepted, and I fear that some, which I lately sent to him, never came to his hands."—Dublin, 1600[-1], March 7. *Endorsed*:—William Udall to the Mayor of Chester. *Holograph*. Seal. p. ½.

1602.

March 12.  
Dublin.

**76.** Sir Richard Wingfield to Sir Robert Cecil. "Upon report here of Captain Lee's conviction and worthily-deserved execution, it pleased the Lord Deputy to give me the custodiam of the house and lands of Rebane, with a grant of a lease for 21 years, so soon as the same may be passed and perfected." It is supposed that the same grant will be sought for in England, therefore advertises Sir Robert of the Lord Deputy's gift, and relies on his favour. "The thing is not fit to be held by any Irish, and for my part, I do the rather desire it, because it lieth upon a border very convenient to do service, especially upon the Moores of Leix, who have ever been a gall unto that part of the county of Kildare. And, under your Honour's favour, if I may be my own judge, that place is not fitter for any than myself, in regard it hath been and is the garrison appointed for my horse and foot companies, except at such times as they are called thence, to attend the Lord Deputy in journeys, and to other services." If Sir Robert can stay the grant to any other, until the writer may at more conveniency be a suitor to the Queen for a farther interest therein, he will be ever tied to him. "I will not at this time trouble your serious and weighty affairs with the proceedings of this winter service, which the Lord Deputy hath worthily endured, though not without great toil to himself and the rest." Prays that the Queen and Council may be preserved "against all wicked, traitorous pretences and practices."—Dublin, 1600[-1], March 12. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.*

March 12.  
Lough Foyle.

**77.** Captain Humphrey Covert to Sir Robert Cecil. "May it please you to be advertised that, through the inconstancy of winds and extremity of storms (whereof I was partaker), the ships that carried the last supplies for Lough Foyle, sent by Captain Hart, were so dispersed and scattered, that to this day, being the tenth (*sic*) of March, and the day of my arrival, there are but six hundred seventy and three soldiers landed. Our hope is, that those we miss are driven upon the coast of Wales, excepting such as are run away from the conductors, which rise to a hundred at the least.

"Sir Henry Dockwra hath lately received into peace the people of Sir John O'Dogherty's ('Adoerdies') country, and sworn them to the obedience of Her Majesty, so as there is above five thousand cows feeding by our forts, and the kern of that country (in testimony of their duties) are this day gone to do service upon McSwyne. Likewise, he hath placed a ward of sixty soldiers, with a lieutenant, in the castle, which I shewed your Lordships to be so dangerous, at the entrance to the Lough, and is in purpose presently, for the better assurance of O'Dogherty's country, to make a fort at Colmackatrene. The garrisons have done very much good service upon the rebels, since my absence, as preying their cattle, and killing their persons, men, women, and children, so as they are fled far into Tyrconnell from us.

"May it further please your Honour, whereas you have written to Sir Henry Dockwra that the companies should be hundreds and fifties, as throughout all Ireland besides companies are, before my coming my Lord Deputy hath reduced them to hundreds, much to the grievance of those whose companies are rebated.

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The soldiers, God be thanked, have their health reasonable well, and, with all the convenient speed I can, I will send your Honour the books of my next musters, with the half-year's account from September last."—Lough Foyle, 1600[-1], March 12. *Endorsed*:—Received the 26th. *Signed*. p. 1.

March 13. **78.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "My hope so soon to see you doth make me omit the long discourse of the present estate of this country, yet with a desire to employ the time of my being here to the uttermost advantage of Her Majesty's service; and although I must continue my earnest desire to obtain that favour to kiss her royal hands, which it pleaseth her to put me in hope of, yet if any such important accident should fall out here, that might require my presence, you may be assured I would not take the advantage of Her Majesty's leave, if I should perceive any appearance of prejudice likely to ensue thereby to the service. But I hope in God before my departure to leave the rebels evil able to do much harm, if to defend themselves, and to leave their estate such, that it shall be almost too late for the Spaniard to relieve them. But as I have partly presumed to touch it to Her Majesty, so I am desirous that you should know how little effect this late miserable accident did take in this country, either to divert or interrupt the faithful and painful endeavours of the army, or to encourage the rebel or doubtfully affected subject to attempt anything, although the rumour of a powerful commotion did somewhat go before the certainty of the suppressing thereof; insomuch as if you will believe me, on my Christianity, unto this hour I have not discovered one sterling or repining spirit against the justice of Her Majesty's proceedings herein, nor any show of approbation to the fact, or overture to the like, but such an humble grief as we cannot choose but pay to the offenders, how much soever we hate the offence. And as I do affirm this, which I have conceived of them, with all confidence to be true, so, Sir, if it might please Her Majesty to take notice thereof to their comforts, it would much assure many a poor man, which, out of the jealousy [that] might be conceived of their dependency, alliance, or friendship with these offenders, may grow desperate of their own fortunes. But God deal with my soul, as I do confidently believe that there is no commander of this army, at the least of the English, which Her Majesty may not make to herself, if [it] please her, as safe a guard to her royal person and estate as this world can afford her. Such, Sir, I have laboured to make them all, and not to bend them to any private end of my own, though I must confess that never any could find a more discontented army than I found of this, nor more easy to be made otherwise than, God be thanked, now it is. I have written to their Lordships as brief an account as I could of my last journey, and hope that God will prosper my endeavours in hand, which is to clear the northern borders, or to waste them, as I have done the rest, for their poverty is the best pledge we can take upon them. And so, Sir, till God send us some more good news to write unto you, I commit you to God."—1600[-1], March 13. [*Mountjoy has written the date, "1900."*] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "Lord Mountjoy to me."* *Holograph*. *Seal*. p. 1.



- 160<sup>o</sup>.  
 March 13. **79.** Sir John Bolles to Sir Robert Cecil. "In my letters of the 7th of this month, sent by Mr. Babington, one of the merchants for the apparel, I have endeavoured to discharge myself of all touch of unthankfulness, or neglect of the duty which your Honour requireth at my hands, and have in them declared the hopes, which in my poor opinion may be justly conceived of the speedy end of this war, if the opportunities be rightly apprehended. I forgot in them to let your Lordship understand our great loss in the loss of the pont, and that the numbers employed in Tyrone are every day lessened, and those for the settling of O'Dogherty's country increased, so that there are now in this place, which is the only garrison in Tyrone, but 700 foot by list, and in O'Dogherty's country 1,150. Whereas, if the forces were proportioned to the strength of the affronting enemy, the fourth part of the men will suffice there which this place will require, but the desire which the Governor hath to settle that country maketh other places to be less thought upon than perhaps is fit.  
 "The 10th of this month, I sent by his appointment Captain Bingley with 150 men from hence into the Island of Inch, from whence being by boats transported over Lough Swilly into McSwyne Fanat his country, he took the Abbey of Ramollin after some little resistance, in which there is now a garrison of 200 men to be left for the wasting or bringing in of that country, and to impeach the intercourse of the boats that were wont to pass from thence into Ennisowen and back at pleasure."—Dunalong, March 13. *Endorsed:—1600[-1]. Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*
- March 13. **80.** Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer, the Clerk of the Ordnance, is sent to England for a supply of powder and munition, "but it is more time that the proportion were here, than to be now in solicitation." Only twenty barrels in the Dublin store, besides eighteen borrowed of the city. "The occasions and actions of the realm are like to increase by the opening of the year." Has often spoken and laboured that this want of powder might be foreseen and prevented. Begs that some may be sent over at once, and the rest of the proportion to follow speedily.—Dublin, 1600[-1], March 13. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*
- March 14. **81.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. Received on March 2 their letters of 20 January to himself and the Council. His measures for the disposition of the victuals. Desires that the over quantity of fish may be reformed in the next supply, "for the soldier doth in all parts take it unwillingly, and it breedeth much sickness, but in the field it is merely unprofitable unto them, for they have no means to dress it." Has been "extraordinarily sparing" in the issue of the treasure. If it shall appear otherwise to their Lordships in any particular, doubts not, upon notice, but to give them very good satisfaction therein.  
 "From Lough Foyle there is not now one Captain absent by my warrant, any longer than till the wind will serve him to carry him back. They that are here, some were sent about the

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business of the Estate by the Governor, and by his leave about their private business, but none either sent for by me, or kept here longer than they could get passage to return; neither hath it been my fortune to see them, nor such Captains of Munster as are absent much at Dublin; but I assure your Lordships that I have seen them venture their lives in the field with me with extraordinary forwardness. Those of Munster, who are not many, I had returned to that province, but that the President himself did write to me that he should have been able to spare me one thousand men, so that with them I expected the companies to have come to their captains, some of whom only, as Sir John Barkly, I have upon some good reasons detained in these parts, neither do I remember that I have given warrant for the payment of any of their entertainment here.

“I do receive with inestimable comfort Her Majesty’s gracious acceptance of my poor endeavours, and her care to exempt me from the personal prosecution of the service, which if it only proceed of Her Majesty’s most favourable respect to me, it must spur me on the more willingly to expose myself to all dangers for her sake, neither do I think any of our bloods too precious to be ventured to recover the honour that our nation hath lost against this people, and to revenge the rebellion and injury they have done to the Estate; nor do I perceive how this service can be performed as it ought, but even with the hazard of the best, the which in so great a cause, and to so gracious a Sovereign, is no more than we owe. But if your Lordships have been informed that the service I have done might have been as well or better performed by some of the meaner sort, I do assure your Lordships that if I had thought so myself, I could have been content to have eased myself of so painful and dangerous a war; but hitherto I protest, without all private ambition, I have put myself into the service, which for many reasons and circumstances I conceived would not have been so fully performed as by my presence, and hereafter I will with all humbleness run therein or in anything else what course your Lordships, upon better cause conceived by you, shall advise me.

“For Tibbott Ne Longe, I believe that in the execution of Derby O’Connor he hath carried himself unsoundly, and deserveth, for the breach of Her Majesty’s protection, high punishment, although he presently writ me the news thereof as expecting great thanks, and doth offer very confidently to excuse himself that he knew of no protection before he was killed. I have made stay long since of all his entertainment in the Treasurer’s hands, but forborne to cast his company, or utterly to put him in despair, by reason of some extraordinary use I presume, ere it be long, to make of him. In the meantime he is but forborne, and out of entertainment, neither could I have apprehended him, if I would.”—Trim, 1600[-1], March 14. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—Lord Mountjoy to the Lords. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

March 14.  
Dublin.

82. Sir George Bouchier to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer sent by the Lord Deputy to England for a new supply of munition. He has a book to deliver as to the issue of the munition sent to Ireland

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with the Earl of Essex, so far as it came into Sir George's hands. Anthony Ersfield should account for the remainder. For the arms issued to the Captains, has half-yearly given in books of defalcation to the Treasurer's Office. These are to be seen there with Huet. Cannot get the Treasurer's hand for his allowance to the Auditor for divers causes concerning the defalcation of apparel, so is unable to perfect his account. Desires to repair into England to inform Sir Robert further concerning the state of his office. Has some hope of leave by letters received from Sir Edward Stafford. Prays that the bearer may be dispatched with all convenient speed, as there is want already of most of the things written for.

"And if it shall seem convenient to your Honour, that in respect all the provisions sent hither be for the most part very slight and of the meanest workmanship, whereof the Lord Deputy and all the army much complaineth, thinking the provisions be made there by my means, that, upon the agreement for the prices, this bearer may be admitted to make choice of the best he can find, and that the Deputy Lieutenant, or any other whom your Honour shall think meet, may make the payment, which will much better the furtherance of Her Majesty's service, for in all the provisions heretofore the clerks and officers, being all providers, do make such a benefit by the artificers, as they cannot choose but put in many times ill stuff. All which, notwithstanding my opinion therein, I refer to your Honour's grave consideration. Further, it may please your Honour, in the last proportion of munition which was sent hither in July last, by means of some hard course used against this bearer by Sir Jo[h]n Davies, in allowances of freight and water carriages, he was enforced to disburse 40*l.* or thereabout more than was assigned in the proportion, your Honour would be pleased to give order to the officers to have some respect unto his loss, having very slender allowance for his travel."—Dublin, 1600[-1], March 14. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 1½.

March 15.  
Trim

83. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Council to the Privy Council. "After our last despatch by Sir Oliver St. John, although we continued in the desire we signified unto your Lordships that we then had to establish Maguire in his country, yet having received from the Lord President of Munster advertisement that he was so certainly informed, that he did confidently believe, that into several parts there were 4,500 men drawing out of the north into Munster, and that we received from all parts intelligence somewhat to the like effect, and their forces to be already gathered on the borders of the Annaly, we thought it fittest for the present, first to advise the Lord President to retain with him such forces as before we had sent for out of that province, and to make his best use of them there, and to draw ourselves into the highest parts of Westmeath, where with greatest opportunity we might prevent the passage of the northern rebels; where, having bestowed some time distributing our forces upon all the fords and passages of the Enny, we received notice by our espial that the northern



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forces began to break, and such as remained whole to lie about the borders of O'Rourke's country, upon whom, by reason of the extreme fastness of those parts, we could, with no appearance to do any service, draw our army; and therefore, leaving still those passages guarded with most of our horse and some part of our foot, we drew into the McGoughans' country, with purpose to take in an island and castle, whither the most part of the rebels of Offally and those parts had drawn the greatest part of their goods, corn, and cattle, under the command and direction of Tyrrell. This island and castle was accounted by them their last refuge, and impossible to be taken by us, which made us the more desirous to undertake it, in respect of the great consequence that might thereby ensue to the general peace of Leinster, although we did apprehend therein no small difficulty, the island being a place as strong as nature could make it, and helped with the uttermost of their industry, manned with their best men, and they armed with their last necessity. Upon our first arrival, we sent on all sides strong parties, rather to discover it than to attempt it. For it was so environed with bogs, woods, many branches of the river, besides the main stream, and the overflowing of such ground about it as otherwise lay bare, that without extreme difficulty and continual skirmish we could discover nothing, and from the inhabitants adjoining we could in this as in all other things receive no perfect relation. This first time such as were sent performed their charge so well that on the one side, wading through an overflown bog, being in a very thick wood, they came to the river that makes the island, and from thence might play with their shot into their houses; and on the other side, going more than a mile about upon a bog, they came to the chief entrance, forced the first gate and ditch, and came close to the other, which was beyond the river, and fortified on both sides with earth and timber, and so retired with the loss or hurt of very few, and with killing more of the enemy. But whether they did not then perfectly discover the depth of the rivers, or that the extreme rain that fell that night made them the next day more unpassable that way than at that time they found them, they delivered unto us the place to be more easy to be carried on that side than the day following we found it, when with the loss of some sixteen of our men, and as we were informed of five and twenty of theirs, we perceived the place, by reason of the depth, breadth, and swiftness of the rivers, to be impossible to be entered but with many such provisions as we found almost as difficult to be procured in that place and at that time. But yet, in respect of the good likely to ensue by the issue of that service, we resolved to go on with the work, wherein we were upon so good reason engaged, and made the best provision of boats, rafters, and all other defences for ours, and offence for the enemy, we could devise. Upon notice of which our resolution given to the rebels by their spies, first Tyrrell himself, with some few more, stole out of the island about midnight, and presently after, all the rest in a confused fear did quit the place, not carrying with them much of what they had, as it is to be presumed, for they left in the place some munition, many arms, some cows and horses, but all their corn. The next day, having possessed the island, burned and defaced whatsoever could not be

160<sup>o</sup><sub>i</sub>.

borne away, we drew to a broken castle, called Lismoynen, upon a great strait, and the chief entrance into Fercall, with purpose, upon the view thereof, to make it tenable, and to leave a ward therein; and from thence passing into Fercall, as far as the Durragh, we burned all the houses and corn we found in their woods and islands, and that night we sent Sir Christopher St. Lawrence with a strong party to fall into the uttermost parts towards Sir John Macoghlan's country, and from thence to beat all the woods before him, till we returned into Geshell, where we appointed to meet him, and so from thence to follow together the flying rebels towards the fastness of Farrenemorrogh, whither we heard Tyrrell with all the inhabitants of Offally, and whatsoever was left of their goods, was fled. The which we found to be true; for which both parties beating every corner of their woods, we neither found resistance or any people stirring, but we burned all their houses, and whatsoever they had left behind, and found the castle of Newtown, the which he had made extraordinary appearance of his determination to hold, abandoned; and another in Fercall, sometimes belonging to one Briskett, and since kept and fortified by Tyrrell, by him left; unto the which we have restored the owner, and put a ward into the other. During our abode in those parts, we had continual intercession made unto us by all the rebels of the countries adjoining, but we thought it not fit to take in any of the O'Connors, neither of the rest, till we had first spoiled them, as well for a punishment for their rebellion, as utterly to disenable them and their countries to maintain therein any forces against Her Majesty. But in the end we received all the Omalaughlins, the Macgawles, most of the McGeoghans upon such pledges as those we were informed to be their greatest enemies advised us to require of them for the security of the Estate, and taking besides from them all such castles as they held, so that we have cleared and quieted all those quarters up to Athlone, except from some few thieves that will ever remain the remnant of a rebellion, till by time the sword and justice must wear them out. The day we met in Geshell, we marched into Clanmalire, and encamped that night at Clannegawne, Sir Terence O'Dempsey's town, and presently dispatched to Sir Henry Power to fall into the fastness of Farrenemorrogh, by the way of Rahangan, and appointed Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, with a strong party, at the same time to give upon the same fastness on that side of the river next Clanmalire, sending to Brimingam, with his own men and all the wards thereabouts, to come in by Moylegh, we riding about by Ballybritton with all the horse and some few foot to a hill not far from either party, to make a stand [?] to give them a retreat, if occasion should serve. Sir Christopher St. Lawrence began and continued a very hot skirmish, and, having his loose wings beaten back, charged himself with the ensigns, beat the rebels back, killed six and thirty, and hurt above forty of them. In the which charge Tyrrell himself was slightly hurt with a sword, young Captain Tyrrell thrust through the body with a pike, and divers of their principal men killed and hurt with the sword. On the other side Sir Henry Power had passed to the river, and found it unpassable, burned their town and houses in the woods, and,

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returning towards the plains, was overtaken by all these forces that were beaten back by St. Lawrence; who presently fell upon the rear of ours, with such fury that they charged the horse with their pikes, and came up to the sword with the foot. But being encountered by Sir Henry Power with the gross, and Sir Richard Greames with some horse, they were driven to retire with the loss of above twenty of them, and divers hurt, whereof Murrough McLishagh O'Connor was killed by Sir Richard Greames, and another killed by Sir Henry Power with his pistol. The rebels lost a great part of their arms, and so (*sic*) recovered their island. Brymingam and another party, which we sent into Moyleigh, returned without any fight, but burned many towns in their fastness. With St. Lawrence we had fourteen killed and twenty-one hurt; Sir Henry Power, only one killed, and Captain Phillips and some two or three hurt. We had a desire to have utterly hunted those rogues out of that den, but we were not able to make our horse or foot to live one day longer in the country, and the waters were so exceedingly risen, that at that time it was impossible to force their islands. But we left the borders guarded from their incursions to relieve themselves, and having wasted all besides the store they had with them, we knew that by keeping together in that place, they must needs soon consume this their last means to live. And therefore, hearing of a great preparation made by Tyrone to draw towards the Pale, we drew the forces towards the Navan and the parts adjoining, being ready to attend the issue of that and any opportunity else upon the northern borders. In which service I hope your Lordships shall shortly hear that we have not been idle, and the which is now the chiefest task we have left. For from the seaside in the Byrnes' country up to Athlone, there is almost no manner of means left for the rebels to subsist, neither any strength but scattered troops of them together; and if it might please God that we might work the like effect in the northern borders, as Sir Richard Morison and Captain Blany have well begun it, we should be able to look towards Connaught, which were a province easily reduced, and by planting a garrison at Ballyshannon or thereabouts, we presume that now this war would soon have an end. And yet we most humbly desire your Lordships to consider that, though the course we take in wasting these rebels be the longer, and bearing the appearance of more slow progression in the service, yet is it the only way to leave them no power, whatsoever their wills be to rebel, and to make even the assistance of the Spaniards unprofitable unto them. For from thence there cannot come so large a proportion of victual as will maintain this people; and without that, these must waste the store the Spaniards bring for themselves. For were it not upon these considerations, and the general falseness and infection of these rebel hearts, that, being taken in in their plenty, are ready upon all occasions to go out stronger than they came in, we might, as we presume by this time, have sent your Lordships word that there had not remained one rebel in open action in all Ireland; for there is none but by some means or other hath offered submission and sued for pardon."—Trim, 1600[-1], March 15. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—Martii, 1600. Lord Deputy to the Lords. *Signed.* pp. 6.



1600<sup>o</sup>.March 15.  
Youghal.

84. Captain Henry Sheffield to Sir Robert Cecil. Prays that he may be paid the entertainment due to him in the time of Sir Henry Wallop. His several warrants and accounts for the same. Part was for being Serjeant Major General of the kingdom. These arrears are the only means he has left to live upon, as he has often been burned and spoiled by the rebels to a far greater sum. Unless he is paid, will be forced to leave his service, and go over to England as a suitor, which he will be loath to do, as long as he can serve. "I have been always employed since the beginning of these troubles, and still am." Gives thanks for Sir Robert's past favours.—Youghal, 1600[-1], March 15. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 16.  
Dublin.

85. Ga[rrett Fitz Gerald, Earl of] Kildare, to Sir Robert Cecil. Is confirmed in the government of Offally, by the Queen's letters to the Lord Deputy. It being the best part of his means to live, he is compelled to remind Sir Robert of his suit to Her Majesty, which was, that she would "be pleased to give me the reversion of those lands in fee simple, which were heretofore granted by Her Majesty's predecessors unto my Uncle and Aunt, and the survivor of them, in lieu of other lands formerly given by them unto others, which belonged to the inheritance of my house. That which I demand is either waste, or for the most part possessed by the rebels, so as no profit or very little ariseth thereof." Confidently hopes in Sir Robert's good furtherance of his suit. The grant will in time enable his estate, which is now very poor. Has employed his patrimony and time in the faithful service of Her Majesty. Her promise to him at his departure. "I believe her words to be divine oracles, and therefore do only repose my greatest felicity in this world on her princely promise." The Queen gave orders to the Lord Deputy, after the death of the last Earl of Kildare, that no estate should be made unto any of the above lands, purposing that they should remain unto the writer and his heirs, and referring him to Sir Robert for the furtherance of the same. Can entreat now only by letters, being absent from Court.—Dublin, 1600[-1], March 16. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 16.  
Dunalong.

86. Sir John Bolles to [Sir Robert Cecil]. "I fear I shall now be thought as much too troublesome to your Honour with the number and length of my letters, as I have been heretofore reputed negligent in writing, this being the third which I have writ within these ten days. But new occasions yield new matter to trouble your Honour with, the chief of which at this time is the course held for the settling of O'Dogherty his country, which, as the Governor is informed, can be by band annoyed but by two passages, both which he hath given order to fortify, and hath appointed a company from the Derry to lie at Colmackatreynne, and a company from hence at the Cargan. To defend it against any annoyance by Lough Swilly, the abbey of Ramollin hath two companies placed in it, the one drawn likewise from the Derry, the other from hence. To defend it from any attempts to be made by boat out of O'Cahan's country, there are some men lodged at the Green Castle. Beside these, there lie in the country two companies at Ellaugh, one at

Culmore, six at the Derry. Pledges are taken of all the gentlemen in the country, and peace with it publicly proclaimed. Their cows feed close to the Derry, and the people begin to plough everywhere. The country peopled would doubtless be a good neighbour to us, if it would not be likewise a nurse to the war, and preserve those which must otherwise starve themselves and others, and if it were not indeed reserved as a storehouse for the Spaniards' coming, which is here assuredly expected.

"It may be I am too jealous of Hugh Boy, whose advice in these courses the Governor wholly followeth, persuading himself that he will be a profitable and faithful servant to Her Majesty. But many things, which I knew not when I last writ, make me now suspect his intentions to be scarce sincere; the which, together with what I knew before, I will here lay open to your honourable view.

"First, it is known that Tyrone and O'Donnell have advised all their followers, whom they cannot defend for their nearness to us, to make their peace with us for a time upon the best conditions they may, so that the ground may be tilled, and their cows kept alive, the want of either of which would end the war.

"Secondly, for Hugh Boy himself, he is the same man which, during the first truce with O'Dogherty, with oaths numberless suggested notorious untruths against Neale Garve, himself in the mean practising the betraying of Culmore. He hath ever been privy to all O'Donnell's intentions, and both to and for the Spaniard an often agent, and is still said to be his pensioner.

"Thirdly, O'Donnell was from time to time acquainted with his whole treaty with the Governor, and gave his allowance to all that was done, as himself confesseth, saving that he concealed his secret promise to the Governor of being sincerely faithful to Her Majesty.

"After his declaring himself for the Queen, and promise to do great service, he drew our men two or three tedious, unprofitable journeys, but never to this hour hath been the death of one man, although O'Donnell had at that time one of his chief followers and sixty kern in the country.

"When our men were at the side of Lough Swilly, to pass to Ramollin, he would have dissuaded the journey, telling them of many hundreds of men more than that country could afford.

"When the place was taken, and in it a very great quantity of corn, he took both it and the Prior away to the Berte, and whereas the Governor was then purposed to have left so strong a garrison there as should have spoiled or brought in the country adjoining, he caused the companies then there to forbear the doing of any spoil till the Governor's pleasure were known therein, and in the meantime both he persuaded him to leave but 100 men there, and the people had time to convey away their goods.

"He pretendeth to hold Berte Castle for the Queen, but will not be easily brought to forego the possession of it. It is a place of great strength by nature, and by art better fortified than the custom of this country. Shipping out of Lough Swilly may come very near unto it. It hath three or four pieces of ordnance in it, and of corn and other Irish victuals such store as is far above the proportion of the ward that lieth there.

1600.

"He hath, with the countenance of Her Majesty's forces, taken the pledges of the whole country for their loyalty unto her, but keepeth them all in his own possession.

"He hath gone about to insinuate a jealousy of Neale Garve, protesting in secret to the Governor the truth of his former suggestions.

"He persuadeth the Governor to carry a hard hand over those Irish which serve Her Majesty, telling him that they care for no man which doth not so, whereas we all know that, when summer is come, they will be gone upon the least discontent that may be.

"Lastly, he hath drawn us into new labours of fortifying, our old works being not finished, and this being the only time of the year wherein their cows cannot be kept from us, but with strength of men, which yet they cannot keep together.

"All this notwithstanding, I confess it is possible that he may be honest, and so consequently his service very available. But, as I cannot yet but suspect him myself, so can I not with my duty but advertise your Honour of these particulars; because, if he should now the second time deceive us, our whole summer's work would be of small profit to Her Majesty."

Begs leave to return for a time into England, "if the necessity of my poor estate urge me thereunto, for my steward, in whose hands I had left it wholly, is dead, and although I fear I cannot take any such course therein here, as will not be very much to my hindrance, yet would I not return (notwithstanding any leave that I could get here), till I had your honourable allowance thereof, choosing rather to hazard the loss of a great part of my small substance than the incurring of your Honour's displeasure."—Dunalong, 1600[-1], March 16. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—16 Martii, 1600. Sir John Bolles from Lough Foyle. *Also*:—Received the 26th at Whitehall. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

March 16. 87. "Information against Hugh Boy," *being a copy of the paragraphs in the preceding letter, against that leader.* *Endorsed*:—1600, March 16. *Copy.* pp. 2½.

March 16. 88. "The names of the Irish suitors attending." *Endorsed*:—1600[-1], March 16. *Draft.* pp. 2.

March 17. 89. "Memorial to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Cecil, on the behalf of the Treasurer at Wars in the Realm of Ireland."

Is to make his repair presently to Dublin. Begs that a good proportion of money may be speedily sent from London to Chester, that he may take it over with him, and give good contentment to the Lord Deputy and the army. The officers of the kingdom, pensioners, and patentees, will look to be satisfied at Lady Day. The great charges he is put to. Prays that he may be paid 200*l.*, which Mr. Cuff owed him. Begs that some of the lands, lately belonging to Captain Thomas Lee, and now Her Majesty's by his attainder, may be granted to the Treasurer in lease, in regard of his service, and for the better answering of the rents to Her Majesty.—1600[-1], March 17. *Unsigned.* p. 1.



1600<sup>1</sup>.  
March 18.

90. "The humble submission and petition of Phelim McFeagh McHugh O'Byrne to Her Majesty, made before the Lords and others of Her Majesty's Privy Council, authorized in the absence of the Lord Deputy, the 18th day of March, 1600" [-1].

Acknowledges his offences and rebellion, and humbly craves pardon for himself and his followers. Renounces all connection with the Earl of Tyrone or any other traitor. Abjures the King of Spain and all other foreign enemies to Her Majesty. Will presently put from him and out of his entertainment all strangers that are not "natural inhabitants" of his country, and will never hereafter entertain any such without Her Majesty's leave. Will always repair to the State when commanded. Will never demand from any of Her Majesty's subjects "any rent called a black rent, nor meat, nor drink, nor any other exactions." None of his priests, nor any priests from beyond the seas, nor any priests made in Ireland contrary to Her Majesty's laws, shall receive any tithes, &c., not being entitled by law thereto, but the parsons, &c., entitled to the same, shall enjoy the same quietly. Promises to "book" all his men and people, and to sue out their pardon and his own, with all convenient speed. Offers himself to take his corporal oath to perform all the articles aforesaid, and to swear obedience to the Queen; and will deliver to Sir Henry Folliott, within four days after the latter shall have come to Wicklow, the following pledges, viz., Shane Glass, Hugh Duff's son, and Lysagh McMurtogh, McEddmond, of the Monny.

Attestation by the Council that "these articles and submission were read unto the said Phelim this 18th of March, and he acknowledged the same upon his knees, and took a corporal oath to perform the same." *Copy.* pp. 3.

March 19.  
Shandon  
Castle.

91. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of the Archbishop of Cashel, that he may be appointed one of the preachers for the army. The delay and refusal suffered by him, notwithstanding Sir Robert's previous letter.—Shandon Castle, 1600[-1], March 19. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 19.  
Shandon.

92. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of Captain Henry Sheffield. His long service. His weakness and age. He has spent his strength and wealth in the discharge of his duty. Begg that Captain Sheffield may have the constableness of the fort of Duncannon, near Waterford, which has "fallen into Her Majesty's disposition, by the lapse of Sir Carey Reynolds, late commander thereof."—Shandon, 1600[-1], March 19. *Signed.* p. 1.

March 19.

93. "The discovery of Owen McMorienteig," as to a conspiracy sought by Florence McCarthy with James Fitz Thomas, the White Knight (Edmund Fitzgibbon), Dermond McOwen *alias* McDonogh, O'Sullivan Beare, the Knight of Kerry, the Knight of the Valley, James Fitz Thomas, and others. *In a footnote Sir George Carew*

160<sup>q</sup>.

*states that "Owen McMorierthagh is Cormack McDermond's chiefest counsellor, and the said Florence did practice this combination between his first and second protection."*—1600[-1], March 19. *Unsigned.* pp. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

March 20.  
Cork.

94. The Archbishop of Cashel to Sir Robert Cecil. "I humbly recommend to your Honour 1077<sup>o</sup> and 851,<sup>o</sup> being the chiefest instruments used by me in and about the first taking of *James Fitz Thomas*,† of whom, God willing, you shall hear shortly, according your expectation. What concerneth that matter, the bearer is able to declare the same, and what happened, and what is like to follow, together with the lets and stops hitherto, whereby an end is not of it, and who is most or only painful about the effecting of that which is to be expected. He is my letter, to declare fully unto your Honour what is expedient and necessary in this province, whom your Honour may trust and believe in those matters. He was never spotted with any disloyalty, and therefore he was plagued like myself. I hope he shall be now encouraged, and others by his example, to continue in Her Majesty's service. I do recommend also to your Honour one Thomas Oge Gerald, who most dutifully hath delivered Castlemaine and Piers Lacy his two sons to the Earl of Desmond. In recompense thereof he lost all the substance he had, being much then of which he lost no part by any open rebel, or such that had done him any harm, as long as he continued against Her Majesty, but by counterfeit subjects, more willing to have rebellion than peace. Betwixt him and the bearer, your Honour may, if you please to question with them, know what is worth knowledge in all Munster, and specially concerning the present time. Them and myself I leave wholly at your honourable disposition, assuring your Honour that I see none less favoured by our country men than him that is dutiful and earnest.

"I do send hereinclosed the Lord President's letter [*see No. 91 above*] concerning the pension your Honour promised by Her Majesty's appointment that I should have from the Lord Deputy, who denied to have received any warrant to that effect from your Honour. The Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, being now there, may, if it so please your Honour to have his direction to the paymaster in Munster or otherwise, see me satisfied therein. Your first warrant was in March, 1599, of which I received not one penny ever since, being 40s. sterling by the week, yet I am persuaded that I have a good pledge for it, if it were for many thousands, which is your honourable word, of which I make no doubt to be performed, assuring your Honour that the bearer may certify of truth that I have not so much as that cometh unto by the year in all spiritual and temporal livings I had, although I know your Honour to be otherwise informed, as appeareth in your Honour's letter to the Earl of Desmond, upon which your Honour shall receive a true declaration of the truth shortly, upon every particular point of that untrue information, with a manifestation of the faults to be rather in others

\* Cipher undeciphered.

† Cipher deciphered; as in all the words in italics.

1600.

than in me. The manner of Derby O'Connor's killing, and how this Thomas Oge is used after his profitable service, with the like, did and will discourage others in venturing themselves upon the like service. The *Archbishop of Cashel*, being almost thirty years used amongst 1068<sup>o</sup> as one, is now, since *Sir George Carew* came in[to] authority, put from that credit, by whose procurement or for what cause I know not. His removing from his place is by many diversely construed, and others of less estimation, of which some be very malicious 915,\* and maintainers of *priests* being placed. Some say it is for his own misdemeanour or suspicion, others do think for lack of judgment in State causes; but howsoever it is, I beseech your Honour to learn the cause from the Lord President, for it is taken for a great indignity that he be thus removed, and although I find some ease by it, the same with discredit is not esteemed voluntary ease; yet the *priests* and the 2,057<sup>o</sup> are glad of it, by whose policy and means I suppose the same to have his first beginning, howsoever else it may be coloured. And concerning *James of Desmond* now returned thither, as his coming had done much good heretofore (as your Honours do know), so I pray God, if it be for Her Majesty's honour, as I am fully persuaded to be (*sic*), and the common good of this land, to hasten the like journey again, with as good or better success, according to your Honour's wish and expectation."—Cork, 1600[-1], March 20. *Endorsed*:—Archbishop of Cashel to my master. *Signed*:—"1070." pp. 1½.

March 21. 95. "Abstract of the contracts made between their Lordships and John Wood, gent., for the victualling of the number of 3,250 men in the province of Munster, in the realm of Ireland. The contracts range from 21 March, 1599, to 13 December, 1600. *Endorsed*:—21 March, 1601. *Unsigned*. pp. 2.

March 22. 96. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "Although the  
Cork. bearer, Thomas Oge's, former course will give me no cause to respect him, or any way to further his good, yet his late good services since his submission, in delivering up into Her Majesty's possession Castlemaine and the traitor Piers Lacy's two sons, with his obedient demonstration to Her Majesty's laws, and desire to live loyally, moveth me to favour him herewith." Prays Sir Robert to show favour to him.—Cork, 1600[-1], March 22. *Signed*. p. ½.

March 22. 97. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending  
Cork. Morris Hurley for his "honest and loyal course." Prays Sir Robert to give favour to him.—Cork, 1600[-1], March 22. *Signed*. p. ½.

March 22. 98. Captain Humphrey Covert to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since my  
Derry. late letter sent by Captain Vaughan, who is specially employed by

\* Cipher undeciphered.



160<sup>o</sup>.

Sir Henry Dockwra concerning the receiving in of all O'Dogherty's country, and capitulation of Hugh Boy, it may please your Honour to be advertised [that] upon the landing of the most part of the last supplies, this Hugh Boy, seeing no means to defend the country of O'Dogherty from the violence of our army, being reinforced about the 9th of this present, or not much before, perceiving store of shipping daily coming into the Lough from England, yielded to the obedience of Her Majesty upon certain conditions which I cannot learn. I was very glad at my arrival to see such plentiful store of cattle feeding about our forts, thinking Sir H. Dockwra had utterly forced the country, as his meaning was once to do, upon the landing of these supplies (and as I take it, writ by me to the same effect to your Honour). But when I heard they were taken to mercy, and at that time, when, by reason of O'Donnell's remoteness from them, they were not able to make any resistance, I thought it strange; howbeit I conjectured it might sort to some greater profit to Her Highness and the service than my weakness apprehended. But (with favour) in my poor opinion, the benefit of twenty thousand cows, besides corn, horses, sheep, and other cattle, with the freedom of so large a country, so easy to be locked up as by re-edifying but of one fort at Colmackatreynne, could not much have hindered the service, permitting no more inhabitants there (all being in his own power) than might serve to manure the land, and be their servants.

"It hath ever been, and is, the custom of the Irish rebels, when the Queen, to her great charges, reinforceth any place, then they pretend great submissiveness, and in they will come, offer pledges, and intreat for pardons, fearing to be cut in pieces, as they justly deserve. But so soon as our soldiers droop, and through sickness become weak, they discontinue their obedience, and slip into open rebellion, as O'Dogherty for example lately did with Sir Henry Dockwra. And, under your Honour's correction, I fear as much this Hugh Boy, who for many years hath been a most hateful rebel against Her Majesty, the only plotter to have betrayed the fort at Culmore, bred in the Spanish war with Sir William Stanley, chief friend and counsellor to O'Donnell (who now for a mask may be dissevered), no man in Ireland of such employment to the Pope and King of Spain as himself. He is of person tall and comely, of years young and active, as bold of countenance as subtle and practised in stratagems. It gives me wonder, he being the right arm to O'Donnell, and so fast tied by many honourable bonds and hopes to Princes abroad and friends at home, he should lose all these upon such a sudden, and venture to capitulate with Sir Henry, who[m] not long before he so perfidiously dealt with, except it be to effect that in the show of a friend, which he could never do being an enemy. Furthermore, under this capitulation he serves his turn upon us many ways, as by preserving all O'Dogherty's country, goods, and people, by enriching them with our monies for wood, straw, and some fresh victuals, at unaccustomed and treble rates, and, which is the worst, through his liberty and frequency amongst us, discerns our strength, prys into our weakness, views our forts, observes our discipline, and notes our defects, wherein he may see many more than I wish (or is meet) he should. But the Governor's

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good opinion of him confutes all this, for, alleging thus much against him, he smiling answered that he durst pawn his soul for his fidelity, and therewithal prayed me (because your Lordships have limited six Irish in every company), to allow forty of his followers, late stout rebels, who have been maintained all this war upon the country's charge, to be now entered among our companies in the Queen's entertainment. I told him how dangerous it seemed to me for us to trust them, and for my excuse feigned that your Lordships had controlled that article in my instructions. Howbeit because of his discontentedness, and that he affirmed they would more disadvantage the service than ten thousand pounds would recover, I have allowed them, till I hear further of your Honour's pleasure.

"The 15 of this present, the garrison of the Lifford have burnt Newtown in Tyrone's country, brought all the prey, bettering the number of 200 cows, and put to the sword more than a 100 persons, of men, women, and children, this being the second time it hath been preyed within these four months. About the same time, the castle and abbey of Lamollon in McSwyne's country, on the farther side of the Lough Swilly, was taken. The rebels quitted the same after a small skirmish, wherein we lost but two Irish. Sir Harry hath placed there two companies, who have burnt much corn, so as the inhabitants thereabouts desire to come in and be received as Her Majesty's subjects.

"There is great store of Spanish money among the Irish, and they most confidently believe some forces of the Spaniards will be with them in May next. The ward that was placed by the Governor in the castle at the mouth of the Lough, he hath again called away, through his assurance of the country, and inconvenience of the place, there being no harbour (as he saith) to cover them."

Has thus signified what he could of the proceedings of Hugh Boy, "wherein I pray God I may be proved a liar." Desires the Almighty to preserve Sir Robert "from all malicious practices."—"Derry within Lough Foyle," 1600[-1], March 22. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—Captain Covert from Lough Foyle. *Signed.* pp. 2.

March 23.  
Cork.

99. John Meade, Mayor of Cork, to Sir Robert Cecil. Has been charged, since January 31, by direction of the Lord President, with Lady Anne, sister to the Earl of Desmond, whom together with her sister Ellen and others of her retinue, he has harboured and dieted in his house. Has prayed the Lord President to be eased of her, but he answers that he has written to the Privy Council, and is expecting their answers; in the meantime the Mayor must rest contented. Has no allowance for the Lady Anne and her dependents, with which he rests "willingly contented," if it be their Lordships' pleasure. Begs Sir Robert to resolve upon some course for the said lady. "Here are also 900 foot companies (*sic*) for lodging, fire, and candle lights, and 40 horsemen at diet, of which I have formerly written to your Honour;

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which, considering the scarcity of the time, and the said diet of horsemen, being usual a country charge, is a great burden to this poor city.”—Cork, 1600[-1], March 23. *Signed.* p. 1.

[March 23.] **100.** Petition of Joan and Ellen Fitzgerald, daughters of the late Earl of Desmond, to Sir Robert Cecil. Pray, on behalf of themselves and their sisters, Margaret, Katherine, and Ellice, that Her Majesty will relieve them “either in portion or yearly annuity.” The causes “vehemently forcing” them to this petition are their mother’s disability (she not having sufficient to supply her own necessary wants) and their kindred and friends forsaking them. Beseech Sir Robert to further their case, as he had done for their mother.—[1600-1, March 23.] *Unsigned.* p. 1.

March 23  
Cork. **101.** Ha. Kynnesman to Sir George Carey. “At this present, the Earl of Desmond hath made his repair out of Ireland to the Court of England; and, for that his Lordship cannot live without his entertainment from time to time, I have sent your worship the copy (*wanting*) of the Lord President[’s] warrant for the division of the lendings or pay of the 100 footmen allowed to the said Earl of Desmond, without ‘Cheyve’ (Chief), and without Captain and officers, viz. what his Lordship is to receive himself, at the rate of 32s. 4½*d.* *per diem*; the Lord Archbishop of Cashel, for his stipend, at 6s. 8*d.* *per diem*; the Lady Ellice Fitzgerald, at the rate of 21½*d.* *per diem*; and John Power, gentleman, for his stipend, at 2s. *per diem*; all which stipends are taken out of the lendings of the said foot company, as appeareth by the particulars hereinclosed [which] I send your worship (*wanting*). Also, I sent your worship a certificate (*wanting*) of what payments have been made to the said Earl of Desmond by myself, and what I have paid to his Lordship upon his entertainment, by warrant from the Lord President and Council, to carry his Lordship into England; and lastly what imprest bills his Lordship have (*sic*) given upon his entertainment to others he stand[s] indebted unto, which bills I am to pay here (as soon as the same is due) upon his said entertainment. All which bills payeth his Lordship to end the 20th of May, 1601; therefore I humbly pray your worship that there may be no more imprested to his Lordship, until the said payments be defalked, and the said 20th of May expired. For all the other several stipends, I pay them here from time to time, till I hear from your worship to the contrary.

“For the state of this province, thanks be to God they hold quiet, but there is expected some forces to come out of Ulster through Connaught into Munster. Therefore the Lord President, by order from the Lord Deputy, this present have sent one thousand foot to front the enemies in those parts; and their directions are, not to pass Galway without great occasion of service. Captain George Flower have the command of them. The companies that go are under written in this your worship’s letter. The state of our treasure here by estimation will serve the army to the 14th of April next after the date hereof, which will be the furthest.”—Cork, 1600[-1], March 23,



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"The list of the companies to be drawn into Connaught under the command of Captain Flower, as ensueth :—Sir John Barkley, 200; Sir Gerard Harvey, 150; Captain Flower, 100; Sir Ed. Fitzgerald, 100; Captain Blunt, 100; Captain Power, 100; Captain Kingsmill, 100."—*Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

March 24    **102.** Captain Thomas Hayes and Captain Edward Hayes to Sir Robert Cecil. Preferring a motion to have base moneys only current in Ireland. It will do good service to England, ease Her Majesty's charges, and least offend the State in Ireland, but specially "the army, by whom only Her Majesty doth and must look to hold that kingdom."

It will keep in England the treasure, "which by many currents is exhausted into all parts far and near, wheresoever our nation hath any commerce, and yet on no side hath so free and open passage (for and under pretence of the army) as into Ireland, and by that way into France, Scotland, and other countries." It will advantage Her Majesty 500,000*l.* A good exchange, but with 12*d.* loss in the pound, will be "a very gracious course held by Her Majesty both towards the army and merchants, to the upholding still of trade in Ireland as before, yet with the gains to Her Majesty which before we have propounded."

Their motion is, that the Queen, "in consideration of giving the better passage unto the base moneys, which shall be so greatly advantageous to her and her kingdom of England, will be pleased to dissolve the establishment for the apparel, and to give unto the army their whole pay in those moneys. And if, upon trial, the army shall not be found far more serviceable than ever they were, Her Majesty may, upon juster cause than ever heretofore, withdraw again this gracious Act."

Offer their services in Ireland "about the settling of the money course," if Sir Robert thinks fit. "If this motion seem not fit, we humbly crave that it may die, and this letter, in your Honour's hands." *Endorsed* :—1600[-1], March 24. The two Captains Hayes. *Signed. p. 1.*

[March 24.]    **103.** Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer, Mr. Cuffe, is constrained, "as well by urgent occasions, as to avoid the misery of the approaching dearth, to make his repair into England, where together with his wife he purposeth to remain until Whitsuntide before he return, hoping by that time that the province will be better settled." Prays that Mr. Cuffe may have a license from the Privy Council to transport into Munster two or three hundred quarters of wheat and malt, without paying custom or other duties. The greatest part of this is for Sir George's own use, "for here is none to be had for money." Mr. Cuffe has deputed a servant of his own, and his son-in-law Mr. Norcott, to execute his office during his absence. *Endorsed* :—1600[-1], [March 24.] *Signed. p. 1.*

[March 24.]    **104.** Hugh Cuffe to Sir Robert Cecil. "It is not unknown unto you of the irrecoverable loss of my only son, with all that ever

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I had, upon the last insurrection in Munster, at what time I was thought most fittest in the opinion both of my Lord of Ormonde, being then Lord General, as also by Sir Thomas Norreys, then Lord President, to be the Commander of Her Majesty's town of Kilmallock; the which upon that extremity I did accept, when others refused the same, and held it out with 180 soldiers under Her Highness[s] pay, and 80 more of my tenants and servants at my own charge, whenas it was besieged. Of all which I have good testimony to show. Howbeit, all this could not work me, in my Lord of Essex[s] time, so much favour as to obtain from him any employment, but was answered by Sir Giles Meyrick, as my good friend Mr. Beeston can witness, that I was thought to lean another way. Hereupon I did forbear, in all my Lord of Essex[s] time, to return for Ireland, and so continued until such time as that, by your honourable favour, I was sent back as a Commissary; the which I must confess that the same was no small disgrace unto me, having served in far better places sundry ways before. Nevertheless, finding that necessity had no law, I was glad to accept the same, for otherwise I could not have been able to have returned unto my wife and children, and therefore I most humbly yield your Honour my hearty thanks for that favour. Notwithstanding, at my coming into Munster, I was little employed in that office, for that I was appointed by my now Lord President to be eftsoons the Commander of the said town of Kilmallock, the most part of this last summer, as your Honour may perceive by this warrant hereincloused (*wanting*). But at the return of Sir George Thornton, I, finding my entertainment not able to defray my charge, I got leave to return for England, where now, hearing of some new companies to be sent for Ireland, I have thought it good, the better to enable me for the re-settling of myself in Ireland, to become an humble suitor unto your good Honour, on whom I altogether do depend, that it would please you to grant me a company to be established in Munster."—[1600-1, March 24.] *Holograph.* p. 1.

1601.

March 25.  
Dublin.

**105.** Sir Theobald Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. His indebtedness to Sir Robert. Since he was with him, has been employed in service, to the good, he hopes, of "this miserable country." At this present there is more quietness than was expected, and the rebels are greatly daunted, and both wrought by the Lord Deputy his continual prosecution and sudden incursions so politically managed as they cannot prevent or shun their deserved ruin in every part, save in the unfortunate province of Connaught, where the rebellion seemeth to increase for lack of a settled sufficient Governor. And when such shall be appointed, it is to be wished, and by your Honour to be directed, that he remain seldom at Athlone; for continual abiding there, out of the middle and remote parts of the province, far from the more ticklish inhabitants, hath done more hurt than speedily will be recovered.

"The 2nd of this present, by night, Captain Bourke, called Tibbott Ne Longe, attempted to surprise McWilliam, and, although he escaped hardly, yet lost he many of his men, and most of his munition and arms. The next day, the sept (called Ulick Bourke his sept, whereof the said Tibbot is), with their friends and followers

1601.

assembled themselves together, and nominated Richard Bourke (son to that Richard Bourke, that was called 'The Devil's Hook'), to be McWilliam, all moving (*sic*) during their lives to prosecute the McWilliam of O'Donnell his nomination; which proceeding proveth very discontented (*sic*) to O'Donnell and his confederates. This new McWilliam and all his partakers will follow the said Captain Tibbott, and by countenancing him, the same may further the service in Connaught against O'Donnell, and that being effected, I would both parties were in Abraham's bosom, for in this world I think they will do little good.

"Teig O'Rourke, brother to O'Rourke, hath the command and conduction of 1,000 men from Tyrone and O'Donnell to keep a stir in Munster. As it was given out, he thought to pass betwixt Ballymore and my house, distant five miles, but such care was used by my Lord Deputy in his repair to that part, and [by] such as his Lordship trusted, to prevent their passage, as they retired, and have taken their journey into Connaught with the number of 700. The sons of John Bourke, late Baron of Leitrim, and of Redmond Bourke, are now in Clanrickarde, which I thought good in person to make known unto his Lordship, to the end that forces might pursue them, which his Lordship hath performed.

"Tirlagh McHenry, half-brother to Tyrone, submitted himself lately to my Lord Deputy, and in his Lordship's late expedition into Ferney, Brian, the eldest son of Ever McCooley, was slain with many others, the whole country burned and preyed, and the said Ever, having none other shift, submitted himself. They proffer to deliver hostages for their loyalty, which course, as I am credibly informed, they hold by the advice of Tyrone. Phelim and Redmond the sons of Feagh McHugh, submitted themselves lately to the Council in the Lord Deputy's absence; they swore obedience to Her Majesty, and to put in pledges. I trust the course will prove well, albeit I wish rather they were in this their tired weakness prosecuted to an absolute unarming and disabling of them; for the mountain rebels have been very fatal to all Leinster and the English Pale, and this city, in all general and particular rebellions.

"In establishing Connaught, principal regard is to be had that Ballyshannon ['Bealashane'] be made good for Her Majesty, for then the counties of Sligo and Leitrim, severed from intercourse with Ulster, will quickly be reduced to obedience, and the haunt and passage of rebels to and fro will be stopped. The said province, before this last revolt, yielded to Her Majesty 5,000*l.* yearly. My Lord Deputy is willing to do me any good he may, in performance of Her Majesty's pleasure by your letters signified to his Lordship in that behalf; and for my better employment, my charge not exceeding the meanest Captain's in the army, I have not importuned his Lordship, hoping, upon my repair to your Honour, you will procure such regard of my loyalty and service as may be a comfort and stay to me and my many young and tender children. The chief cause of my present repair hither was to obtain license to pass thither, which his Lordship as yet deferred, and lest I might be stayed hereafter, when opportunity may be proffered, I humbly entreat your Honour's license from thence, or letters to his Lordship to license me."—Dublin, 1601, March 25. *Signed, pp. 2.*



1601.

- March 25. **106.** "The humble submission and petition of Ever McCooley McMahon to Her Majesty, made before the Lord Deputy and Council at Drogheda, the 25th of March, 1601." *Copy. pp. 3.*

- March 27. **107.** Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer is Drogheda. Lieutenant Litchfield, for whom Sir Robert sent about three weeks past. He was Lieutenant to Captain Wynn, and being discharged has the more commodity to attend Sir Robert, though he said, had he not been sent for, he would have sought out some other employment in the wars in Ireland. "I can say no more touching his quality, but that he is of honest report amongst such as know him best, and I have not known of any complaint made against him here touching his manner of life."—Drogheda, 1601, March 27. *Signed. Seal. p. ½.*

- March 27. **108.** "Concerning the defalcations out of the army in Ireland, for preachers, physicians, surgeons, and cannoneers, in the time of Sir Henry Wallop, knight, late Treasurer of Wars there."

"It is to be remembered that, until the arrival of Sir John Norreys in Ireland *in anno* 1595, at such time as he came out of Brittany, no pays have been allowed out of bands to the Preacher and Surgeon-General, or to the Cannoneer. But when occasions have required the use of such men, especially preachers, they have most commonly been maintained by certain stipends given them by the Lord Deputy and Councillors, and by the Chief Officers, Captains, and Commanders of the army, out of their private purses, according to rates agreed upon of their voluntary liberalities.

"William Kelly, being Surgeon-General, had allowed unto him in those times a pension of 2*s.* sterling *per diem*, not out of Her Majesty's purse, but, by order in that behalf given, deducted to his use of the entertainments and dead pays of certain Captains, as a benevolence from them, from some 2*d.*, from some a penny, and from others ¾*d.* by the day. After Kelly's decease, *in anno* 1597, the same allowance was granted to Walter Newton, surgeon, and is still continued, but the party not employed. And whereas that allowance should seem too little for his maintenance, in time of war the Commanders and Captains, on whom he was to attend, would contribute to enlarge the same.

"Upon Sir John Norreys['s] arrival, he continued a surgeon and preacher for his regiment only, and to each of them was allowed one man's pay out of every band of fourteen companies that came out of Brittany, and out of three or four bands more that ordinarily attended Sir John. The preacher died the second of September, 1596, and so his allowance ceased. The surgeon is yet living, and continued his allowance till winter, 1597, at which time he departed for England; upon whose departure the Earl of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant[-General], appointed two surgeons to exercise his room, to whom he ordered the moiety of a man's lendings of all the bands serving in Leinster, Connaught, and on the northern borders of the Pale. The other moiety he appointed for Doctor Hanmer, preacher. Yet out of Sir Samuel

1601.

Bagenall's regiment of 2,000, though they served within those bounds, no such allowance was made, but their preacher and surgeon maintained by themselves, until that by warrants from the Lords Justices, they appointed to be paid out of the checks, to the preacher 100 marks sterling per annum, begun 15 September, 1598, and to the surgeon 6s. 8d. *per diem*, begun 8 March, 1598[-9]. From the forces in Munster no such deduction was made, neither from those of Carrickfergus, albeit the companies of Carrickfergus of themselves gave some extraordinary means to Walter Newton, surgeon, for his attendance there for a short time in that garrison.

"It is also to be remembered that sometimes a physician for the State hath been entertained on Her Majesty's charge at 40*l.* per annum, but for many years no such allowance was given, till Doctor Atkinson was employed *in anno* 1594; after his decease Doctor Turner, and, after he died, that stipend was granted by the Lords Justices to the Master and Fellows of the College, who held it till Sir Henry Wallop died, and since.

"From the time that the lendings began, the apparel of the dead pays was not paid, but saved to Her Majesty." *Endorsed* :— 1601, March 27. *Unsigned.* pp. 2.

March 27.  
Edinburgh.

109. Dionise Cambell, Dean of Limerick, to Sir Robert Cecil.

"My absence from court by reason of private affairs, almost sithence my return into this kingdom till now of late, hath caused my long silence, which, rather of duty than for any matter of moment that I can learn, I have presumed hereby to break up.

"The Synods of Fife and Lothian, foreseeing imminent dangers arising to the state of religion by the secret swarms of Jesuits and others their complices lately come into this country, have inclined to unity amongst themselves, and by certain commissioners moved His Majesty for restoring the ministry of Edinburgh, and calling of a General Assembly. The first motion is utterly refused, the last will hardly be condescended unto. Mr. Patrick Galloway joined with the rest, for which, together with the Queen's displeasure, it is thought that he shall lose his wonted grace, but as yet in show nothing abated.

"The King, after assurance taken between the Earls of Murray and Huntly till January next, hath travailed very earnestly for committing the matter to some friends; whereat the Abbot of St. Columba, Murray his uncle, repining, was warded in the Castle of Edinburgh, but shortly after released upon caution. It is thought that His Majesty hath much prevailed with the Earl of Argyle in this matter, whom he hath lately chosen of the Council. There is a meeting to be between the Lord Duke and Argyle for composing of their controversies, as also of Murray his friends to consult of his matters; for we hear that there is a barony of land together with a match of the Lord Gordon Huntly his son and heir with Murray his sister offered for a satisfaction of the slaughter. The Countess of Huntly still lying at Court doth likely importune His Majesty for this agreement, his honour being also somewhat therein touched, for that his commission is extended by Huntly to warrant the fact, but what the mystical project of this earnestness can be I am not able to sound or learn.

1601.

"Here is great show of displeasure for Essex his execution, specially conceived against your Honour, but, His Majesty being told by Mr. Hamilton that it must prove for His Highness[s] advantage, I gather that there is greater show than sorrow; for it was added that though Essex were then free from any competitory (*sic*) conceit, yet what could not ambition, applause of people, and opportunity procure him to attempt in time, though contrary to his former determination, as appeared in H. the 9.\*

"The Earl of Mar his secret and sudden employment, without the privy of the other faction, hath added unto the former discontentments, yet they have given way for the present, attending his success, which if it prove not pleasing and answerable, &c. (*sic*), they will doubtless take the advantage to counterpoise, if not to overweigh, his greatness, which is thought will be a bar of the agreement between Murray and Huntly, and in time breed a 'fyster' [?fester or fissure].

"Mr. Hamilton is under great jealousy by reason of many surmises suggested against him by his adversaries during his absence, whereof some are frivolous, some so ridiculous and incredible, that they themselves are loath to utter them, and any man else unwilling to write them. He hath by his friends instantly urged to be brought to his answer before the Table, which, by reason of the present current, cannot as yet be obtained, the King taking for excuse that he hath sent to enquire of his courses in England, whereof he seemeth to be very well pleased.

"The King is to take his journey towards the north to Brechin for hunting and other recreations, as we hear, where Huntly is thought to meet His Majesty.

"The Abbot of Holyrood House took journey towards the west borders for apprehending of such as killed his father-in-law, the Laird of Carmichael, and having environed five of the chiefest of them in a house, with the assistance of the Laird of Johnston, Warden of the Marches, the enclosed murderers brake forth upon horseback, and fled towards Aske, where, being succoured by the Grahams, [they] put the Warden, the Abbot, and all their company in a rout, who were in danger to be taken prisoners if the good men of the Mote, whose mother was of the Johnstons, had not stayed the chase.

"There was not long ago some terrors cast into His Majesty, who thereupon wrote a sharp letter from Stirling unto the Council, as though they were careless in such a weighty matter, but they wisely replied that it was meet that His Majesty would bring the informers, since which time those fears are vanished. And these being the present occurrents which I can learn, I am humbly to remember your Honour for a letter to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, that I be not prejudiced in my entertainment, by reason of my absence from thence, for that I cannot as yet settle my young nephew his affairs, in regard of many crosses which I sustain through the Earl of Argyle his displeasure."—Edinburgh, 1601, March 27. *Holograph.* pp. 2.

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\* Cipher undeciphered.



1601.

March 28.  
Drogheda.

**110.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council to the Privy Council. "After I, the Deputy, had passed the greatest part of this winter abroad in the Irish counties of Leinster, where by the spoil and waste made in their countries by burning and consuming their corn and cattle, and killing many of themselves, their main strength is so scattered, as certain of the chiefest of them have since submitted themselves, and the rest, severed into small companies, not in case to draw to any dangerous head, and Tyrrell himself, in opinion and name one of the greatest amongst them (for that he is taken to be Tyrone's Lieutenant in Leinster), being thrust out of his greatest fastness, and singled to himself, with a few base kern to follow him, is left to wander up and down in woods and bogs, seeking how he may escape into the north, which we are advertised he hath already done. And yet, as well to stop him that way, as to hunt him still where he shall walk, I have set certain companies to attend on him, who I hope will keep him short, if they do not ruin him altogether.

"Now, for that I would be at hand to make use of occasions and opportunities against these rebels of the northern borders, I have of late pierced into the countries of the Fews and Ferney, where God hath so prospered the service, as the chieftains of both those countries, after they were scourged by Her Majesty's forces, have humbled themselves to Her Majesty's mercy, and are come in; hoping ere it be long the like course will be taken with some sept of the Brenny, who have already divers times sent unto us offering submission, having of late received some chastisement by some part of the army employed against them. Upon this towardness of submission of these northern bordering rebels, I took occasion to draw an assembly of the Council to this town, as well to consider of the conditions of their taking in, as other circumstances correspondent to the time and state of Her Majesty's present affairs, as also to deliberate in what sort I might employ the army into some parts further in the north, to vex Tyrone in the mean while that summer would come on to yield us forage and other helps to set upon him really, and dwell upon him, till we might put him to trial of his utmost fortune.

"In this consultation it is resolved, as a matter most expedient for Her Majesty's service, that the submission of the said two countries, the Fews and Ferney, shall be accepted, and that of the Brenny, when they shall be wrought thereunto by some further correction, for these three countries are not only a hedge between the English Pale and the north, insomuch as, they standing firm, the subjects of the Pale are to reap both safety and benefit; but also through those countries Her Majesty's army may find many commodities, when the time shall serve to pass into Tyrone, to act upon that archtraitor, which is the main design, and all other must be carried on to give force to that.

"We have also in this consultation resolved to take a time to send Maguire into his country, and to assign to him some 200 men for awhile to help to settle him, who, if he prevail against the usurper there (as his sons have already wasted most part of his country), he may be made a good instrument to entangle Tyrone and infest O'Rourke; and lastly, if there were boats to possess the Lough, he

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might give many helps to the action of Ballyshannon, when it shall be attempted; and now being fallen upon Ballyshannon, though we need not doubt that your Lordships do fully apprehend the great expediency to take in that place, yet we make bold to put your Lordships in mind thereof, to the end that against the time of execution, which we hope will grow about June, when forage is to be had for horses, your Lordships will in the meanwhile give order for such helps as are to come out of England, namely victuals and munition, that they may be stapled at Galway aforehand, the proportion whereof in every nature we must leave to be limited by your Lordships, for that it will be hard for us to set down the certainty, not knowing as yet what numbers of men shall be employed, nor for what time; only we humbly wish that the preparations may be full, and to be there to answer the time, lest the service might be deferred or not thoroughly maintained, when it is once begun.

“Touching the submitters that are already come in, as well of Leinster as the northern borders, and their conditions, we have herewith sent your Lordship a particular list thereof, and, as others shall follow, the same shall be advertised to your Lordships. In the meanwhile, it may please your Lordships to remember us with money, to give some succour to this poor army continually in action, and travelled from one part to another, to answer service in all extremities of ill weather, and other wants, humbly assuring your Lordships that, by the sundry hardness they endure, they deserve to be cherished and countenanced, as much as any men of their sort.

“The proportion of treasure last sent was so small, as it could give little relief to the companies, and as little means to answer the extraordinaries which grow daily out of the service, more than we expected, for that the action increaseth in several parts, and yet we are driven to make stay of the borrowed money, which we never did before: and we doubt it will make breach of our credit, assuring ourselves that we shall not be able to borrow any more money of them, in respect of the expectation they have that no more sterling money will come over. For want of money likewise, the soldier is driven to feed more liberally of the victuals in the store, which cannot but greatly sink the magazine, as I, the Secretary (who have a particular oversight of the victuals) do daily find, as well by mine own view, as by the report of the chief officers of the victuals, for which respects we humbly beseech your Lordships again to speed away money, for, when the soldiers shall come to feel the want both of money and victuals, your Lordships may easily consider how hard it will be to contain them, or carry them into service. And forasmuch as we find by certificate from Newcomen and Percival, two chief officers of the victuals, that the magazine of Dublin (which is the store to feed the forces in Leinster, and all the garrisons of Ulster as far as Mount Norris) cannot be lengthened to hold out above the last of April next, we thought good to signify the same to your Lordships, humbly desiring you to give order out of hand for another supply to be contracted with the undertakers, and to be directly addressed to the ports of Galway, Dublin, Tredagh, and Carlingford, but the greatest quantity to Carlingford

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and Galway, for that this proportion is chiefly intended to answer the army that is to be drawn out of all parts, both for Ballyshannon and to invade Ulster by the way of the Newry, when the time for execution shall serve, which we hope will be towards the midst of June, when God shall give forage for horses. Another reason why we wish that the greatest part of this proportion should be directly sent for Carlingford and Galway is to avoid a great and needless charge to Her Majesty in unshipping and reshipping the victuals at the port of Dublin, besides much loss and waste in the several natures, which cannot be eschewed. For solicitation of this new contract, some of us were of mind to send over Newcomen to your Lordships, as well to urge the necessity of sending those provisions, as to answer and satisfy your Lordships in many circumstances, both for the time and other things to be considered therein. But his abode here is so requisite in the present course of the victualling causes, as we cannot spare him, but must wholly and humbly remit to your Lordships the managing of that contract, but specially the expedition thereof, that it may answer the time when the army shall pass into Munster, either by the way of Ballyshannon or the Newry."—Tredagh, 1601, March 29. [*Postscript.*] "Since the perclosing of this letter, we have received several intelligences that Tyrrell is passed out of Leinster into Ulster, and particularly the Earl of Kildare, under whose government he ranged, hath likewise advertised the same." *Signed.* pp. 3.

*Encloses:—*

110. i. "*The names of such principal men of Tyrone as have lately submitted themselves to the Queen, beside all Tyrconnell, which is wholly to one foot subdued, with an estimate of every man's cows, by their own confessions.*

*O'Cahan, with all his country, with 10,000.*

*Tirlogh, son to Sir Arthur O'Neill, ,, 2,000.*

*Neill McArt, ,, 2,000.*

*Cormack O'Neill, ,, 2,000.*

*All Slaught Art, ,, 4,000.*

*O'Quin, ,, 1,000.*

*McHugh, ,, 500.*

*McBrian, ,, 500.*

*McGillakoore, ,, 300.*

*McQuirke, ,, 500.*

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22,800.

*"O'Gormeley, a man of great living, but utterly spoiled by the garrison, and now received to the Queen's mercy, his life only reserved."*—[1601, March.] *Unsigned.* p. 1.

110. ii. "*A note of those that were taken in by the Lord Deputy, while his Lordship was in Westmeath, upon good pledges delivered for their loyalty hereafter.*"—[1601, March.] *Unsigned.* pp. 2½.

March 28.  
Derry.

111. Captain Humphrey Covert to Sir Robert Cecil. Since his last letter, directed to the Mayor of Chester, to be sent to Sir Robert by the packet post, all things stand as they then did. There is very



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certain intelligence of O'Donnell's coming, to prey the county of Ennys Shannon, otherwise called the country of O'Dogherty. To resist O'Donnell, the fort of Colmackatreyne is fully fortified, and a company placed in it. Will send the figure thereof in the next [packet]. On the 25th inst., Sir Henry Dockwra sent some soldiers over into O'Cahan's side, and took 300 cows, but, by reason of the incredibly stormy weather, all of these, except some forty, were lost; "and since that, if by the extremity of the waters, that are risen through the abundance of snow which is fallen, the passages and fords have not been overflowed, the Governor had happily given a sound blow to O'Cahan; which enterprise, naytheless, shall proceed upon the first occasion."

They have a great want of Neale Garve. Through his absence O'Donnell gains too much liberty, for Neale is their only guide for Tyreconnell, to which as inheritor he makes claim, and "would with his presence both encourage his followers, which are many, that live idly upon the Queen's charge to grieve him, and occasion us to neglect no opportunity. It may therefore please your Honour, by your especial letters to my Lord Deputy, to hasten the same Neale Garve's coming to us, without whom the war against O'Donnell will be very much hindered."—Derry, 1601, March 28. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

March 28. 112. Estimate for the entertainment of 3,000 men and their officers for one month at Lough Foyle. Total, 3,944*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* *Endorsed:—*1601, March 28. *Unsigned. p. 1.*

March 31. 113. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have not much more to trouble you with at this time than is contained in our public despatch, only this packet I send to Sir Oliver St. John contains divers letters that I have of late received concerning services, and some other memorials which I have willed him to impart unto you at your best leisure, thinking them scant of importance enough to trouble you withal. If he be not at the Court, I pray, Sir, open it, because it contains some things of very good service lately done by Captain Blany and Captain Bodley, who, I can assure you, Sir, are very worthy servants to Her Majesty in their kind. And one thing which I had forgotten to write to their Lordships, being desirous to do all men right, that this draft into the Ferny (which, believe me, Sir, was a service of extraordinary consequence) was plotted by Sir Garrett Moore, who did also provide us all our guides, and very honestly performed the service himself."—Drogheda, 1601, March 31. *Holograph. p. 1.*

*Encloses:—*

113. i. "An extract of a letter sent unto me the 12th of March, 1600[-1], from the army.

"Captain Blany went lately down to Armagh, and, ranging up and down the country very familiarly, took a prey of some eighty cows, and marched by the side of 2[00] or 300 kerns, and never once offered to stir, or shoot one shot. He findeth the country and all bonnaughts all distracted and ready to

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*starve, in general, if they reap not this next crop, which I hope they shall not. Before that he sent some desperate knaves to the Blackwater in the night, and burnt the fort, and put them to sword and flight that were in it, and retired in safety. Letters are come from Lough Foyle (by land I take it), with news that the garrisons of Derry hath not only taken a great prey, and slain many of the enemy, but also hath slain (at a mass, as is said) the Prior of Derry and twenty of the principal priests in all Ulster in a church. And on this side Maguire[s] son hath slain some eight gentlemen of Fermanagh in fight with Cormack McBaron, and took O'Kelly's brother's son prisoner, who[m] he holdeth safely. My Lord of Upper Ossory hath slain and executed by martial law many of the bonnaughts of Connaught. The Lord of Delrin's men have slain some of them in the Brenny, and took in their pockets dollars of 4s. a piece, of which he sent one to my Lord. The Lord Louth, going a hunting, killed some twelve of the rebels, whereof one was a priest. Tyrone is said to be sick on (sic; of) the pox in this Island; others do swear he is gone into Scotland. But true it is that he and his bonnaughts are almost parted for want of means, and will not hold long." Copy. p. 1.*

March 31.  
Dublin.

114. Captain Thomas Phillips to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since my last letter sent to your Honour by Captain Yorke, the Lord Deputy hath taken a prey of 3,000 cows, besides garrans, sheep, and swine, out of the Ferney, from the McMahons and Ever McCooley, who afterwards most submissively came in to Her Majesty's mercy; and now all the chieftains of that country, the only undertakers of this action with Tyrone, are also labouring by all their endeavours to become subjects. Whereupon all the Council are daily in consultation with his Lordship at Tredath, from whence his Lordship intendeth before Easter to go upon some journey; so that by this abatement of their pride, my Lord hath cased most of the Captains that brought over the 2,000 new companies (sic), and no doubt shortly, by the like increase of quietness, many more will be cashiered. Amongst which number . . . I am one; yet, in regard of my hurt, I hope I shall not yet be cased." Prays that his company may still stand in the list. Has given some testimony of his willingness by the late hurt he received in his arm in Leix, and by the preserving of Castle Rebane, which is so much sought for now; as may appear by the inclosed. —Dublin, 1601, March 31. Signed. p. 1.

Encloses:—

114. i. *The Council of Ireland to Captain Thomas Phillips.* "We are given to understand by Sir Henry Power that the ward of Castle Rebane for the most part were cut off by the rebels, and that the Castle was in danger of losing, had you not showed yourself very forward, not only in charging the said rebels, and (sic) in placing some of your soldiers in the said Castle for the better defence thereof, for which your good care and diligence we very heartily thank you, praying you out of hand to make up the six soldiers already placed there [to]

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*twenty, whereby the house may be kept safe, and both yourself and Sir James Fitz Piers to be upon your guard, for that, besides the danger of Tyrrell, the mountain rebels are with great forces ready to give a blow to those parts of the county of Kildare.*”—Dublin, 1600, October 31. [Postscript.] “*We pray you that the ward that you shall place there be Englishmen, and of good choice.*” Addressed to Captain Phillips at Athy. Signed. p. 1.

March 31. 115. “Ireland. A particular book, declaring the difference between the checks abstracted by the Commissaries upon the several muster books of Her Majesty’s forces in the said realm, and of the checks collected by the Mustermaster-General and Comptroller of the Musters; whereby the benefit raised to Her Majesty, over and above the checks certified by the Commissioners, may hereafter particularly appear”: from 1 April, 1600, to 31 March, 1601.

*Signed by Sir Ralph Lane, Mustermaster-General, and by Ralph Birkinshaw [“Raphé Birchensha”], Comptroller of the Musters. pp. 25.*

March 31. 116. “An Abstract of Her Majesty’s whole allowance for the defraying and payment of her army in the realm of Ireland, and what hath been paid out of the said allowance in one year, beginning primo Aprilis, 1600, and ending ultimo Martii, 1601.” *Unsigned. Parchment.*

March 31. 117. “An Abstract of the strength of the several companies of footbands resident in the province of Munster, mentioning their slain men, men dying by sickness, discharged, sick, and deficient men, with what number of men have been passed inwards from time to time, containing one whole year, beginning primo April, 1600, to and from the 31st of March following, 1601.” Abuses by the Commissaries. *Signed by Sir Ralph Lane and Ralph Birkinshaw. pp. 13.*

March 31. 118. “A brief Declaration what hath been saved to Her Majesty, by way of checks and interim days, upon Her Highness[’s] forces in Ireland, since the employment of Mr. Maynard, Surveyor of Checks and Musters, and Ralph Birkinshaw, Comptroller; who began their employment primo Octobris, 1598, to and for the 31st of March following, 1601, containing two years and a half.” Total, 60,030*l.* 3*s.* 3½*d.* Also, the savings affected by Birkinshaw in the checks on the forces in the Low Countries, Normandy, and Brittany, before his employment in Ireland. The first two amount to 22,080*l.* 16*s.* 1½*d.*, and 5,666*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*, respectively, the third are in Sir Thomas Shirley’s account.

*The declaration, signed by Birkinshaw, ends with the following paragraph:—*

“In the effecting of the premisses, what malice and envy Birkinshaw hath purchased at the hands of many great ones, and



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others of meaner quality may easily be conceived, and therefore not unlikely, if false and untrue informations be privately delivered to touch Birkinshaw in his credit, and to bring him in disgrace; against whom (if any such be) Birkinshaw maketh this protestation, that he is free and clear from receiving of favours, rewards, or bribes, from any Captain, officer, soldier, or of any person of what quality soever, either in the Low Countries, Normandy, Brittany, or Ireland; and that none living shall be able to prove the contrary, upon penalty of the loss of Birkinshaw's life, as example to all other. Birkinshaw hath hereunto set his hand." pp. 9.

[March.]

**119.** "The particular remembrances delivered me by Sir Henry Dockwra to move your Lordships in." *Sir Robert Cecil has endorsed the paper*:—"Captain Alford. Remembrances for Lough Foyle."

Six months' victual to be sent with all possible speed, in biscuit, butter, cheese, beef, pease, pork, or bacon, "not fish in case, for the great loss therein both to Her Majesty and the poor soldier." The establishment of an exchange at Lough Foyle, "to draw voluntary victuallers thither, if in case the contractors' supplies should fail by contrary winds or any other accident." The apparel already there to be issued, and that which is to come to be dispatched out of hand, "the poor soldiers' want being very great." To be supplied with men according to the check, and those supplies armed for the better establishing of Coleraine. "That for the taking away of all colour and excuse from the Captains for detaining any of the soldiers' means, it would please your Lordships to move Her Majesty for allowance of broken arms." Fifty horse to be sent either from England or from the Lord Deputy to be employed at Donegal. "That two or three good boats, navigable with oars and sails, may be sent thither with allowance for men to work in them." A dozen field carriages to be sent for the artillery, "with two new axle-trees for the cannon, which is otherwise utterly unserviceable." Allowance to be made for the fortifying of Culmore, "being the only key of that country."—[1601, March.] p. 1.

March.

**120.** Warrant from Queen Elizabeth to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer for the issue of pay for 4,000 men, in addition to the establishment of 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse, owing to the foreign aid expected by the rebels in Ireland.—[1601, March.] *Draft. Two sheets and a half.*

March.  
Cork.

**121.** Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "I am exceeding sorry that there is no good cause to move Sir Edward Wingfield's longer stay in this country, as well in regard of his estate, which requires help, as the contentment of his heart, being most inclined to employ his time in martial actions. As long as he had any hope to be employed, or not apparent demonstrations to the contrary, he was well contented to spend his time and coin in Ireland; but now, out of expectation to be satisfied, makes his repair into England, and desires me to accompany him with my

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letters unto your Honour, and to witness for him how much he acknowledgeth himself bound unto you for your honourable favours, which with his uttermost services he professeth to endeavour to merit at your hands, and therein I do protest that his meaning is sincere. The causes of his despairs (*sic*) to be employed in this kingdom I refer to his own relation, who doth best understand his own affairs, and as occasions of employments, either here or elsewhere, may fall out, I do beseech your Honour to be mindful of him. I need not trouble your Honour in telling you that upon some informations Her Majesty's favour hath been withdrawn from him, being better known unto you than I can relate. His humble petition (and which most especially and before all other things he craveth) is that you would be pleased to make his peace, since his faults (as he protesteth) are unknown unto himself, pleading not guilty to any objection that may prejudice him to the Queen. If I did know that he had offended either Her Majesty or yourself, I would rather be his accuser, than labour to excuse him, or write unto you in his behalf. Of the proceedings here ever since his coming into the kingdom, he hath been a precise observer, and in whatsoever you would be satisfied in (*sic*), he can give you satisfaction."—Cork, 1601, March. *Holograph. p. 1.*

March.

**122.** Document endorsed, "My Lord Mountjoy's discourse concerning Ireland, sent in March, 1601."

"That it may please Her excellent Majesty to conceive of this her kingdom of Ireland, that it is one of the goodliest provinces of the world, being in itself either in quantity or quality little inferior to her realm of England, breeding a people of an excellent temper, if it were governed by virtue, which they could not choose but love and follow, if they were taught to know it, abounding with all the sustentances for life, as corn, cattle, fish, and fowl; for inbred riches, as mines for divers sorts of metals, and salts, quarries of ordinary stones and rich marbles; for means by foreign traffic to be enriched, as divers excellent havens and divers navigable rivers.

"That where it hath been counted ever to have been and now to be a burthen, rather than a commodity or ornament, to the Crown of England, the apparent possibilities of what it may be reduced unto, doth show unto any that with a present and judicial eye doth behold it, what a fair addition in both those kinds might be made of this country to Her Majesty's empire; and that it hath been far otherwise than it is, the ancient privileges of towns, the huge ruins of great buildings in them, and the like of churches and monasteries, Bishop[s'] seats, and laymen[s'] castles and inhabitations, doth declare. And when I look back into the estate that long since and of late this kingdom hath been in, I do more wonder how it could be lost than despair in the recovery and perpetual preserving it commodious and honourable to Her Majesty's Crown.

"The ancient obstacle from (*sic*) reducing this country to perfect civility was that, after it was inhabited by the first conquerors, their inheritance, for want of issue male, descended to women, who, many of them being married into England, deprived the land of a lord to be resident upon it; and next, the division of the Houses of

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Lancaster and York withdrew many of the nobility into England, and bred a war between the rest here, which, suppressing the vigour of the law in general, and consequently of such as were made for the abolishing of barbarism, as not to match with the Irish, nor to use their fashions, language, nor divers absolute and tyrannical customs over their tenants and followers, did first give way to the mere Irish to recover strength, and made the English become in their affection not much unlike the Irish.

“The later causes of this general revolt and prevailing of the rebels, was the corruptions of the magistrates sent hither, and weakness of their counsels, directed most to private and no public ends, with the continual dissension of the English inhabitants, and lastly, the insufficiency of the particular Commanders of provinces, and such as had the managing of the forces that were raised against the first beginning of the war. The reason why both the Council, Clergy, and English inhabitants in this kingdom have been noted of so corrupt dispositions when they live here is, because for the most part they are in all these three kinds such as England rather refuseth to dwell in it than chooseth as fit to perform so great a work as to reduce and preserve a country in civility and in obedience; being like the men that followed David where he fled from Saul, men that were in trouble, vexed in mind, and such as were in debt, who, except they have a continual David (which is impossible) to be their present Governor, must needs break out into their old infections and increase it here; for either weakness or wickedness in authority doth grow monstrous, and for the manner see it of inhabitants (*sic*), the liberty of this country did slack the restraint their hands found in the government of England, and corruption of magistrates gave way and encouragement to their oppressions of the Irish subjects, and malicious and wrangling practice amongst and against themselves.

“It hath not been altogether in the power of the chief Governors to alter or reform this ill-composed frame, and perchance themselves have not been without their private ends, to maintain which they must bear with others, and, to give a fair account of the time only of their employment, they have intended rather to make a specious than a substantial end of the war.

“At my first arrival in this kingdom, I found the army so unprofitable by reason of the many disorders that within some late time had happened unto it, and divers parts thereof, that indeed it was rather a burden than a defence to the State. Besides, it gave the uttermost access to the rebels’ pride and strength, so that I may boldly say, I found them at the highest period of their power, having been a people ever fierce and valiant, and by a long war taught the use of our arms; but chiefly by the misfortunes of the uttermost of the force of England, and their own good success, they were raised to that degree of pride and confidence, that out of an assured hope utterly to extirpate the English, and again to re-plant the Irish in the absolute possession of this kingdom, they were all in general so fast combined, and had all to attain that their public end so well laid by their private factions, that it was impossible by practice, reward, or fair means, to undo this Cordians [*sic*; Gordian] knot, but only to cut it asunder with the



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sword. To which end, as in a battery they do first pierce the fast combined rampier with the culverin in divers places, before they directly play at one certain mark with the cannon, to make the whole work to fall, so I thought it fit by several journeys to run through divers of their countries, to make the ruin more great and eagerly to fall, when I should plant the war against the main of the rebellion.

"And first, though in all my endeavours I have found the opposition the rebels make my least difficulty, this war being otherwise cumbered with so many, as none but we that are the actors therein will easily believe, and that by reason of them I was forced to omit many fair opportunities, yet, besides many passages of the war and private services which were too long to describe, I think it my duty, and to some purpose, to give Her Majesty an account of my several journeys, and of the present effect of them, without the tedious addition of the circumstances belonging thereunto. For the effect in general they have now wrought, it is manifest to all that have seen the face of this State, when I came hither, and that which now it beareth.

"My first journey was not long after my first arrival, when, before my coming, Tyrone in his uttermost pride being passed into Munster, with an intent to settle all things there, was resolved in his return to do the like in Leinster, and though the Earl of Ormonde had drawn from those parts most of the companies and the choice men out of such as he left, yet I thought [it] of so great consequence to make some head against his return, at the least that he should not come back in so great triumph as he went.

"If herein I had dared to use mine own counsel, the which was generally contradicted by all my associates, I had without all question broken his army, if not taken himself; but with much ado, and against most of their wills, I only came time enough to make him retire in such haste as thereby he received the first blow to his reputation.

"My second journey was into the north, with a purpose to divert from giving resistance with the full power of [the] North to the landing and plantation of Lough Foyle, the which end I obtained fully, and in the which journey Tyrone was fought with and beaten, and continually sought, and driven to shun our forces.

"My third journey was to Kilkenny, presently upon the Earl of Ormonde's delivery from Onie McRory, the purpose and effect whereof for some respect I will conceal till I have the happiness to kiss the royal hands of Her Majesty, or more time to describe it with the circumstances thereof, but in the meantime that it may please Her Majesty to believe that it was to great end, and took no small effect.

"My fourth journey was into Offally, to spoil that country of means to maintain their bonnaughts, which I did so thoroughly effect, as, besides the killing of many of their people, I have utterly ruined that part of the country where I was, and keep them unable to do anything, so as that country in a manner is left occupantie (*sic*).

"My fifth journey was to Leix, by the which I did not only work the like effect I had done in Offally, but killed Onie McRory, the chief firebrand of Leinster, who, next to Tyrone, was without all doubt the greatest pillar to uphold the rebellion of Ireland.

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I redeemed thereby the pledges of the Earl of Ormonde, which was of extraordinary consequence to the State, whatsoever it was to him, and left the country in such sort, as, if the English thereof had been able to build their castles again, I do not doubt but they might have inhabited it safely again.

“My sixth journey was again into [the] North, the effect whereof Ireland doth acknowledge to have been a deadly wound to the rebellion, and irrecoverable, if it be followed.

“My seventh journey was into Gleemes [*sic*; the Glynnns] to the like ruin of the Byrnes and such of the Tooles as were in rebellion, being the most pestilent rebels of Ireland, and the very gall of Leinster, with whom I took the surest course I could devise, and, to make an end of the work, left two garrisons upon them, drawing from thence to Monasterevan, a place between Leix and Offally, and bordering on the fastness of the Dempseys, O'Duns, and some other suspected subjects. I settled a correspondency between them and Her Majesty's forces left in those parts, whereof good effects have since there ensued, and they thoroughly put into blood against the rebels; and finding Leix and the parts of Offally next adjoining so abandoned that small troops could make a better prosecution against that scattered remnant than an army, I bent myself towards Fercall, to spoil that country and to banish Tyrrell out of those parts, which how I have effected, I have made known by my relation of the particularities thereof.

“I think it unfit to make any certain or particular project of the war to be made hereafter, for many accidents may alter the present ground whereon it may be framed, and such as out of ancient experience set down projects and courses to be followed at all times are like unskilful empirics, that, without a judicial consideration of the cause of the disease, and of the present estate of their patient's body, did at all times and to all bodies for one disease still minister a remedy, whereby they do as often kill as cure. But if it will please Her Majesty to give me leave to set down some general propositions, whereupon the provisions of this war may be made, it must please her to leave the particular applying of those provisions unto her ministers here, as they shall find the present State affected, or occasion offered.

“First, the scope I am at is the absolute reducing of this kingdom to obedience, and after to be made firm and profitable to the Crown of England. For the effecting of so great a work, I think Her Majesty must continue her army as it now is all this next summer and winter following. The greatest part of the army must be employed all the summer directly, although in their journeys they may do many other excellent services to plant garrisons against the next winter, and every man must know into what garrison he shall be disposed, and in summer provision must be made especially for horses. If the garrisons be well chosen and sufficiently planted, I do confidently believe that the next winter will utterly end the war, and give Her Majesty power to work this kingdom to what fashion she will, either to make a long and lasting peaceable government between some mere Irish and her English subjects, or else to make it as a *tabula*, and to write in it what laws shall best please herself,

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"It is true the army is now weak in numbers of English, which I humbly desire Her Majesty to believe that it hath not been nor is in any power to prevent, the new supplies and many old soldiers, notwithstanding all the punishment I can inflict, or care that I can take, continually flying the misery of this war; neither will it be possible with any course that can be devised in England, or carefully executed here, to make her to be served in musters, to keep her list strong, and, without infinite charge to Her Majesty and trouble to the country, to supply the army, except it may please Her Majesty to pay her soldiers here with money and victuals, as heretofore they have been, and to abolish the matter of apparel, which is so full of inconvenience and confusion, that it doth utterly overthrow the strength of her army, and minister occasion wherein Her Majesty is more deceived and further charged than otherwise she would be; the which I do so thoroughly conceive and believe, although the circumstances were too long to express, as for an instance, what benefit Her Majesty may reap thereby, I will undertake to make the war to better effect with twelve thousand men in list, well paid in money and victuals, than with sixteen thousand in pay as now they are."—[1601, March.] *Unsigned.* pp. 5.

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**123.** Meyler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil. "My pains in service, with distrust and danger, is daily augmented; honour, credit, and profit dismissed, which I leave to God and 2030 [? the Council of Ireland] to be remedied, and so do rest 1070 [Archbishop of Cashel], whom 2049 [? the Lord Deputy] or, as he saith, 2030 suffers not to go to 2020 [England]; yet his being there did never hinder 2021 [the Queen], his course being followed, which was but once, and so proved. 1070."—[1601, March.] *Holograph.* p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

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**124.** Dionise Campbell, Dean of Limerick, to Sir Robert Cecil. Has set down his opinion as to the entertaining of Scots for the service of Ireland. They are requisite, he understands, "as well in respect of agility of body, hardness of education, affinity of climate and countries, wherein they do match the Irish, as also for that they inhabit the parts most commodious for the speedy supplying of victuals, munition, and all other habiliments for the wars (a great means towards the suppressing of the enemy), especially in Ulster, being the root of all these evils." Recommends the choice of horse, and, as to the foot, of shot, pikes, targetures, and long-bows, "having for leaders men of religious and honourable disposition."

"The nations chiefly to be solicited to this service, in my weak judgment, would be mixed of the English and civil Irish Scots. And of the English, such as, besides other honourable respects, have been graciously obliged to Her Majesty's royal bounty in the time of their exile and greatest troubles, would in all likelihood be most sincerely affected, namely the Douglasses and Hamiltons, who are best able to serve with horse, pike, and shot. For the first, what



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men are fittest for leading, Mr. Archibald Douglas can best inform. For the Hamiltons, the Master of Paisley and Sir John Hamilton, base son to the Lord Hamilton, are principally to be laboured, whose valour and wisdom the residue of their name and followers do generally reverence and respect; and the rather to be embraced for that they and their friends do inhabit the sea coast, and have large possessions in the Irish parts, namely, the island of Arran, from whence the Earl, the chief of that name, hath his title, and may raise many very serviceable and tall men for sword, target, and long-bow. As for the civil Irish, the Campbells only are to be chosen, and must be solicited in the persons of the Provost of Kilmon, and the young Laird of Laers, by whose means and reverend regard other of good note and condition, besides most of the countries, would voluntarily be brought to serve, chiefly with sword, target, and long-bow. There be also many of the Campbells that be English, whereof the Sheriff of Ayr, being a branch of the house of Argyle, is chief; a man of great 'commandre' for horse and footmen upon the sea coast, about the said city of Ayr, over against the north of Ireland. As for the McDonnells, they are by nature treacherous and allied with the rebel; the rest of the islanders much perplexed by reason of the late conquest of the island called the Lewes by Colonel Stuard. Only resteth McQuillen, his second brother, a youth of good forwardness, fit to be employed with such of his country as in love will adhere to him."

Thinks the King should be induced "to allow, countenance, and direct the action," for, without the procuring of his good liking and direction, no man of worth or trust dare undertake it. The commodities of this course are, the barring of ordinary trade, supplying of victuals, and the secret conveying of munition and other furniture of war. "And, if it grow to blood, breach of amity ensueth, and the loss of all hope of aid and succour in those parts, which the rebel relieth unto more (I think) than to Spain, if they should be driven to extremity, which in this is evident, that O'Donnell hath sent special messages to the Earl of Argyle to that effect, to my knowledge, before his departure into France, which then he did refuse, in my hearing also; and the divorce of Tyrone's daughter, by Tyrone's own consent, from O'Donnell was thought to be a policy purposed to bring [an] ally that way.

"The service thus undertaken, there is good hope to divide Tyrone's forces, and to win the frontiers, O'Dogherty depending naturally upon the house of Argyle, and the McSorleys brought up in the island of Arran under the Hamiltons, where they have their most inward and faithful followers and fosterers, and Randal, surnamed Arranagh, from the same. For any other course that may be taken with them, I fear, under reformation, that they will rather turn it to serve their advantages, as formerly they have done, than the furtherance of Her Majesty's service; and, if they may be brought to any sincere dealing, I think it must be by the Hamiltons, who also may draw in the Kennedys (whereof the Earl of Cassillis is chief, son-in-law to the Lord Hamilton), a warlike nation bordering upon the sea coast over against Knockfergus and the Glynnns. These Kennedys, being many and [having] great horses, are tall horsemen, well appointed, and descended of ancient Irishry,

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collaterally with the Earl of Thomond, as both of them do acknowledge. All those nations, being zealously affected to the Gospel, will, without all question, deal sincerely, the rather for that religion is become the quarrel, and the ministers of those countries in the west, being moved by good instruments, will always stir them forward, the rather for that they are noted to be most forward in their calling.

“And for the present this is all that I am able to think of, or have hitherto conceived; if, upon sight of the state of Scotland, I shall see anything to be altered, I will presume, either by mine own letter to your Honour, or by instructions to George Nicolson, to certify it with bounden care.”—[1601, March.] *Holograph.* pp. 2.

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125. James Hamilton to [Sir Robert Cecil]. “The things referred to me by the D[uke’s] letter are these; that I should declare his earnest affections to perform all good offices tending to the advancement of Her Majesty’s service, according to his Master’s will declared in that behalf to Her Majesty, and Her Highness[’s] great favours lately shewed to him, binding him thereunto; in respect of which both (*sic*) he is emboldened to offer and to crave everything that may give esperance to further Her Majesty’s service, increase the amity, and to enable himself by credit to go forward in this so dutiful resolution.

“Next, that, according to his promise to Her Highness, he hath taken order for barring of all means that might proceed from the western ports to the aid of the rebel, and also for procuring of an intercourse between the said ports and the garrisons of Lough Foyle and Knockfergus, for the better supplying of the said garrisons with victuals, &c., which shall be continued, with all readiness to enterprise whatsoever further service, agreeing with his ability and allegiance. But it being a thing greatly lamented by such as keep this correspondence, that, these northern parts of Ireland not affording any commodities fit for their country, they are forced to take the payment of their victuals and merchandise in base money, of which, notwithstanding, they cannot have the exchange, unless it be by direction from hence; his desire therefore is, that for the continuance of the said traffic to the behoof of the garrisons, he may have a letter in the behalf of his people, signifying Her Majesty’s pleasure to the Treasurer of Ireland and his ministers, that according to Her Majesty’s proclamation, they may have letters of exchange, both for such base money as doth now lie upon their hands, and for such as from time to time they shall receive for their victuals and merchandise.

“Further, that in the late intended employment of the Scots, offer was secretly made to him to withdraw some from the rebel for the furtherance of that service, which offer he hath entertained, the rather for that there is hope to procure them, upon the assurance of reward, to do some service at their withdrawing, which may be

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instead of a pledge for their future faithfulness. Esperance also is given by persons of credit, that some of them, in whose behalf this offer is made (by reason of their grievances, grudges, and desire of great rewards), are very fit to be dealt withal for attempting somewhat against the head of the rebellion; which if they will not be brought to undertake, yet the first service being well prosecuted will be of very good consequences for the advancing of Her Highness['s] service. Upon the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure, he will do what he can to bring them to the best issue, or any other means of that nature that may occur to hurt and annoy the rebel.

"Lastly, that whereas Her Majesty was pleased, out of her gracious favour, to promise him all such means from her as might best serve for the increase of his credit with his Master, and his enabling to the performance of all good offices for the maintenance of the amity; and that upon those Her Majesty's gracious promises he hath been greatly encouraged to give hope to his Master that none should be able to procure better and more means tending to the establishing of the peace than he shall, his humble desire to Her Highness is, that, as in the time of the Earl of Mar's employment, Her Majesty upon good considerations was pleased to increase the annuity, so now she would be pleased (his Master having greater and more means of charges) to let him know in secrecy if by his mediation also (when some good opportunity shall draw him hither) a proportionable increase might be granted again to the King, giving a meeting to his so kind offers for concurrence against the rebel, and being a good means to increase and confirm their so great and growing friendship. And that Her Majesty will think none fitter to be the means of so good an office than himself, he is humbly bold to be persuaded, both in respect of her princely promises, and for that (as he trusteth) none shall be found of better means, more honourably-minded, and of readier and more prest goodwill to procure the strengthening of the amity for the best services of both the princes. And Her Highness being the King, whom, next to his Master, he doth most honour, and is most desirous to serve, he hopes she will not afford to any that shall come after him greater means of credit than he shall now have hope to obtain at her hands. And that he doth crave your means to Her Majesty on his behalf, it is in respect to the place which you hold near unto her, and that the chief of his desires is the increasing and settling of the amity between the two Sovereigns, and deriving from the same the greatest kindnesses that may issue to both their contentments for effecting of which, whatsoever concurrence in this or the like particular your Honour shall give, he doth stand assured it shall be very acceptable to Her Highness, courteously and kindly thought of by his Master, and which shall remove that imputation that hath been conceived of your alienation from this their amity. The special advancement also of Her Majesty's affairs (according to his power and allegiance) being in this one of his principal aims, he is encouraged to crave this correspondency of you, to whom he knoweth that the same is, and hath ever been, most tender and precious."—[1601, March.] *Holograph.* pp. 2.



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126. "An imaginary estimate of such points as I can aim at, [and] the Lords of the Council will be desirous to be informed of."

*"What service hath been done of late, since the arrival of our last supplies?"*

"O'Dogherty's country taken in, the forts upon the passages made up, a journey attempted and another made into Fanaght and Doe, the reasons and benefit whereof I have expressed in my last letters to their Lordships, since which time I have chiefly attended the guard of Ennisowen, O'Donnell lying always near unto it, and threatening to invade it.

*"What service is next intended to be taken in hand?"*

"I would gladly, according to their Lordships' direction, make a plantation at Coleraine, but yourself can easily show the reasons wherefore it is utterly impossible. Therefore my purpose is to take in Newtown and Aynogh, whereby a large part of the country of Tyrone shall be freed for men to dwell and keep their creaghts in, and the waterside all along from the mouth of the river shall be cleared from thieves and freebooters. That done I intend (God willing) to attempt Ballinakip, lying in the midway between Lifford and Donegal, because that fort being taken and another built at Skrafalles (which I will also do, if God grant leave, and time afford opportunity) there will be another large scope of ground freed in Tyrconnell and Hugh McHugh Duff's country, and all Fanaght secured. All which being done, I shall be ready for planting the garrison at Donegal or Ballyshannon; and though the fort at Skrafalles or Ballinakip should fail of being taken before I were ready to go that journey, yet it should not much skill, in that a garrison there being once planted, all Tyrconnell were undoubtedly wholly subdued.

*"Wherefore is there no journey yet made upon O'Cahan, nor, as it seems, any intended, considering he is a near neighbour, and an obstinate, proud, and powerful rebel, whose weakening seems to be of great import for pulling down the arch-rebel Tyrone, who hath from him his greatest aid and succour?"*

"To deal with O'Cahan, till our supplies came over, we were never of force sufficient. They being come, I first thought it wisdom to make good our own home (which I call Ennisowen), before I attempted the getting of another man's country, a long time being spent therein, by reason of foulness of weather and want of tools. I undertook the journey into Fanaght and Doe, moved by the reasons alleged before in my letter to their Lordships. And to let the other service of taking Newtown and Aynogh alone, and to make a main journey upon him till our supplies come, and then to go to Ballyshannon, I hope were no good course. First, because O'Donnell is yet in the country, and might endanger us at home, while we are engaged abroad on the other side of the river. Next, because a wasting journey only being made were subject to much casualty, and not of that consequence (in my opinion) that the taking of those castles would be of. And, lastly, that his country is impossible (by all human reason) to escape our hands, Tyrconnell being won, and Her Majesty's fact of giving away his country (which is the best and fittest to be inhabited by English)

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the more justifiable even in the rules of clemency and justice, seeing he will be the last of all others that comes in.

*“What time shall be fittest to set forward in towards Ballyshannon?”*

“Any time after the middle of June, or, if it may be somewhat sooner, it were the better.

*“What numbers of men shall be necessarily requisite to plant withal?”*

“The list reinforced to the full will sufficiently afford a competent army to do it withal, and yet leave the garrisons at home secured, especially with a small increase of horse.

*“What number shall be there left, and how may the remainder of the army return in safety, considering it is to be supposed O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Cahan will join to impeach them with the forces they are possibly able to make, which may endanger them being weak and tired with a long and tedious journey before?”*

“I would leave a third part of my list (that is, 1,000 men, as they should fall out according to the strength of the companies) allotted to remain there, yet if I saw need that the rebel were strong (as I think he should not be, for O'Donnell could hardly keep on this side the Erne, and O'Neill I would wish to be withheld by my Lord Deputy making a journey by Blackwater), I would leave not above 300 men by poll, and bring away all the rest, which I could easily send thither again after the army of the rebels were once dispersed, and they should well suffice to hold the place, although I be also of the mind that we should have all Tyrconnell friend to come home, and might pass which way we listed, the name of that garrison being once given out to be planted.

*“What means will be had to carry victuals, munition, and other necessary carriages by land?”*

“I would take only bread, which I would carry upon garrans' backs, the country of Ennisowen yielding a reasonable, and I think a competent, number thereunto; if not, I can take out of Fanaght and those our Irish men are possessed of already; so likewise can I do for carriage of munition, having already for that purpose provided some straddles, and daily making of more, as also small barrels for powder, and match to be easily portable upon a garran's back. The rest of my provision should only consist in beeves, which I will drive along with me, both Ennisowen and many other parts yielding us thereof sufficient store. But you must remember that the poor churls will expect wages, and therefore desire allowance might be made them. Twelve pence a day they ask, and under eight pence (if that do content them) undoubtedly they will not go. Desire also that a carriage master may be allowed in pay.

*“What tools and instruments will be necessary to use, and how shall they be conveyed to the place?”*

“One thousand shovels and spades with 500 pickaxes will suffice to fortify withal, provided there be some 200 over and above that be made extraordinary strong to cut turf withal, for sodding the rampier, and making the parapets, which must needs be sent by shipping.

*“What utensils or matter for building will be requisite, and how shall that also be sent?”*

“The thirty beds provided last year for an hospital are ready at the Derry, but they must be taken into some ship, and conveyed,

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for other necessaries, provide[d] together with the same, as drugs and such like, it is issued and spent here, and therefore would a new store be provided, and I would wish it in a larger measure than the first, for by experience I found it went a very little way. For building (if the time would possibly afford it), I would wish three or four houses to be ready framed to be set up immediately upon their landing. Whether they were used as stables, as store-houses, or as guard houses to watch in, or to lodge as many soldiers as could be for good and all, it were all one; for neither of these uses but they should be most necessary, and the more were ready framed, a great deal the better it should be. Besides, then I would wish 2,000 deal board[s], with large timber of fir poles to be sent proportionably, all which must needs go by sea.

*“What munition will be requisite, and what shipping or boats to remain there ?*

“The same proportion of munition that was last allotted will be sufficient, but it must come from Dublin or England, for that which is here is already almost all spent. And for boats, I would advise there should be two or three small ones provided, that might go both with oars and sail, and brook the sea, if need be, as also one ship to attend the coast continually.

*“What artificers will be requisite to send over, and how furnished ?*

“In any wise I would advise there should go at least forty masons, and as many carpenters, a dozen saddlers, a dozen coopers, and a dozen smiths, because they will decay and sicken beyond all expectation; and these men would I have furnished with all manner tools, and go in nature of artificers, and not as soldiers but under a master of every several trade by themselves; for else (let be objected what will to the contrary), I am most assured by experience they will never do good in half that measure that otherwise they would. And I would wish a proportion of ten ton[s] of sea-coal to be sent for the smiths, and store of tools; for our proportion, that was (as I remember) but six chaldrons, was far too short.

*“What artillery will be needful to take Ballyshannon with ?*

“I think a culverin and demi-cannon very sufficient to do it withal, and with less I would not advise any man to go provided; and what the necessaries will be thereunto belonging, I refer wholly to the ministers of [the] Ordnance, that can best tell. These must be sent also by sea, and that either from England or Dublin. Salt, nails, pitch, tar, rosin, fishing-nets, weights, scales, hinges, locks, and many other like necessaries will be also very requisite, the quantity whereof is not hard to be guessed at.

*“What provision of victual will be necessary, and of what quality ?*

“I would advise there should be six months' victual sent, most in bread, much in meal, much in cheese, butter, pease, pork, or bacon, but in any wise no fish; and I do not think but within a very short time all the country should afford them fresh meat enough for money.

*“In what time by probability may the war be ended, and how soon, and in what manner may Her Majesty's charge be diminished ?*

“For finishing of the war, by all probable likelihood, it cannot require above this summer's work, except some foreign power, or



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other unexpected accident, interrupt the course it is already in. For a garrison once planted at Ballyshannon (as I said before) all Tyrconnell is subdued, and then is there no rebel of power to deal withal in Ireland (as I take it) but Tyrone, Maguire (whom I esteem half-broken already), and O'Cahan, who, by a journey made by my Lord Deputy to the Blackwater, will be easily brought down. For I am not of opinion (we keeping O'Donnell busy) that his Lordship shall find any great resistance, nor above the power of 1,000 foot, and some 200 Irish horse at the most to deal with. So that my Lord invading on that side, and these forces (though it must be imagined they will be mightily weakened), returned from Ballyshannon, I make no doubt but we shall, notwithstanding, be able (with those we shall have left) to make a journey to meet with my Lord. Which journey, I am of opinion, will be the full finishing of the war, and an opportunity offered to settle and confirm the state of the country, which his presence will give a special and most singular aid unto. And therefore, by the way, I would not advise my Lord should at the first attempt further, but only to make a countenance of drawing to Blackwater, to divert that rebel from following us, and, except occasion extraordinary be offered, not to regard the entering of the country till our return. So that, for diminishing Her Majesty's charge, I see not it can possibly be done till that journey have fully taken his effect; only Her Majesty may be pleased with this diminution already made of 1,000 foot and 100 horse of his list, and (the service performed according to expectation) the rest may be abated as the state of things shall then require, which is no easy matter to judge of till the time come.

"As these demands have come suddenly into my head, and I have in haste set them down, having very short warning as you know, and very many other businesses in hand, so there occur other things to my memory, wherein I imagine their Lordships will also be willing and inquisitive to be informed, which I do also set down in manner following, always craving pardon for my errors, and humbly submitting myself to better judgment.

"First, therefore, I know they will desire to be informed of the perfect state of the army, which the certificate of musters will rightly inform their Lordships of, for in my conscience a stricter course than this last cannot be possibly held, nor do I think they are in effect any thing different from the very truth.

"For the state of victual, I do also refer you to Mr. Skinner's certificate, and the like for money matters to the paymaster's accounts.

"*Now, touching the Irish, these questions, me thinks, may well be asked.*

"*How many are in pay, who they are, and by what authority?*

"That shall be seen by the list, the number whereof is allowed by my Lord Deputy, though in choice of some of the Captains I have used my discretion.

"*How are they employed, where bestowed, and what service have they done, or are likely to do?*

"How they lie in garrison you can tell, how daily I call upon them even to wrangling and falling out for doing of service, you can

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also tell. The service they have done I have signified in my letters before; that they may do, is chiefly in fetching in the prey, when our men make a stand to back them. For they to be put to fight alone, or we to hunt cattle alone, were undoubtedly but labour lost and consumed in vain.

*“Of what use is Neale Garve, Cormack O'Neill, Hugh Boy, and the other Irish?”*

“For Neale Garve, I cannot compare him to anything more like than a quince. Let him be sugared, and dressed with much cost, and he will be good for somewhat, but undoubtedly, to speak truth of the man, I am of opinion the Queen must of necessity bestow more upon him than his body is worth, before she shall reap any fruits of his service; although the man is valiant, of reasonable account in the country amongst some men of quality, and, in taking in the Lifford only, did undoubtedly a singular good piece of service, and may do much more being tempered and kept in subjection, according to the quality of his unbridled nature, which is apparently prone to tyranny, where he may command, to proud and importunate beggary, where he is subject, to extreme covetousness whether he be rich or poor, and unseasoned of any manner discipline, knowledge, or fear of God. And to all these good qualities in a man led, and made worse than he is of himself, by his ten times more uncivil brothers, and his weak and extreme[ly] foolish beggarly counsellors.

“For Cormack O'Neill, he hath yet done nothing, for he is but newly returned from my Lord Deputy, and he is reasonably well sought unto by his country people, and of good esteem amongst them. He seemeth of a more mild, honest, and satiable disposition by far than the other, yet he is Irish, and little less barbarous than the better sort of Irish wild kern. I note in him no extreme vice nor infirmity, and for service I find him willing and forward, without that continual grating by beggary and unmeasurable demands that the other man's nature is possessed withal.

“For Hugh Boy, you know the man. He is subtle, wise, civil, a Papist, aliened but not deeply malicious against the person of O'Donnell, but in my conscience firm and sure for ever returning to his side. The rest are of little account, and of them as also of these you can speak your judgment, which I wish you to do freely, howsoever it assent or dissent from mine.

*“What security is taken from these men for their loyalties?”*

“Neale Garve hath delivered in his son and foster brother to my Lord Deputy, and left them at Dublin. He can no way better his estate by revolting from the Queen, nor, I think, can never assure himself upon any word O'Donnell shall give him, because of killing his brother.

“Cormack came out of the woods without friend or kinsman that ever I could hear of to be bound for him; only of late is come to me his wife and children, whereof his eldest son is a boy of eight years old; himself in appearance not inclined to treachery, his estate no ways to be bettered; and he came in freely without calling and without composition, and holds himself contented with reason, only his humour of begging being a little satisfied.

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“Hugh Boy came in with a whole country, delivered his brother’s son as a pledge, offers his brothers or himself whensoever I will, hath given into my hands the chief of every sept in Ennisowen for pledges, hath apprehended divers, and given their prisoners into my hands, whereof some are executed, and others remain in prison. He hath freely shewed me the passages of the country, always solicited me for making them sure (which were against himself, if he were false) ; he hath given me assistance in the making them, he hath from time to time given me true notice of O’Donnell’s proceedings by sending spies into his camp, and always in that kind of service been before Neale Garve, and had truer intelligence, as I find by experience he hath detected many of Neale Garve’s people, which some of them have confessed, being taken and charged withal ; others, finding the guilt of their conscience, have fled. He hath advertised me of sundry men’s affections in the country, with such probability of truth, as I am fully induced to believe him. And his whole estate and wealth lies fully within the Queen’s forces, and yet I shall be wary and circumspect of his doings, as I see reason to lead or persuade me. And to shew how fitly all these three men are compounded for Her Majesty’s service, you may acquaint the Lords with their several affections and innate malice one unto the other. Neale Garve and Hugh Boy, as also the whole country of Tyreconnell and Ennisowen, are deadly and irreconcilable enemies. So is Cormack with the men of Tyrone against Neale Garve and all his, and as little affection is between Hugh Boy and him, or either of their people. By which factions, discreetly measuring the ground of every man’s report, a man shall be sure to be informed thoroughly of everything that happens, or is intended, amongst any of them.”—[1601, March.] *Signed by Sir Henry Dockwra. pp. 8.*

[March.] **127.** Notes by Sir Henry Dockwra on the countries of O’Dogherty, McSwyne Ne Doe, and McSwyne Fanaght. Names of the septs in Ennisowen and of their chiefs. Names of the pledges held by Sir Henry Dockwra. Form of oath taken by the submitted rebels.—[1601, March.] *Signed. pp. 4.*

[March.] **128.** “A note of such officers as are fit to be allowed in pay at Ballyshannon, as also of such necessities as are requisite to be provided for that place.” The old supplies of shovels, spades, and pickaxes were burnt in the Abbey of Donegal, as were also the former supply of all things for a hospital, and a large quantity of arms. Roads to be made into Connaught and Fermanagh, which border hard upon Ballyshannon.—[1601, March.] *Signed. pp. 4.*



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April 1.

1. "The strength of the army, as appeareth by the certificates of the several musters, taken the first of April, 1601, besides dead pays, preacher, and cannoneers." Foot: Derry, 932; Dunalong, 557; Lifford, 563; leaving, after deduction of 438 for sick, hurt, and absent, 1,614 foot. Horse: 77. Irish forces (Neale Garve's), 500 foot, 100 horse. *Signed by Captain Humphrey Covert.* p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

April 2.  
Dublin.

2. F. King to Sir George Carey. "I wrote last unto your worship by Richard Parkins, and sithence that time here hath not happened anything to any purpose worth the advertising, especially for our businesses of the Exchequer, this being a great vacation time with our Barons and Officers thereof, as all other times are in a manner, for anything that is done to bring in Her Majesty's rents or debts. I have so often written to your worship of the courses held here in these occasions in this time of your absence, as I should but trouble your worship unnecessarily to make repetition thereof anew; and yet in some particular matter or other somewhat happeneth daily, meet to be made known unto your worship. As namely, at this present Sir Francis Shane and Sir James Dillon are commended into England, and purposed to be suitors to Her Majesty for remittal of their rents, under pretence of wastes, and services done to the State. Wherein they are not utterly to be excepted against, for they are both principal gentlemen of the Pale, as your worship knoweth. Howbeit, if in this case their petitions be granted, Her Majesty may not look for payment of any rents in the Irish countries, where sometimes the farmers are clean expelled two or three years together, and in peaceablest times their lands not one quarter so beneficial to them as the lands are in the Pale to the farmers there. I have some cause to know what their lands are, and how they are wasted, and neither of them both but do receive double the rent reserved to Her Majesty out of the wastest lands they have, and so have done all the rebellion time; only their lands in some places yield not so much profit as in former times, and yet, where habitation is, the gentlemen of the Pale make their tenants pay more rent unto them than ever they did. But this country men have more boldness to seek their benefit than our own nation by twenty parts, and yet most of them, which are great here, have their best maintenance from Her Majesty, and [were] raised to greatness by Her Highness, as your worship knoweth these two gentlemen were, who for general respects are to be preferred far before the most of their country, if they can content themselves, when they are well. Sir Francis giveth out that his going is to the baths for his hurt leg, but indeed it is chiefly about his rents, and yet he hath paid none this three half years, by which he hath forfeited his leases, which are worth a thousand pounds, and much more.

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"Here is no mention now of the Clerk of the First Fruits, or any other inferior Accountant, to be brought to his account by the Commissioners, and yet the Clerk of the First Fruits receiveth money daily, and lieth in the Marshalsea in exemption like a bankrupt, for a debt which he oweth to one Vesey, a merchant of London. Mr. Auditor is in hand with your worship's revenue account for the last year, and will make the more speed with it, in hope that upon the perclosing thereof the Commissioners will make him an allowance of 100*l.* for his book of arrearages, which he hath contained in one book for Sir Henry Wallop's time. Sir George Bouchier hath taken the meadows and pasture into his own hands, as I advertised in two or three former letters.

"For occurrents here (God be praised) they grow better and better, Tyrone being so dejected of late, both in his own courage and the opinion of his countrymen, as themselves do generally whisper that he is at the next door, ready to run away into the parts beyond sea, and of late he is become so obscure to all our borderers, as in twenty days together none of them would take upon them any knowledge where he was. He had some powder blown up in an island, and escaped hardly himself, and although I fear his misery is not yet so near to him, yet no doubt but (God favouring the Lord Deputy) he will be either driven out or pulled down before Christmas next, for the people fall away from him daily, and, if his country be once pierced with Her Majesty's army, it is like enough some of themselves will dispatch him, as commonly it falleth out with such traitors in the end.

"The Lord Deputy is making head again, and will, as it is thought, plant at Monaghan and the Cavan, which places will soon undo all the hither parts of Ulster, with Maguire's help and those borderers which are come in, if they do their parts as they promise. No one journey would more avail the general service of the realm every way, than the planting at Ballyshannon, because it doth divide Connaught and Ulster, and in a manner doth the first day assure Connaught. Those people are so easily brought to an alteration either the one way or the other, as those which best know the service here do hold an opinion.

"There is some scarcity of money in Dublin by reason of the Lord Deputy's absence, and a general expectation of a new coin; and as the first proceedeth of a good cause, so it may fall out that the effects of the second will prove more available for Her Majesty's service than all men do look into. For the rebels have now reasonable store of this sterling coin, which serveth them to make traffic withal with the Scots and other strangers; whereof if they be once disfurnished (as our green merchants will soon have drawn home the good, and left the bad abroad), they may make shorter markets by much than now they do, although it is beggarly enough with them at the best. At the present all the Council are at Drogheda with the Lord Deputy, excepting the Lord Chancellor."—Dublin, 1601, April 2. *Signed.*  
*Seal.* pp. 3.

April 4.  
Drogheda.

3. Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of the bearer, Sir Francis Shane. His special deserts. His wound forces him to travel to England, to seek for help and cure

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"in time." In a few lines comprises the character of Sir Francis ; "He is in religion very zealous and constant ; the only assistant I find in the county where he dwells ; in Her Majesty's services very forward, and always ready to adventure his life."—Tredath, 1601, April 4. [*Postscript.*] "I have lately received their Lordships' letter to my Lord Chancellor and myself, signifying Her Majesty's most gracious acceptation, and their Lordships' good allowance, of our purgation, for procurement whereof, to my great comfort, I yield your Honour most humble thanks." *Holograph.* p. 1.

April 4.  
Dublin.

4. Sir Richard Wingfield to Sir Robert Cecil. The Lord Deputy's gift to him of a *custodiam* of Rebane, lately belonging to Captain Thomas Lee. His Lordship's further promise of a lease thereof for 21 years. Direction from the Lords to stay the grant until Her Majesty's pleasure be further signified. Craves Sir Robert's furtherance of the grant to him. His long service. Seeks the place not so much for any profit, as because it lies fit to impeach the courses of the O'Moores and O'Dempseys of Leix, upon whom it bordereth. Those two septs have continually lived by the spoil of their adjoining neighbours. Warmly commends Sir Francis Shane.—Dublin, 1601, April 4. *Signed. Seal.* pp. 1½.

April 10.  
Drogheda.

5. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I must confess that at my first coming over, at the importunity of some of the Council here, I did recommend divers into England, of whose well-deserving I had no experience ; and since I have been very sparing to continue that error. Yet since it is the chiefest favour I can do to such as make me a witness of their merit in Her Majesty's service, to do them the right to acknowledge it, although I will use it with as great caution as I can, yet I would be loath to deprive all men in general of this favour, which some may so justly expect from me. Amongst whom there is none in his rank that I dare more confidently recommend to Her Majesty's favour than this gentleman, Sir Richard Greames, who hath, from his first ability to bear arms, served the Queen in this country, with great approbation to all the Governors here, and in my time hath done especial good service in Munster, and served in my sight and by my appointment with extraordinary worthiness in these parts. I have ever heard of him and observed by (*sic*) him to be a very honest man (a rare virtue with us), and very loyally and zealously affected to the service of the State, and in truth, Sir, such an one as it were a happy thing for this country, if it were well planted with many like disposed unto himself ; and therefore, if he have any suit to the Queen for any land that is in Her Majesty's gift undisposed, I do think that she cannot better advantage her own service than to be gracious unto him therein. For believe me, Sir, this country wanteth little else to be absolutely reduced and preserved, but to be thoroughly planted with such as he is ; for the baseness and dishonesty of the English-Irish inhabitants hath been the chief cause of the hazard of this kingdom ; and if there were but such as he to dwell and inhabit upon their own lands, which for the



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most part they have abandoned, I dare assure you this war were already at an end. It is his own desire, and mine especially, that he may be speedily returned, for I would not willingly miss him in my next journey, whensoever it shall be. Which, my desire is, should be with a purpose and hope utterly to banish the two chief traitors, Tyrone and O'Donnell, the which I do not greatly despair in, if it shall please God to continue His blessings as it hath pleased Him to do hitherto; and wherein, because I believe it to stand so much with the service and honour of Her Majesty, I must confess I am ambitious to sacrifice my life."—Tredaugh, 1601, April 10. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 1½.*

April 10.  
Tournay.

6a. Diploma by Michael Desne, Bishop of Tournay, notifying the admission of Robert Nugent, Irish scholar, to the order of tonsure and other minor orders.—Tournay, 1601, April [10-]20. *Latin. Seal. Parchment.*

April 11.  
Tournay.

6b. Diploma by Michael Desne, Bishop of Tournay, notifying the promotion of the said Robert Nugent to the order of sub-deacon.—Tournay, 1601, April [11-]21. *Latin. Seal. Parchment.*

April 12.  
[Carrick-  
fergus.]

7. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir Robert Cecil. "The season of the year hath seldom afforded us means to convey our letters, which hath been the occasion that you have not oftener understood the news and estate of these parts, and this opportunity is happily fallen out, a bark of Chester coming by chance into this harbour. Ever since my return hither, I have been doing upon the enemy with force and other endeavours. I have lately driven Brian McArt (nephew to Tyrone, and one of his strongest assistants in the north) out of the Upper Clandeboy and Dufferin, upon which he hath long kept six and seven hundred bonnaughts with the help he had out of Killultagh and Kilwarnan. In our last skirmish, he saved himself by his legs and bogs, leaving his horse behind him. Upon our often beating him and preying the country, the gentlemen began to revolt from him, and offer submission and obedience to Her Majesty. Whereupon I drew into that country with the force I had about the middle of March, and remained there some ten days, fortifying a convenient place both for defence and easy to be relieved from this garrison. In the mean while we spoiled such as depended upon Brian McArt, and drew divers gentlemen and of the hired men unto us, the chief of which is Owen McHugh, who since the late death of Neill McBrian Ertoe makes claim to that country. Neill died in this town a good subject, and I had his son Con in pay with me. Upon which I told Owen I could not so wrong Con as to stand for him without his deserts were better; and so for a time I divided the country betwixt them, leaving Sir Fulke Conway with his company in the fort to overrule them both, and he that did Her Majesty best service should have my best furtherance to my Lord Deputy for superiority over the country. With which

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they are pacified, and I have their pledges. Since which time some of the leaders of Brian's shot are by my licence come unto them with their men, and I have allowed them to cress them upon the country indifferently, and do cause them to put in 200 more for the defence of the country. Wherein I hope I have not done ill (though I hear there is a prohibition for such laying of bonnaughts); for, seeing they could bear so many for the rebels, they may well endure these few. And I did that with the assent of the whole country, and have given my Lord Deputy notice thereof. I have appointed them to lie in the most convenient places for defence, Owen keeping about the woods, from whence he late came, and Con the plain. I am promised Castle Rewth, which was lost in my absence. If I get it not without blows, I will have it otherwise, when my labour draws northward. The Dufferin belongs to one Whyte, and, for that I could not lay any men there out of my small number, being but 550 in list, I gave one of his kinsmen a small relief in victuals and tools, encouraging him to endeavour the quiet of that country, which he hath undertaken. So that I am hopeful to banish the traitors out of those parts, if Tyrone assist not his nephew with powers too strong for us. For which he hath often sent unto him, and hath received promises, but, if my Lord Deputy draw northward, he will need them himself; for he was never so weak and hunger-starved as at this present. If Tyrone be not beaten, this country can never be quiet, for he is so near a neighbour unto us, that he can prey and destroy the country within two days, which makes the inhabitants doubtful and timorous to become true subjects.

"After I ended this work, I marched with the remainder of our force to Massereene, where I remained eight days, and with hard and continual labour I fortified a convenient place. I took in the castle of Edenduffarrick, and got the Queen's boat from Neill McHugh, who betrayed the castle in my absence, and hath ever since continued rebel. But upon the coming in of Shane McBrian (a subtle fellow) and our often hunting him from place to place by painful journeys, in the last of which I killed his brother, a better man than either of them both, Neill began to relent, and submitted himself, yielding up the castle, boats, goods, and all unto me. He hath many creaghts following him, and thirty or forty good horses and men, for which he would fain have me to promise him entertainment until the country be settled. Shane and this Neill contend for the country of this Lower Clondeboy, and have done of long time, whereof there hath been sundry divisions made, and they have broken one upon another, which hath been the cause of much trouble and disquiet to the whole country. I have for the present divided the country betwixt them, willing them to draw their goods and followers about them, and join together for Her Majesty's service and defence of their country, which they have both promised, and I have good pledges of them. But they are so false and hollow-hearted, that there is little trust or dependency upon their oaths, pledges, or promises. Shane hath a hundred foot and ten horse in pay, by grant from my Lord Deputy. Neill hath nothing, yet keeps more men. I have promised him 20s. *per diem*,

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and have sent unto my Lord for warrant, albeit I ever thought it an ill deed to give entertainment to the mere Irish upon their own lists. But so many have it, and some at so great a rate, that these repine much at me for not furthering them.

“Neale Garve, now called O'Donnell, Cormack O'Neill, brother to Sir Art, and Captain Willis, with other three captains, are now here, coming lately from Dublin, and passing towards Lough Foyle. These gentlemen hear that Neale hath three hundred foot and a hundred horse in pay, and Cormack half so many, which disquiets them, who two days since thought themselves the better men. Their arrival was the cause of my coming from Massereene yesternight, where I have left my own company, and purpose to return within two or three days, when I will make trial what good can be done with the boat. If it succeed to good purpose, I will become a suitor for more to be built and sent thither. If I were supplied with some more force, I would not now leave an enemy in this government. I have written to my Lord Deputy, but I think his Lordship can hardly spare them, being daily in the field, bickering with the enemy.

“His Lordship hath licensed Captain Willis to talk with Sir James McSorley, who lately wrote to Sir Francis Stafford offering his poor service, if I were withdrawn from this government and himself placed in it. His Lordship hath written unto me to further Captain Willis and receive James his resolutions, and to convey them unto him, willing me to deal justly with Sir James, which I have ever done, and will respectively observe, though I know him a false and treacherous traitor. For, during this time of treaty with Sir Francis Stafford, he hath suffered Angus McConnell's son to pass through that country quietly with some six or seven score men towards Tyrone. The cause of his going is to offer Tyrone 1,500 men, if he will give them entertainment. It was whilst I was at Holywood, fortifying that place, when Angus sent a messenger unto me proffering like number for the Queen's service; and, for that I understood Tyrone had a messenger or two at Dunluce with Sir James, to pass towards Angus, I wrote two several letters to Angus, that, seeing the matter was of great moment, it was not fit we should slightly conclude, wherefore I desired to speak with him or his agent, by whom he should thoroughly understand my purpose. I did this to the end I might stay him from concluding with Tyrone and I have sent notice hereof to my Lord Deputy and State in his absence. I wrote to the Queen's agent in Scotland, unto whom I signified Angus's intentions, and enclosed letters to Angus to be by him conveyed, if mine should miscarry. I have sent your Honour the copies of all those letters, and will do my best to stop that combination, though I have no power nor authority to entertain them. Tyrone is in great need of men, and will gladly entertain any, but having no meat to give them before their cows yield more milk, I hope they will rather spoil him than continue in that misery. He had lately a lough fired by one of our garrisons, in which he held much butter and meal. Another took fire, by God's blessing, in which he had more provision and some powder. These things have much discontented him, I have now a gentleman with me, who was with him



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at Dungannon within these three days, when Tyrrell of the Pale came unto him with 300 rogues, the remainder of those which my Lord Deputy had left living, and fled into that country for safety. He likewise saw those Island Scots, to the number of six or seven score, well furnished, and many beggarly rascals following them. He hath sent a hundred of Tyrrell's men to my neighbour, Brian McArt, who shall a short while I hope enjoy them. He would fain uphold that assistant, for he was his surest and one of his strongest friends in the north. Questioning with this gentleman what was Tyrone's resolution fending this alteration and declination of fortune, he told me he heard him say that he would not leave nor fly his country, if death was as near him as the length of his sword; yet, he saith, he heard some of his chief followers report that, if he had no other resistance, he would submit himself to Her Majesty and seek mercy, which I hope will never be granted him, having been the death of so many thousands and consumption of so much treasure.

"O'Donnell is fled to the borders of Connaught, unto which place the new O'Donnell saith he will follow him. He and the rest are this day departing for Lough Foyle, where the garrisons of late have done good service. If any supplies be coming, I beseech your Honour that we may have a hundred of them; for though we be not checked so many, yet having many Irish which we are forced to entertain, and will then discharge, we shall receive them. We have likewise some hurt and maimed men, which, being whole and unserviceable, must be discharged; and our horse would require some supply, if it will please your Honour to afford them unto us. With them we keep the whole country in awe and obedience. My Lord Deputy hath now given me 25 in pay, which I raised and brought myself without one penny charge to Her Majesty. Captain Jephson hath his 100, out of which Con O'Neill is paid 20, Shane McBrian 10, and Rory Oge McQuillin 12.

"I have troubled your Honour with long letters. I desire to be excused, for that I am driven to relate much business, and have been silent a long time. I send your Honour a note (*wanting*) of our receipts and issues of victuals since my last coming hither. By this passage I received letters from your Honour written long since and they encourage me to hold on this toilsome profession. I humbly beseech you to continue your honourable favour towards me, and I will ever remain your faithful servant.

"At my last being in England, I dealt with one Charles Ogle, servant to the Earl of Essex, for a piece of land lying near this town, named the Island Magie, which was land of the said Earl's, and by him given to his servant Ogle for the term of twenty-one years. It hath long lain waste, and, considering the treasons of those gentlemen, I am doubtful to deal any further therein, and to bestow any charge upon it, unless I have some assurance from Her Majesty for possessing thereof. It is a thing of small value. If it will please your Honour to get me the fee-farm thereof, I will build some forts and castles upon it, and keep it from annoyance of rebels. I have sent this bearer my servant to follow my Lord Treasurer and your Honour for the procuring me payment of the money due from Her Majesty for the service of my brother, wherein

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I beseech you to be good unto me; for I am bound, in discharge of my credit, to make payment of so much in London for such things as I took up at my last being there, the better to enable me for Her Majesty's service here."—Knockfergus, 1601, April 6. [*Postscript.*] "Since the end of these letters (they staying for a wind) James McNice is returned from Tyrone, disliking as should seem of his entertainment. He hath sent unto me from O'Cahan's country. I have willed him to come unto me. I will but idle the time with him, until I hear from my Lord Deputy. Even now a messenger is come unto me with assured report of Sir James McSorley his death and burial. This is the 10th of April."

[*Further postscript.*] "If these letters stay long for passage, I shall weary your Honour in perusing of them. I have twice opened them since they were first sealed to be sent unto you. This last occasion was offered by the coming of one Mr. Thomas Douglas with your Honour's letters touching his safety and speedy sending unto you, the contents of which I have performed, sending him by this passage. He hath left a discourse of some of his observations with me, desiring to have them sent to my Lord Deputy and State, which shall be performed, albeit I think most of them matters of small moment, and some of them will be hardly credited. The material points have been long known to this State, but, having many businesses in hand near home, [it] cannot as yet secure all places. He will bring your Honour the draft of what he left with me, of which I know your Honour can give a just censure; but I think Tyrone will never see the half of those forces together, which he reports of. He hath declared some things unto me, which I think he will deliver, and more, to your Honour. I shall know the certainty before the next passage, whereof I will advertise you, and with the speeches he delivered me, if it please you to understand them, part of which were that he had caused a lough to be set on fire, and Tyrone's horse to be slain under him, and other things which I willed him to keep secret, lest he were a hindrance to others' endeavours. Even now I received letters from Sir James McDonnell, or rather written in his name, for I think himself dead, or too weak to write, and his name is written McSorley, which he would never acknowledge. I have sent your Honour the copy of his writing, and, being required by my Lord Deputy, I will forbear from serving upon him until I can advertise his Lordship with the letters, and receive his answer. He is come to better towns than he hath accustomed. If he die, he hath sent me word, or the country for him, that Randall shall succeed him, who is yet in Scotland, and I think the poor people would fain be under honest masters. All that I can imagine of his writing, if he mean not honestly, is to delay time, rather to enjoy the quiet fishing of the Bann for this season, or to see that time to the end of May expired, within which time Tyrone hath promised the assistance of Spaniards or others, or else leaves every man to shift for himself. This is the 12th of April, 1601." *Holograph. Seal. pp. 8.*

*Encloses:—*

7. i. Sir James [McSorley Boy] McDonnell to Sir Francis Stafford. Stafford's friendly offices to Sir James's family. Has not broken the promise he made before the Council of

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Ireland. Went to the Governor of Knockfergus to be righted by him of the wrongs done by the garrison there. "What did he then but come forth with all his foot and horse armed, and sent to me by message that I should have no right that day, but he that should be strongest of us should have the field. And in truth, Sir, I thought that he was of as good a mind to me as I was to him, for I was provided for no evil intent to him, and I seeing him coming so fiercely upon me, as is aforesaid, I gave him the place where I was. I fled away from one place to another, for fear that I should do any hurt to Her Majesty's forces, and I knowing well that it was more lawful for me to give him the place than to fight against Her Majesty's forces, and I then being a subject to Her Majesty. But for all I did I could not escape, but at last I was forced either to fight or else to die, and then I retired and skirmished with him, and, as God saw him in the wrong, He gave him the overthrow." Protests that it was sorely against his will that he entered first into action with Her Majesty. Would have written long ago, but feared that Sir Arthur Chichester, brother of Sir John Chichester, would intercept his letter. Thinks the Lord Deputy and Council were of opinion that he would not become a subject again, when they placed Sir Arthur as Governor of Knockfergus. "Therefore, Sir, I would that you came to Knockfergus, that I might speak with yourself, and then I would tell you more of my mind, the which I cannot write unto you at this time." Desires a protection from the Lord Deputy. Promises not to help any against Her Majesty, "unless I send a little rising out unto O'Neill for the safeguard of his [Sir James's] coming." Begs Stafford to come to Knockfergus, and to cause Sir Arthur Chichester to be displaced. "Were it not that I mean to be of a good mind to Her Majesty, I had rather have Sir Arthur there than any other."—Dunluce ("Dunlupp"), January 6, 1600[-1]. [Postscript.] "If it were lawful, I would that you had sent me a rapier and a poynado with hangers. If here be anything to pleasure you, Sir, it shall be ready at your command." Cormack McKay is dead. Copy. p. 1.

7. ii. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir James McSorley [Boy] McDonnell. "I have seen your letter to Sir Francis Stafford, and have spoken with your Secretary, whom you sent therewith unto him. I find you desire protection till May next, and yet make no other offer of service to Her Majesty, than not to aid any against her, unless it be some little rising out to Tyrone for the safeguard of your country. This so slender offer of deserving, and demand of protection for so long time shews small affection in you to become a subject, but rather manifesteth a device to serve your turn, by gaining time till either you are better provided to hurt us, or think us less able to hurt you. You may not in reason look that in this course your motions are fit to be hearkened unto, especially that for the remove of Sir Arthur Chichester, which were most dishonourable for the State. But if indeed you are desirous to return to that obedience to Her Majesty, which in the duty of a subject you



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are bound [to], and will endeavour the best service you can do her to wash out the flames of your disloyalty, I do hereby undertake that Sir Arthur Chichester shall not only favourably hear you, but will most justly perform what he doth promise you; and thereof do I pawn and engage mine honour, so well do I know his sincere dealing, and the interest that I have in him; whereof you have the less cause to doubt, seeing how well he dealeth with your brother Randall, which I think cannot be unknown unto you.”—*The Camp*, [1601], January 31. Copy. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

7. iii. Sir Arthur Chichester to [Angus McConnell], Lord of Cantire. “I understand lately by a messenger that you were desirous to confer with me about some things concerning the good of my Prince’s service, and regaining of that which is in these parts wrongfully detained from you by the sons of Sorley. I wrote unto you when you were at Dunluce in December last, but I know my letters came not to your hands. The service which you proffer, and good you may do yourself, are of great moment, and to conclude it without further conference and assurance would be thought vain in us both. Wherefore, if your purposes be such as I hear of, I would be glad to talk with you, your son, or agent, either in this town or any other place convenient, when I will advise with you for some good and discreet proceeding in this business, which in the end will turn you to much honour and profit. But I wonder (since this message) to hear of some of your people being at the Raghlin without sending further unto me. I would be glad to hear from you as speedily as you may.”—*Knockfergus*, 1600[-1], March 24. Copy. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

7. iv. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir James [McSorley Boy] McDonnell. “This gentleman, your servant, brought me letters from the Lord Deputy, which I received the fourth of this instant. I am likewise acquainted with the contents of yours to Sir Francis Stafford, and my Lord’s answer to yours. That his Lordship hath granted unto you, and what he hath undertaken for me, will be with all honour, and shall be with all honesty and care, performed. And to the end you may proceed more thoroughly in your purposes, Captain Willis (who is now here) is licensed to confer with you, unto whom it is thought you will relate and declare all your mind and intentions. From him I shall receive the true notice thereof, which I will direct to my Lord Deputy, and you need not doubt me, unless your conscience do accuse you of guiltiness in which I never suspected you. For I ever thought my brother was slain by the accident of war, and not by your treason. And so believe I bear you no private malice. If I did, I must lay it aside for the public good, and could you trust me, you might as safely confer with me as with Sir Francis Stafford, whom I know to be honourable, and both you and I think him to be our friend. But I must let you know, had he power (as you seem to imagine) to remove me from my place, I would sooner be a horsekeeper to an honest subject than Governor for the Queen in this place. I except against no part of your letters, though you have mixed

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truth and falsehood together. *I only desire to understand your intentions, for it may be Captain Willis by contrary winds shall be carried to Lough Foyle, before he speak with you. Wherefore I could wish (if you mean honestly) that you should send me notice of your mind within ten days after the date of these ; and in the meanwhile I assure you no harm shall be done you or your followers during that time by any subject under my command, unless some petty stealth be made by the McQuillins, or others that are now abroad, and have no notice of agreement betwixt you and me. Ten days I give you, within which time I would hear from you ; and, if your purposes be good and for advantage to the Queen's service, we shall agree for a longer season. What you write to my Lord Deputy, to any of the Countil, or myself, I will safely and speedily convey unto his Lordship, and you shall have an answer, as soon as I can procure it ; for, seeing you trust not me, they shall end your business. I only let you know I bear you no malice, and will ever be found an honest and dutiful serrant and subject to my Prince and country.*"—Knockfergus, 1601, April 5. Copy. p. 1.

7. v. Sir James McSorley [Boy] McDonnell to Sir Arthur Chichester. "Being given to understand by the narration of my own servant what honest entertainment and good behaviour your worship did use towards him, as I conceive was for my own cause, as of your worship's gentle answer to my Lord Deputy's letter, did move me gratumlie to be of a better humour and affection towards your Honour than ever I was before ; which I hope (with God's grace) shall continue in mutual love on both the sides during our lives. The which favour, if it be altered or turned in disfavour, I protest to God it shall not be of my default. And whereas your worship doth write that I might as safely confer with you as Sir Francis Stafford, as God shall judge me, if I had heard so much mention of your honourable favour towards me, as my servant who last did speak with your worship did persuade me of, I had sent my letters to your worship before any other, by reason you are my Governor under Her Majesty. Wherefore if your worship continue in this favourable and honest dealing with me (God willing) it shall not be unknown to your worship what humility and kindness I shall shew to your worship in my loyal service to Her Majesty. Hereupon I most humbly request your worship to grant me the benefit of a protection till the 28th of May next, and the same to be given to the rest of my brethren, one for all, with their whole followers, to be unharmed in body or goods, both by sea and land, for which I engage my honour to stand by my word during the space of our agreement ; within the which space (I hope in God) that I shall confer with your worship at more length, so soon as my brother Randall shall come home, which I hope shall be with the first of May ; and also myself, by God's providence, able to go or ride everywhere, to parley with your worship in such convenient places as you and I can agree upon ; in which parleying (I hope in God) that your worship shall have occasion by my good deserts to be a means to procure

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for me pardon, requested for by my own letters, which shall be directed in the time of our parleying in your worship's presence. [T]herefore I request your worship to have no doubt in my willingness and honest meaning ('willines and honest meanies') with an earnest intention to become a loyal subject by the best way I may; as I doubt not but your worship doth know how I was constrained to become a rebel, whereas I was a subject. For I protest to God there was never in Knockfergus a Governor I did love better than your worship's brother, till he had given occasion to become a rebel, of the which I conceive that your worship is not ignorant. As for suspicion of my loyalty, if your worship hear of certainty that I will aid, assist, or favour O'Neill, or any other of the Queen's enemies, during our protection, then I am content, and consent by this my letter, my protection to be void and of no effect, and never to credit myself hereafter: requesting your worship most earnestly that this my letter be holden close from all evil willers, that would have me to receive harm, either by your worship or O'Neill, till our business be better performed at my brother's home-coming. And as for Captain Willis, your worship shall wot that he has not gotten our coast as yet, by reason of the contrary wind, and, if he come, he shall but advertise your worship of this intention, whereupon I hope to remain firm, if I be not constrained to do otherwise." Begs Sir Arthur to take order with those that steal his goods in the night.—Dunluce, 1601, April 8. Endorsed by Sir Arthur Chichester:—"The copy of Sir James McDonnell's letter, which came unto me the 11th of April, 1601." Copy. p. 1.

April 12. Carrickfergus. 8. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer, Mr. Thomas Douglas, has brought Sir Robert's letters. Has performed what is therein commanded, and is returning him by this passage to Chester. "He told me his business was at an end in this country." Has furnished him with sufficient money to defray his charge to London.—Knockfergus, 1601, April 12. Holograph. Seal. p. ½.

April 12. 9. "The names of all the chief places of strength in O'Dogherty's country called Ennisowen, as well castles as forts;" also of those in McSwyne Fanat's country. [*The marginal notes are given in italics.*]

(a.) "On the south side of the country, at the coming of the Lough, there is an old ruined castle, called Newcastle. *Here dwells Hugh Boy Mack Caire, one of O'Dogherty's sept.*

"Next unto the Newcastle, three miles to landwards, is a church, called Moymill, with a haven before it. *Here dwell Shane McDuff and Hugh Boy's brother. A small brook at this place.*

"Next to that, within four miles is a small castle, called Caire MacEwlyn. *Here dwells Hugh Carrogh McLaughlyn, chief of his sept. A small brook.*

"Two miles above that is another small castle, called Garnagall. *Here dwells Brian Oge McLaughlyn. A small stream.*



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“Seven miles from Garnagall is the fort of Culmore, where Phelemy Oge O'Dogherty did dwell. *O'Dogherty's brother. Between Culmore and Garnagall are two small streams.*

“Three miles above Culmore stands the Derry, where the Bishop dwelt, who is one of the sept of the Gallacars. From the Derry, three miles within the land, towards Lough Swilly, is the castle of Ellaugh, O'Dogherty's chief house.

“From Ellaugh, five miles up in the country, at the side of Lough Swilly, is another castle of O'Dogherty's, called Birt. *Here he holds a ward of forty men. [Here] runs a small stream into Lough Swilly.*

“Next to that, in the Lough, to the seaward, is an island called Ench, five miles in length, and one mile from Birt. *The chief dweller here is Doultough O'Dogherty.*

“Over against Ench in O'Dogherty's country is a castle and a church, called the Fanne, but broken down since our arrival. *Here dwells the Bishop O'Galther.*

“From the seawards six miles is another small castle, called Boncranogh, and a river into the Lough, where salmon is taken. *At this place dwells Connor McGarrett O'Dogherty.*

“From Boncranogh to seawards nine miles is another castle and a church, called Clonmony, by the seaside. *Here dwells a priest called Amerson.*

“From Clonmony to seawards five miles is another castle, called Carrickbrahey. *Here dwells Phelemy Brasleigh O'Dogherty.*

“From Carrickbrahey to landward, one mile, is a small castle, called Caslanstoke. *Here dwells Phelemy Brasleigh's son.*

“From Caslanstoke to seaward is a country of nine miles in length, called Mallane, wherein is a fort by the seaside, called Don-yrishe, held and inhabited by O'Dogherty. On the south side stands another fort called Don-owen. *Here dwells Gartill McShane Boy O'Dogherty.* To the southward of the same island stands a church with a wood, called Donoughmore.

“From Don-owen a mile northwards is a church, called Culdaghe, and stands upon the seaside. *Here dwells McShane O'Dogherty.*

“These be all the chief places round about O'Dogherty's country, called Ennisowen; the midland country is most part mountainous, and hath few inhabitants.

(b.) “McSwyne Fanat's country, over against O'Dogherty's country, on the west side of Lough Swilly.

“From the entry of the Lough, until you come to a point of land a little short of Ench, there is neither castle nor fort, but there upon a point of land is a castle and an abbey Ramollan. *McSwyne Fanat's chief country house.*

“Five miles above Ramollan, there is a castle of Hugh McHugh Duff's, called Ramaltan, standing upon the Lanan, which falleth in Lough Swilly, parting McSwyne's country and Hugh Duff's. *Hugh Duff's own house.*

“Three miles above Ramaltan, upon the Lough side in a bay, is the abbey of Kilodonnell, in Hugh McHugh Duff's country. *Here dwell only friars.*

“Five miles above Kilodonnell, there is a ford passable at low water, wherein hath sometimes been a fort called the Farcet of Soloughmore.

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“Three miles from this ford towards Birt, stands an abbey, called Ballaghan, over against Kilodonnell. *Here dwell friars. A small stream into Lough Swilly.*

“Three miles from Ballaghan, towards Birt, is a point of land which runs far into the Lough, where hath been a strong fort, but now broken down, and is called Dunboy. *Here dwells Shane McManus Oge.*

“Dunboy and the point of land whereon Birt standeth maketh a bay, in the bottom whereof stands an old fort, called Colmackatreyne [‘Culme a Treyne’]. *This was wont to be held by O'Donnell.*

“From Colmackatreyne runs a bog, three miles in length, to the side of Lough Foyle. In the midst of the bog is a standing Lough, with a port on the one side of the Lough, called Bonebber, where Alexander McSorley was slain. At the end of this bog, to Lough Foyle side, is the fort of Cargan. *Here dwelt O'Donnell's mother. A small stream into Lough Foyle.*

“Three miles above the Cargan stands a fort, called McGwyvelin, upon the river of Lough Foyle. *O'Donnell's mother's chief house.*

“Above McGwyvelin, four miles up the river of Lough Foyle is the Liffer. *Here dwelt O'Donnell. Two rivers between McGwyvelin and Lifford, Solofbeg and the Dewle.*

“Four miles above the Liffer stands Castle Fene; here dwelt Neale Garve. *Neale Garve's house.* Four miles above Castle Fene is a friars' house, called Drumboy.

“Three miles above Drumboy stands a fort called Ballakill. *Here dwells Donnell Gollocar, one of O'Donnell's chief counsellors.* Ten miles above Ballakill is Lough Fene, upon the river Fene, where the river hath his first head. Four miles westward from Ballakill is Barnesmore. From Barnesmore to the castle of Belleek, that stands upon Lough Erne, is twelve miles. From Belleek to Ballyshannon is three miles. *Here dwells McO'Dongonrye.* From Ballyshannon to the abbey of Asheroe, to the seaward, is one mile. *Inhabited by monks.*

“From the abbey of Asheroe to the abbey and castle of Donegal is nine miles. Here is a good haven, and the river Esk falls into it. *O'Donnell's chief house.*

“Three miles above Esk is Lough Esk, O'Donnell's chief keeping. *O'Donnell's chief storehouse for the war.*

“Over against Donegal, two miles on the other side of the water, stands O'Boyle, where the ships used to ride. *O'Boyle's chief house.*

“Seven miles from O'Boyle to the seaward is a castle, called McSwyne Banat's Tower. *McSwyne Banat's chief house.* From this place to the haven of Killibeggs is three miles. *Here dwells Seneschal McGonnell.*

“Four miles from thence stands the castle of Bromoyle, in the lower end of the country. *Here dwells Hugh Boy, McSwyne Banat's brother.* From thence four miles is a small haven called Cornetillen. *This haven divides McSwyne Banat's country and O'Boyle's.*

“At the lower end of O'Boyle's country is a castle, called Kilmirrish. *Here dwells the Bishop of O'Boyle.* Next to that castle is the haven of Bonebber. *This haven parteth O'Boyle's*

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country and *McSwyne Ne Doe's*. And next to that is the haven of Conogarhen, with a castle so called. *This is McSwyne Ne Doe's chief house.*

"The next haven to this is Red Haven, which parts *McSwyne Ne Doe's* country and *McSwyne Fanat's*. By the side of this haven is the castle of Mewryce, a castle of *McSwyne Fanat's*. *Here dwells Alexander McDonologhe. Small boats may come from the Red Haven to the castle.*

"The midland of Tyreconnell is inhabited by the sept of O'Gallocars."

*Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"12 April, 1601. The description of Lough Foyle and the country adjacent." *Addressed to Sir George Carey. pp. 6.*

April 12.  
The Camp.

10. Redmond Burke to Sir George Carew. The inestimable wrongs offered him. As he means not to disturb any place under Sir George's or the Earl of Thomond's jurisdiction, begs the former not to be a means to stop him from demanding his right. Sir George's honourable word and equity. Tells him to draw his forces for the defence of his charge, "which otherwise might suddenly revolt, if they had any aid by sea or land," as very many expect. Will stop this to his best endeavour, if Sir George does not wrong him.—The Camp, 1601, April 12. *Signed*:—"Redmond Letrym." *Copy certified by Sir George Carew. p. ½.*

April 13.  
Dublin.

11. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "The Lord Deputy hath licensed this bearer, Sir Richard Greame, to repair to the Court; and I wish his stay should not be long there, for that he is a good instrument in the service of Leinster, where he hath and can perform good service. He is a stirring man, and fortunate in his attempts, and, being a mere stranger at the Court, he considereth how far he may want friends to countenance him." Desires him to be speedily returned, that he may be in Ireland "at the time of the northern journey, where good use is to be made of him."—Dublin, 1601, April 13. *Signed. Seal. p. ½.*

April 14.  
Dublin.

12. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have known this gentleman, Sir Richard Greame, longer than any of this Privy Council have done, and, ever since my first knowledge of him, have been a witness how he hath still held one constant course in Her Majesty's service, ever ready, and from time to time most forward to adventure his life therein." Recommends him as one "who (howsoever others have carried the credit for plotting and devising of services), in action, performance, and execution, hath ever shewn himself the first that hath adventured continually with good success. Besides, his carriage and government is such as, in regard of his experience, I know none of his degree in this kingdom either of better sufficiency or valour to perform any service in the several parts of this realm, which are well known unto him." He deserves "an extraordinary recompense"



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at Her Majesty's hands. Prays Sir Robert to further Greame's suit, "for his encouragement to continue his course, and for the stirring up of others to follow his example."—Dublin, 1601, April 14. *Signed. p. 1.*

April 15.  
Dublin.

13. Thomas [Jones, Bishop of] Meath, to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommends [Sir Richard Greame] to Sir Robert's favour, and prays that he may be returned speedily to his charge, "which may not well forbear his absence."—Dublin, 1601, April 15. *Holograph. Scal. p. 1.*

April 16.  
Dublin.

14. Captain David Hetherington to Sir Robert Cecil. Thanks Sir Robert for the great favours received from him at his last being at the Court. "The best news I can acquaint your Honour withal is, that the service of this kingdom doth prosperously and effectually go forwards," to the relief of Her Majesty's true subjects. As for the Lord Deputy, "whose worthy praise, honour, and valiant attempts, good success and proceedings I cannot sufficiently commend, thanks be to God, he hath pacified Leinster, and driven the rebels to that plunge and extremity, that they were glad to yield themselves, being able to hold out no longer, humbly beseeching your Honour to vouchsafe your Honour's furtherance for the good of this poor country, being now in a good forwardness. There is a number of seminary priests in this country, who by their wicked and pestilent persuasions stir all those that be evil-affected and disposed to rebellion, and seduce the ignorant sort of people from coming to hear divine service. This pestilent sept, if there were order taken for their banishment, and fines and exactions laid upon those that should give them entertainment, and keep them in their houses, there would not be such treasons and great abuses daily committed in this kingdom. The testimony whereof I refer to the relation of this bearer, Sir Richard Greame, one of the best servitors we have in this kingdom."—Dublin, 1601, April 16. *Signed. p. 1.*

April 20.

15. Memorial to the Privy Council from Sir George Carey, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland. *The marginal notes by Sir Robert Cecil are given in italics.*

"1. To receive their Lordships' resolution touching the planting of garrisons in Ireland. *All left to the Lord Deputy and Council.* 2. To understand their Lordships' pleasures what course is to be held in the managing of the wars there. *Answered in the first.* 3. To know which of the rebels are to be prosecuted to the uttermost, and which of them are to be received to mercy, and under what conditions. *Tyrone and O'Donnell to be prosecuted.* 4. To understand what course their Lordships do resolve of, touching the plantation of a force at Ballyshannon. *We leave it to him and the Council, but do think Sir Henry Dockwra hath made a good project.*

"5. What supplies of horse and foot their Lordships mean to send into Ireland. 6. That their Lordships will be pleased to

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make choice of some sufficient well-learned man to supply the place of Chief Baron in Ireland. 7. That there might be a commission for the taking of William Dungan's account, who is Collector of the First Fruits and 20th parts, and hath not accounted for the same this four or five years; and likewise to certify the sufficiency of the man to exercise that place, because he lieth in prison for debt, and is little worth, having consumed the Queen's money. And upon certificate of his misdemeanour, that Her Majesty will be pleased to grant the execution of that place to John King, who is honest, sufficient, and discreet. 8. That Her Majesty would be pleased to grant the reversion of the Auditor's office in Ireland to Richard Hopper, a man of good skill and experience, well able to discharge that place for Her Majesty's good. 9. That Her Majesty would be pleased, by your Lordships' good means, to grant the reversion of Colman's place, Remembrancer of the Exchequer in Ireland, to Thomas Wattson, a man well-known to your Lordships for his sufficiency, and one who hath taken much pains in Her Majesty's service."—1601, April 20. *Unsigned. p. 1.*

April 21.

16. "The examination of Moriertagh McDermott McShee, son to Dermott McShee, taken at Limerick before us, the Lord President and Council, the 21st of April, 1601."

The examinee and four others were delivered, in April, 1600, as pledges to Redmond Burke for the White Knight. How one was set at liberty, and two escaped. The examinee and the other remaining pledge were delivered over by Redmond to Tyrone, and were kept prisoners at Dungannon, until about a week before Candlemas last, when Piers Lacy, John Fitz Thomas, and others coming out of the north, the examinee was delivered by Tyrone to Piers Lacy, with special instruction "that when the English army should come against them, if then the White Knight did not join with the said forces, he should be hanged in their sight.

"He saith there came to Tyrone, forth of Spain, thirty-six chests of coin, each containing 500*l.*, in the whole sum 18,000*l.*, and, as he heard, 600 barrels of powder, with lead and match, and 2,000 Spanish pieces." *Sir George Carew writes on the margin*:—"the number he knows not."

How Tyrone distributed the money and ammunition. *Sir George Carew writes on the margin concerning two of the recipients, Teig Keogh O'Carroll and Keadagh O'Meagher*: "they are of Munster, in the county of Tipperary."

"He saith that when the two ships that brought over this money and munition to Tyrone forth of Spain, returned back, the titular Bishop of Dublin then went, and took in company with him, viz., Friar Peter Nangle, Robert Mortimer, priest, Connogher O'Quin, brother to O'Quin, Donogh O'Hagan, and two more, whose names he knoweth not, neither to what end they were sent, saving that this Bishop, upon his going, did publicly make a solemn vow before Tyrone and many others, that if they lived, they would return before Allhallowtide then following. But part of the charge committed to the masters and pilots that brought this money and munition aforesaid, was to take notice of the coast and to sound the harbours, which they performed, as to the examinee was reported.

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“He saith that this kingdom was divided for the prosecution of the wars between Tyrone and O'Donnell, viz., Tyrone to hold the prosecution in Ulster, Munster and Leinster, and to see his forces paid and answered with money, victuals, and munitions; and O'Donnell to maintain and follow the same in Connaught, Tyrconnell and Thomond, towards which he had from Tyrone the third part of the money, powder, and munitions before mentioned.

“He saith that Teig O'Rourke did depart from Tyrone with 1,000 foot for Munster, these bonnaughts to be paid by John Fitz Thomas and Teig O'Rourke, and though that Teig had the charge of them, yet they to be directed by the counsel of Piers Lacy.

“He saith that McMorris and Teigh Keogh were to land as great forces as they could get in Kerry, for which they should have had the King's entertainment.

“He saith that Redmond Burke had commission for 1,000 men to infest Clanrickarde and Thomond, and, if Teig O'Rourke had been too weak with his forces in Munster, then should Redmond Burke have come over the Shannon to his assistance.

“He saith that Tyrrell is, by like commission from Tyrone, to come with 1,000 men to infest Leinster, for whom he was to have entertainment.

“He saith that he came prisoner along with Piers Lacy as aforesaid to their camp at Toughkynalshyn, and there continued with them, until such time as they were enforced to rise thence, and were driven over the Suck, dispersed by Her Majesty's forces; where, corrupting his keeper, on Friday last, being the 17th of this instant, he escaped, and came to Sir Thomas Burke. At which time of their flight they left between their said fastness and the Suck much of their munition, powder, arms, and baggage, and in passage over the Suck they left about 200 persons of all sorts, whereof some were commanders, and more baggage, powder, &c.

“He saith that Redmond Burke is determined to go to O'Donnell to intreat his assistance to come into Clanrickarde, and that Teig O'Rourke, John Fitz Thomas, and Piers Lacy, are resolved to go to Tyrone to get some new aids from him for Munster, which purpose to join with Tyrrell, and to come through O'Farrell's country over the Enny, and so into Munster.

“He said that when he came with the Irish forces into O'Rourke's country, they heard that the Earl of Essex was entered into open action of rebellion in England, and that Tyrone was ready to send him any aid, whereof they were glad, which when they came into Clanrickarde they heard the contrary, which made them very sorrowful.

“He saith that, at his first coming prisoner into Ulster, Tyrone speaking of the Earl of Essex's troubles in England, he heard him wish that Essex had been with him there. He saith also, that he, being admitted often to play at tables with Tyrone's lady, heard her say, ‘I would to God that Essex would stir trouble in England, for then would we not care for the aid of any other prince.’

“He saith that in his opinion (as a matter observed by him) that Tyrone is not able to continue these wars long without the aid of foreign princes. His reason is that Tyrone findeth no assurance in



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this kingdom. For in Connaught few are rebels; in Leinster, none of any reckoning in action; in Munster very uncertain to have any assistance; and from Tyrone himself many of his people daily slip away, notwithstanding he and they are there very bragging and merry amongst themselves.”—1601, April 21. *Unsigned. pp. 3.*

April 22.  
Derry.

17. Captain Humphrey Covert to Sir Robert Cecil. “Since my last letter of the 27th of March, the island of Ennisowen, O’Dogherty’s country, is made very strong by reason of the erecting of certain small forts upon the fords and passages of the long bog, which stretcheth between the Cargan and Colmackatreynne, all which are now kept with two companies of hundreds, so as the Governor may the more safely draw his other garrisons upon any occasion of service. By your honourable favour, having so much excepted against Hugh Boy in my late letters, me seemeth your Honour expects something of him now. May it please your Honour, out of his subtlety he hath hitherto very well demeaned himself, but our garrisons meet with slender benefit from the country. In the Lent they brought us little (though very dear) because of their devotion, and since Easter we have had less, as I deem, through their malice. Being one day in conference with him, he very solemnly protested upon his salvation, that if it would please the Queen’s most excellent Majesty to grant freedom of conscience, he durst undertake, within three months, to bring all Her Highness[’s] kingdom of Ireland in peace and due obedience. As I was answering him, he was called for to the Governor, and since I saw him not.

“The second of April, certain of the garrison of the Derry won about sixty cows and two hackneys from O’Cahan’s side on the other part of the river, which I write not for any great marvel, because all men of very good experience wonder there hath not been many a hundred taken from thence long ere this, our commodity of boats and ships being so good, the places of landing so easy and free, the journey so small, and the retreat so safe.

“The 9th, a ship of one Nicholsons of Newcastle was by tempest driven aground upon O’Cahan’s side, through the negligence of Captain Harrison, the water bailiff, who had charge many times to bring her off, [and] was burned by those rebels, much to our disgrace, although she were worth little and unserviceable; for the which he is discharged of his place.

“The 10th, the same rebels, being flushed (‘fleshed’) with the burning of this bark, and of a fair strong horse-boat, not long before built upon the Queen’s charge, gave a bravado to the garrison of Dunalong, and had like to have swept away all the horses that were aboard, but they were suddenly rescued by the soldiers of the garrison.

“The 18th, Sir Henry Dockwra, with Neale Garve O’Donnell, took his journey from the Lifford towards a castle that O’Donnell’s brother besieged, near Sheep-haven in McSwyne’s country, who left the place before his approach by ten miles. His strength was about a thousand foot and horse, English and Irish, so as he hath driven McSwyne Togen, the arch-rebel, out of his country, and

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hath taken pledges of the gentlemen that are yielded in obedience, got a prey of one thousand cows, and almost a thousand garrans, slain many of the country, without loss of any one of our part, and hath left Neale Garve O'Donnell with his own forces, being 300 Irish and 150 English, to keep that country, and to do further service upon the rebels as occasion shall be offered.

"The 21st, there was most certain news brought to the Governor, being at the Derry, that 200 of Tyrone's followers, with 2,000 cows, revolted from him, and came to Cormack O'Neill, after whom Tyrone sent one Ogane, his chiefest counsellor and man of war, to force them back, whilst himself with the greater part of his army went towards my Lord Deputy, who was said to be at Armagh. But these revolvers withstood those that pursued them, and took this warlike Ogane and three other principal men prisoners. Hereupon Cormack O'Neill writ to the Governor for three or four hundred English, offering in Tyrone's absence to enter and waste so much of his country as he can, and withdraw such friends as be willing to come in, to (*sic*) which request, as I hear, the Governor hath not granted. This day, being the 22 of April, our cannon was prepared to go over to O'Cahan's side, but through the sudden report of O'Donnell's coming down upon us, that journey is stayed.

"May it please your Honour, the Captains with their officers are most violently bent against my proceedings in the musters, and daily myself, and such as in this employment for Her Highness['s] service I use, are boldly threatened to have our throats cut. I confess, in regard of my duty, I have been unto them as wormwood to the taste, and they, through their malice unto me, as a stepdame to her child. I have not studied more means to prevent their large musters than they have had lewd practices to betray my life. As a Jew is among Christians, so am I with them, and as a herd of wolves watching one lamb are they unto me. If we speak together, as sometimes we must, within three words we draw to quarrel. For their talk generally with me is of the hard and unaccustomed musters I have invented, and that it worst becomes me of all men, having been a Captain, to undergo so mean and scandalous an office, to the hindrance of so many Captains. If I keep within my house, as for the most part I do, then they slander me with disorder. If I go abroad, as sometimes I must, I am sure of like cause of discontentment.

"Being lately very much wronged in regard of my straight musters, as it is no rare thing with me since I held this place, by certain officers in the army, especially by one Cotsmore, a young Lieutenant, who after he had many times called me base traitor, slavish rogue, &c., swore he would the next morning pluck me out of my bed, and rip out my guts. Hereof I complained unto the Governor, as unable to resist many, who hath of his own disposition sent him prisoner to your Honours; and herein appears my wretched destiny, that when they shall have wrought their hateful desires, it will be said that either I was drunk and sought it, peremptory cholerick and urged it, or that I was shot by mischance, and they could not help it. So as if I durst (without your Honour's displeasure) express my poor suit, it should be only the release of

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this place, retaining as my chiefest fortune your Honour's good favour, without the which I am not ignorant that as well myself as many others shall be most miserable."

Encloses the state of the forces as they appeared at the last musters, on the 1st of April. Would have likewise sent all his rolls and books, with the checks for the half-year, but cannot get Mr. Gascoyne's despatch, which he will most certainly send by the very next [passage].—"The Derry within Lough Foyle," 1601, April 22. [*Postscript.*] Since the writing of this letter, has collected the abstract of the half-year's check, which he also encloses. *Signed.* pp. 2.

*Encloses :—*

17. i. "*The strength of the army, as appeareth by the certificates of the several musters taken the first of April, 1601, besides dead pays, preacher, and cannoneers.*" Foot: Derry, 932; Dunalong, 537; Lifford, 563; total 2,052. Deducting 438 for sick, hurt, &c., total 1,614. Horse, 77. Neale Garre O'Donnell's Irish forces, 500 foot and 100 horse. *Signed by Captain Humphrey Covert.* p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

17. ii. "*Abstract of the half-year's check of Her Majesty's forces at Lough Foyle.*" Total, 4,242l. 12s. 4d.—[1601, March 31.] *Signed by Captain Humphrey Covert.* p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

April 22.  
Derry.

18. Captain Humphrey Covert to the Lord High Treasurer of England. [*Letter to the same effect as No. 17.*]—Derry, 1601, April 22. *Signed.* Seal. pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

*Encloses :—*

18. i. *Duplicate of 17. i., without signature.* p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

18. ii. *Duplicate of 17. ii., with additional notes.—Signed by Capt. Humphrey Covert.* p. 1.

April 23.  
Derry.

19. Sir Henry Dockwra to the Privy Council. "Having upon the arrival of our last supplies taken in O'Dogherty's country, the season of the year being then exceeding intemperate, I thought it my best course to fortify and secure the passages of the same, as well against O'Donnell for entering in, as the ill-affected inhabitants for stealing out with their goods, before I made any other main journey into the land. Notwithstanding, to the end I might not be worthily condemned for losing ('leesinge') of time, or spending it upon unprofitable works, or of small consequence, after I had made up the fort at Colmackatreyn, another at the Cargan, and a third upon another passage not far from the same (though not sufficiently as I ought for want of tools), and the weather giving us some hope of amendment and a fitter season to travel in, I gathered the forces together, assigning the place of rendezvous at Skrafalles, which stands upon the neck of Hugh McHugh Duff's country, with a resolution to have entered the same, and so down in McSwyne Fanat's, to whom I bear some little grudge, for that he had long together entertained speeches with me of coming in, and still deferred it to Neale Garve's arrival. For I hold it in some sort dishonourable that his obedience and duty to Her Majesty should



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depend upon the favour or confidence of any other man. But our troops being assembled, and even ready to enter, our whole project was merely frustrated, partly by the lewdness of an Irishman that stole from us and gave intelligence, so as the prey was far driven away, and partly by the inclemency of the weather, which was such for three days together, as I assure your Lordships would without enemy have broken our forces, should we have put them to travel in such manner as they must, had we gone forward; which finding by experience and loss of some threescore of our good men, that were already cast down with sickness, I thought it best to return home, attending a fitter opportunity and a more mild season. Not long after Neale Garve arrived from my Lord Deputy, with Cormack O'Neill in his company, by which I thought myself urged as it were to lay hold on some new occasion. Our advertisements therefore being at that time divers and from sundry places, some informing me certainly of O'Donnell's preparation to invade Ennisowen, others of Tyrone's gathering of forces to join with him above the Liffer, and some men presenting their opinions for taking of this place, and others for that, according to their several conceits of the business, and their own particular profit, I resolved with myself (hearing every man's reason) to begin first where I had last ended, chiefly induced by this reason, that I would leave the enemy as far behind me on this side the water as I could, when I should have occasion to pass to the other; and next that I thought that side of the country most requisite to be either spoiled or gained to the Queen before the Spaniards came, lest it should serve them as a receptacle, and yield them commodity of victualling and such other necessities for invading ourselves. Of which inconvenience there was less danger to be feared on O'Cahan's side, because he had no havens in his country for ships to arrive in, nor could escape our fingers, though the Spaniards were landed in any other part. And further at the same time had I received a messenger from Owen Oge McSwyne Ne Doe, advertising me that whereas O'Donnell had given from him a castle (the chief of his country) to Moyle Murrough McSwyne (the traitor that ran from Her Majesty), and that he had therein put divers pledges whom he had taken, that these pledges had now procured themselves loose, and were possessed of the upper part of the castle, and so held it against the ward, which lay all below and abroad in the bawn; wherefore, if I would come down and succour his people, he would presently submit himself to Her Majesty's obedience. Upon the ground of these advertisements, I first dispatched Captain Coach with a ship to the castle, furnished both with money, to reward those people that should give it up into his hands, and with men to secure and hold it, being once freed. And both to disguise my purpose the more, and to secure Ennisowen too, if O'Donnell should come down, as I was still advertised he would (for by lying at that place I was sure to keep him either before or behind me, as I should see best advantage), I drew up the forces to Liffer, and there made my rendezvous, giving it out I would assail Newtown in Tyrone. And so bearing Cormack O'Neill in hand, I was scarce alighted there, but a messenger came from Owen Oge McSwyne, accompanied with an Irishman that I had sent with Captain Coach

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who brought me word of his impediment of proceeding by reason of contrary winds, and withal desired I would draw that way, and Owen Oge would presently repair unto me, and give himself to Her Majesty's obedience. And at the same instant came another called Shane McManus Oge O'Donnell, a man well known to Neale Garve, and one that held certain islands in the sea beyond McSwyne Ne Doe's country, who offered his service conditionally he might have 100 foot and 100 horse in Her Majesty's pay. The conditions I utterly rejected; notwithstanding by persuasion and earnest entreaty of all the Irish, who did wonderfully extol the man's valour and ability to do service, I was contented to agree with him in this manner. First, Neale Garve was contented to spare him of those men [that] were allowed him by the Queen fifty foot and twenty-five horse presently, so that that being no charge to Her Majesty, I easily yielded unto it. Then I promised him more, that in case he would presently do service of any worth, and deliver me in security for his truth, I would undertake to deal with my Lord Deputy, that he might have fifty foot and twenty-five horse more in pay from Her Majesty, after the same rate the others were, and for his better encouragement would disburse unto him 40*l*. of mine own money, till his Lordship's pleasure were known; and to be then defalked upon his entertainment, if it were allowed. These conditions being agreed upon, he gave me his son for a pledge, took his oath of obedience, and presently dispatched away a messenger to his people that lay in the Islands before-named, and willed them to fall out upon Rory O'Donnell's country (who then had them in no suspicion), and to take what prey and booty soever they could lay hands on. And withal I deferred no longer time, but presently drew away (a little discontenting Cormack O'Neill), and with those forces I had (joined with the Irish), I entered first Hugh McHugh Duff's country, and spoiled it, and so passed on into Fanat, where I was no sooner arrived, but Owen Oge McSwyne Ne Doe met me, and being come upon my word to make his conditions, disputed the matter long for delivering up his castle, which by no means I would be drawn to succour, except I might have it for my labour to the Queen's use, and he on the other side would by no means be brought to yield it, yet in conclusion thus we agreed. He should enjoy his country by Her Majesty's gracious favour and benevolence in the same manner Moyle Murragh McSwyne should have done, and let him recover his castle (being now besieged by Rory O'Donnell, the other McSwyne Ne Doe, and the banished O'Dogherty) as he could. Only I yielded to give him countenance by drawing three or four miles forward on the way towards it, and giving out I would visit it; and upon these conditions he presently took his oath of obedience, and delivered me two chief pledges of his country, and is to bring more, such as I shall nominate or demand at any time. This agreement being made, and marching forward a little more than one mile, we had certain intelligence that Rory O'Donnell was fled from the siege of the castle, that Shane McManus Oge's men on the other side had taken a prey of 500 cows, and driven them to the Islands, and that they were in an exceeding fear, prosecuted by Owen Oge's men, that followed them close, and played upon their rear. So that having paused a

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while, and received a full and perfect confirmation of this news by frequent messengers that came in, agreeing all in one tale, I dispatched away this Owen Oge to put in a stronger ward into his castle, and willed him to secure his country, which he may easily do with his own forces, because it lies all within bog, wood and mountain, [so] that it is almost inaccessible with an army; giving him further in charge, that he should carefully look that nothing were conveyed away through his country from McSwyne Fanat's, who had now left none other way to escape, myself being at that instant in the neck of his country environed with sea, and only passable at a low water in that arm that divided their two countries asunder.

“Having in this manner and thus far proceeded in this business, your Lordships shall now understand that, at my coming out of Liffer, I dispatched away three messengers to attend O'Donnell, and to bring me speedy word what he did. The first returned within one day, and assured me he was gone to Ballyshannon to hasten away the forces which he expected out of Connaught, and so would presently come down to Ennisowen. The second stayed out two whole days, and came now unto me, as I had thus dispatched Owen Oge. He assured me that O'Donnell had gathered many men together, and was come from Ballyshannon to Donegal, and confidently gave it out he would be (as that day) over the mountains in the neck of Ennisowen. These messengers' tales agreeing so probably, and yet ignorant each of other's employment, I thought good to advise upon some new course according to the occurrents of time, and therefore resolved on this. McSwyne Fanat was not yet come in (for all we were in his country). To spoil him, the forces of the Irish alone were sufficient, and seeing the country was to be under Neale Garve, as their supreme Lord under Her Majesty, I thought fittest to leave him to deal with his people to finish that work, and to return myself with such prey as we had gotten (which was at that time above 1,000 cows, with a number of garrans, sheep and goats), to lie upon the frontiers of Ennisowen in O'Donnell's way. We had some difficulty in concluding. For Neale Garve demanded 400 English to assist him, where we had in all but 600 in the field; and O'Donnell, by all men's opinion, not to come down with less than 1,000 at least. Yet in the end I gave him 150, and with the rest returned according to my purpose and resolution, leaving him a store-house at Ramullan for victual and munition (for I had purposely furnished it against a like accident), as also for a safe place to retire unto, if need should be, and so willed him to proceed either to the absolute wasting of the country, or else to take it in upon such terms as he thought best, not binding Her Majesty to any inconvenience. So that with five days' journey, having wasted Hugh McHugh Duff's country, taken in Owen Oge McSwyne and all his country, unset his castle, driven O'Donnell's brother forty miles further off than he was, and taken a prey by Shane McManus in the furthest parts about Killibeggs, and leaving McSwyne Fanat's country bound and not able to escape, I am returned to Ennisowen, where I find all things quiet, and hear for certain of the daily revolts in all places from both the arch-rebels, which I am resolved so to pursue, as I doubt not by God's grace,



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but in a very short time your Lordships shall be advertised of the utter extinguishing of this long wasting and consuming fire, the fuel thereunto being already almost spent, if foreign power minister not a new supply. And even now as I am writing hereof, I have received a letter from Captain Bingley (who lies at Ramullan) that Neale Garve hath taken pledges of Swyne Fanat, and delivered them into his hands, and all that country quietly subdued, and I hope sufficiently secured so to continue; advertising me further that McSwyne, Bane and O'Boyle have sent their messengers in like manner, and do earnestly desire to be taken in, promising to join forces with us, to make a journey to Donegal, and so utterly expelling O'Donnell from all parts of Tyrconnell. But therein I refuse to second their request, partly because I was before resolved (and had made my provisions accordingly) to make a journey upon O'Cahan, and partly because I see no such fruits to come thereof, as the outward show seemeth to afford, by reason we are not able to leave a garrison there without provision of victual and other necessities, which cannot be conveyed but by sea, and partly also, for that it is clean out of the bounds of my commission, although were it apparent Her Majesty's service might be much advanced thereby, I would therein have used small scruple, but rather referred myself to Her Majesty's gracious dispensation with my honest meaning and dutiful intent.

"Things standing for the present in this state, as I have informed your Lordships, I must return to some other businesses, wherewith your Honours may not be the least unacquainted. And first touching Neale Garve, he is returned from my Lord Deputy, loaded with gifts more than his heart aspired to, or dreamt of, till they were beaten into his head by ambition and the envious beholding of other men's felicities, by which he measured his own, not esteeming anything enough, so long as he seeth another man enjoy more. I speak not in malice (God is my judge), but in discharge of my duty to Her Majesty, he is a fit man to be used in this place, and will (I doubt not) effect the business he is raised to perform. But of the disposition of the man your Lordships may partly conjecture by this I shall truly report of him, partly by the observance of his nature, which I will truly describe, and your Honours may be better informed of by others. Upon his arrival I received him with all show of love and joy of his safe return, and entertained his humours (which I quickly discovered to be raised from that they were at his going away) with the best respect and qualification I thought fittest to temper him withal. Notwithstanding he was scarce landed, but he began to expostulate many unkindnesses suffered by me to be done to his people during his absence, which I quickly disproved, and rejected the fault worthily and by his own confession upon them. He then began with his own little broken English, and the help of Captain Willis to interpret for him, to demand the possession of Ennisowen to be delivered into his hands. The question seemed strange, and I asked him what possession he meant. 'The country is mine,' saith he, 'and so is all Tyrconnell, and I will use and govern it to my own pleasure,' and withal shewed me the *custodiam* which my Lord Deputy had granted him for Tyrconnell (but containing nothing to authorize

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him by in O'Dogherty's country). 'Why' (said I), 'what is your intent? Admit you shall be made Lord of all Tyrconnell, and of this country as part thereof, which I will not debate with you whether you be or no, what is the prerogative you would claim thereby?' 'I will cress my people,' saith he, 'upon the churls, I will take such things as I want, and employ the inhabitants at mine own discretion.' 'For cutting upon the country,' I answered, 'it was so poor, that Her Majesty was contented for this year to forbear such rights as otherwise she might justly impose,' and for himself, he would not, I hope, challenge any right above but under Her Majesty's favour and pleasure. He replied again, 'Let the Queen do with her rights what she will. Ennisowen is mine, and were there but one cow in the country, that cow would I take and use as mine own.' 'And how would you provide for the poor people to live?' said I. 'I care not,' saith he, 'let 1,000 die, I pass not of a pin; and for the people, they are my subjects. I will punish, exact, cut, and hang, if I see occasion, where and whensoever I list.' Whereupon I was moved as well as he, and in few words bade him be better advised; for whereas I had hitherto dealt by all fair means and persuasions, I would now deal by authority, and therefore forbad him, upon his allegiance, neither to make nor meddle with any man, or any part of the country, upon what pretence soever, upon pain of their lives that should be used as his instruments therein, and himself to be sent prisoner to my Lord Deputy. He had scarcely power to temper his extreme choler, and yet with some repining speeches began to relent from his former fierceness; which observing well, I began likewise to give way, and a little to follow his humour, by mitigating my speeches with a more favourable interpretation, and appeasing him with a commemoration of Her Majesty's bounty, and the good offices I had done by furthering him thereunto. Yet for the present he seemed nothing satisfied, till in the end I told him, 'You challenge a sovereign right in Ennisowen, such a one as should be prejudicial to Her Majesty's service, derogatory to her honour, and unfit for any subject. You must first understand that you are not Lord or Master of any part of Tyrconnell but by Her Majesty's favour and bounty. Whether she give you all or part, it is not in me to dispute or to contradict, but you must and shall attend Her Highness[']s pleasure. In the meantime, that you shall see I wrong you not out of mine own particular malice, I will, before witnesses of your own country and the friends you best trust, examine the grant you have obtained from my Lord Deputy. If anything be therein, whereby you may challenge this right you pretend unto in Ennisowen, I will give it you; but if not, you must have patience.' Hereupon he desired I would make no man acquainted with what had passed, but laid hold on a book, and began to swear he would fully content himself till he might hear again from my Lord Deputy, and then conform himself to anything his Lordship should determine, not expecting (seeing it was not intended) any further superiority over that part of the country than Her Majesty should be pleased to give him. And hereupon, having first reserved one of his brothers in my company, partly in nature of a pledge, and partly under colour of

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courtesy, we agreed to join and go forward with such service as the opportunity of time should afford us; and that was one reason wherefore I inclined to free that country of the McSwynes before any other, because I would yield him a superiority and means to live by, and to draw his people to him in a country of less use and importance to Her Majesty, which I verily think doth now sufficiently content him. But I assure your Lordships the man is of a disposition proud, valiant, miserably covetous behind (*sic*) all measure, void of the knowledge of God, or almost any civility, good to be used whiles he is either satisfied (which he will hardly be with any conditions, be they never so large) or kept under, which I am of opinion he must be, lest of an inconstant honest subject he prove a desperate and headstrong rebel as dangerous (if not more) as any of those two, which have raised themselves by the same means of Her Majesty's bounty and clemency. For I speak truly of him that which I find by experience, the hindrance of his will for a cow or a garran he takes for as just an occasion to hold himself wronged by, as if all he had were violently taken from him.

"And now to say somewhat of the state of the army, which I know your Lordships will not be uninquisitive of. For the strength, how it is found, your Lordships shall see by the muster-books, which as I guess take notice but of 1,614 able men; the rest are included in dead pays, sick men, and such other uses as afford no help to Her Majesty's service to fight withal. Upon the ground of this rate, which I know it could not but come unto, when I wrote my last letters, I desired a supply of 1,000 foot and 40 horse; yet at that time, more out of doubt I had of the Spaniards' arrival, than great want I should find to deal with the country forces. The same reason holds still, for I assure your Honours it were a desperate state we should be cast into, if a foreign power shall assault us being weak, and intermingled with a nation of such instability and diversity of nature, manners, religion, and affection, and therefore, how well soever our affairs shall go, I would humbly entreat (if your Lordships be pleased to approve of my reasons), that the same number may be sent, for the mere extinguishing and giving a sure end to this inflaming and long-burning rebellion. And though I will neither dispute of the certainty of this muster, neither avow nor disprove the sincerity of the Captains, yet I may not conceal the want I find when I draw forth the companies upon service, which is such, as upon this last journey, drawing forth the uttermost I could possibly from all parts, I had not in field by poll above the full number of 600 men (I mean of English), the garrisons being thus left furnished according to my estimate, and as I desired they should be. At Culmore I left twenty, at Ellaugh sixteen, at the Derry all the workmen (of whose company soever), and eighty soldiers at Colmackatreyne; a company of 100, whereof I took none away, at Cargan, and the fort next unto it a company likewise, whose strength I think was about forty men; at Dunalong three companies, being in list 400 men, and at Liffer four companies, being in list 450 men. And so did I take out, as I saw them march in the field, from Derry, Culmore, and Ellaugh, 850 men; from Dunalong in two companies, 60; from the Liffer in four other



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companies, 160. Then I took out of Ramullan, the company of Captain Coach (which was going to McSwyne Ne Doe's castle, and landed there, because the wind was against them to go forward), which yielded me forty men, so that my whole number of English, marching in rank and bearing arms, was but 610, the garrisons being left even but meanly manned. Of horse, we had thirty of Sir John Bolles['s], and about twenty-eight of mine own, which we held our chiefest strength, but that they were exceeding weak for want of feeding, which this season of the year yields nowhere in Ireland. And this do I partly set down at more large, to the end your Lordships should see the reason that somewhat moved me the more readily to promise Shane McManus my endeavour to procure him men from the Queen, in respect by that means I should be less driven to disperse the English forces to our exceeding weakening, and continual trouble of victualling, which after fourteen days these Irish have promised they will not expect at my hands, so that now I am resolved, and have divided the forces in this manner. To the guard of McSwyne Ne Doe's and Fanat's country, I appoint Neale Garve with his 250 foot and 75 horse, settling themselves at Ramultan (a castle that stands in Hugh McHugh Duff's country, but upon the neck of both the other), and for his aid, till the place be made sure, and the country thoroughly quieted, I have lent him 150 English, which altogether, joined with the country's forces, being well able to make 200 men more, and having a strong abbey, and a storehouse for munition and victual at Ramullan to retire unto upon any extremity, I hold very sufficient for defence of all that part. At Culmore, I am now resolved to leave twenty men in ward; at Ellaugh, ten; at Colmackatreynne and upon the passages between that and Cargan, 100 or little more; at Ramullan a company to defend the storehouse; at Dunalong, 200; at Derry, besides workmen, three or four score; and all the rest to draw up to Liffer, and so higher into the country, as I shall see cause.

"And to the end your Lordships should be perfectly informed of the situations of the country, I thought to have sent your Honours another map containing the exact form of McSwyne Ne Doe's, Hugh McHugh Duff's, and McSwyne Fanat's countries joined to Ennisowen and the rest of the land, but the time would not suffer me by this passage to get it finished. Yet thus much your Lordships shall understand. McSwyne Fanat's country is divided from Ennisowen by Lough Swilly, and from McSwyne Ne Doe's by another arm of the sea not altogether so big, but much like, and upon the neck and entrance thereof stands Hugh McHugh Duff's country and the castle of Ramultan, so that the wasting thereof is a necessary bond for securing the other; and for McSwyne Ne Doe's, as it is barren and extreme mountainous, so is it defensible in itself by the fastness of bog and wood, whereof it wholly consisteth.

"And whereas your Lordships may perceive by the former part of my letter that we took a prey of 1,000 cows out of Hugh McHugh Duff's country, and part out of McSwyne Fanat's, it is true I saw and counted the number, and I reckon them at the least. But I assure your Honours on my faith, by that time we came

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home, and divided them, there was not to be found above 240. The rest were partly killed by the way, and partly stolen by our own men, and partly by the Irish, who secretly withdrew themselves from the troop, some with five, some with ten, some more and some less, and hid them in woods, and conveyed them to their friends; insomuch as I must needs say, the spoil was far more we did, than the benefit we gained, saving the service which redounded thereby unto Her Majesty; and to redress so innated a fault in so barbarous a people, especially at first, I doubt not but your Lordships will hold to be a point of more than exceeding difficulty. But I must give them their right. Without their help to fetch in the prey, we should do little good with our English, and they on the other side dare do as little at fighting, without being secured of a back from us.

"I am not able (being overpressed with other business) to send your Lordships so perfect and particular an estate of the musters, as I thought to have done, but it shall be done with all speed that may be."—Derry, 1601, April 23. *Signed. pp. 11½.*

April 26.  
Dublin.

20. Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, and Sir Robert Gardener to Sir Robert Cecil. "On the 22nd of this instant, one Udall came before us, and in speech to us affirmed that he had matters of great weight to deliver unto us for Her Majesty's service (which he had made choice of us two to hear). We willed him to lay down the same in writing against the next day, which accordingly he did, and so soon as we had read his declarations, finding them to be very uncertain, and to consist upon general points, probabilities, and conjectures, we moved him earnestly to descend into some particulars (if any he had), and both made promise unto him to conceal his informations whatsoever, and offered our travail and service, by examination or any other good course, to bolt out the truth of anything he should deliver to us for Her Highness[s] service. Nevertheless we found him very unwilling to proceed any further with us than in the enclosed declaration he hath set down. And albeit we pressed him to deliver his particular knowledge in these matters, yet he utterly refused so to do, affirming that he purposed presently to repair into England, and there to acquaint your Honour more fully with his meaning (to whom only he entertained us to impart this his general declaration). Of the which manner of dealing used by him conceiving some mislike, we acquainted the Lord Deputy with the enclosed declaration, who, upon former experience of Mr. Udall's practices and cunning dealing with himself, seemed very unwilling to have any dealing with these matters, but offered unto us any assistance by his Lordship's authority to proceed in these causes. And because we told his Lordship that it was Udall's desire that his declaration might be sent to your Honour, he wished us therein to perform Udall's request. And albeit of ourselves we cannot apprehend the drift of this manner of dealing used by Udall to have matters, which here are meet to be dealt with, sent thither to trouble your Honour, before examination or ground be had of them, and partly do conceive, that by this course he seeks but some private

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maintenance, yet upon his refusal to deliver any more to us, and constant affirmation that he would presently repair to your Honour and acquaint yourself with his full knowledge of all things, whereof he said these were but shadows, we thought it our duties to send unto you his declaration, in sort as he delivered the same to us, written with his own hand, not knowing any cause of his stay here, but that he may presently perform those greater matters, which he seemeth unto us to promise.”—Dublin, 1601, April 26. *Signed.* p. 1.

*Enclose:—*

20. i. “*Certain general intelligences, to be discovered more particularly hereafter, delivered to*” the Bishop of Meath and Sir Robert Gardener, April 23, 1601.

“*That there have been agents with Fitzsimmons, the priest out of England, upon disloyal courses, and that by those agents, and by the mediation of Fitzsimmons and other priests, secrets touching Her Majesty’s services, with letters and copies of letters, have been sent and shewed to the rebels, as to Captain Tyrrell with others, by which means not only Her Majesty’s services have been crossed, but some upon the enterprise of service have been murdered. All this shall be proved upon the examination of Fitzsimmons, upon the apprehension and confession of the agents in England, by three of the principal followers of the old Countess of Kildare, [and] by the witness of some of the Earl of Kildare’s [men] at this instant, who were of late prisoners with Captain Tyrrell.*

“*That Archer, Nangle, Laylor, with others of the Jesuits’ faction, have been and are furtherers of rebellion. That Archer is expected with an excommunication general against all those that take part with Her Majesty. That upon Archer’s return and [that of] others that are expected, it is expected that rebellion will increase and grow more vehement, for proof of which there are strongest reasons to be alleged. That some of the rebels come in with consent both of Tyrone and the priests of the Jesuit faction. That certain who seem to give intelligence by such means as they have &c. against the rebels, are more trusted of the rebels, and to them more assured. All which shall be proved in very ample manner.*

“*That giving in of pledges will prove but a colour, that there are plots laid down to free their pledges upon all occasions. As these general informations are necessary to be observed, so may I go no further as yet in descending to particular proofs, until I have informed the same in England, and from thence be directed further. The reasons why I only give these general observations without particular proofs are these.*

“*First, the two agents in England are to be apprehended before anything be attempted here. The one of them is a lay gent of good sort, of whose taking I stand assured. The other is a priest, which shall hardly escape.*

“*Secondly, if any mention should yet be made, it would endanger some who are engaged for greatest services.*

“*Thirdly, upon important reasons I am sworn not to discover particulars here, until I have taken further order in England.*



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*"Fourthly, if particular mention should be made before order were taken for the apprehension of some, it might cause suspicion of further discoveries, and so desperate parties might be enforced to desperate courses.*

*"Thus I refer myself to your reverend and worshipful considerations, not doubting but it will please you to accept of my zealous endeavours in Her Majesty's services, assuring you further that, howsoever it shall please you to dispose of these particulars, I will (if God permit me life) make ample proof in England not only of these, but of far greater." Holograph. p. 1.*

April 27.  
Dublin.

**21.** Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of Captain Morris, whose company has been discharged. His entertainment and other fortunes at an end in Ireland. His meritorious service and behaviour. His company always kept full; it was "rather burdensome than beneficial to him." Captain Morris has good parts, "such as appear not in many others of his sort." Recommends his employment again.—Dublin, 1601, April 27. *Signed. p. 1.*

April 29.  
Dublin.

**22.** Sir Henry Davers to Sir Robert Cecil. "Your honourable assurance to my Lord Deputy of your intercession for my unfortunate brother gave me then encouragement by my letters thankfully to acknowledge your benefits, which being by his remediless and my everlasting misfortune brought back, I must now again humbly renew for your favourable protestation made unto Mr. Huggens of your intercession for my brother, and giving your word such assurance as I will most build upon of your favour unto me, which to confess freely, both my nearness to that party and some other circumstances made me often call in question. Yet if there should remain the least conceit of my miscarriage towards you, I will humbly in justice crave to be called to an account, where my plain and sincere apology shall truly lay open my ever honest intention towards you, howsoever by you mistaken, and my grateful acknowledgment to the world of your benefits, though in respect of another eminent dependency undervalued. I never did deny, yet now it grieves me to repeat, the love I bare my Lord of Essex. I loved not alone; wiser than myself were won, and to be deceived with such is less discontent. For his safety sure, when I was not well assured of it, without touch of my loyalty I would have hazarded my life. For what he hath said farther concerning me, I fear not. Truly it is not my interest, but his aggravating my brother's offence, that must raze his remembrance out of my mind, and make me hate his posterity. But a little to lessen the memory of this mischief, I have out of it learnt this good, that where my misfortune had tied me to many, my bond is not to any unsatisfied, but to my Lord Mountjoy and yourself. And rejoice I may, if joy I must in anything, that the interest and ends of both to whom I am bound, are one and not divided. I hold it base to beg, and unreasonable I should be to borrow, where

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I owe so much, and have satisfied so little. Yet if your bounty will afford addition to your former favours in those occasions that my misfortunes have made concern me, you shall enable one, that only wants means and occasion, to witness with works what he must now and ever acknowledge in words."—Dublin, [1601], April 29. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"Sir H. Davers to me." *Holograph.* pp. 2.

April 29.  
Dublin.

**23.** Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This bearer, Captain George Greame, being an ancient servitor in this land, and having received many dangerous hurts in Her Majesty's service, in my knowledge, is now in his old years determined to show himself there as a crushed soldier, towards whom he hopeth Her Majesty in compassion will in some manner open her hand toward his relief. And I could as soon wish he were comforted as any of his sort that I have known here, considering how justly I may bear witness of his faithful and continual services and hurts in his body. To your Honour he most desireth to address himself, hoping to have his small suits put on by your honourable furtherance, wherein your Honour shall do for one that hath deserved well. And although it be against my purpose to be thus troublesome to your Honour for these suitors of Ireland, yet when men of extraordinary desert importune only my testimony of them, it maketh me bold many times rather to hazard your Honour's censure than to turn my face from men in their condition. The gentleman is, partly by the encroaching of age upon him, and specially through his hurts, disabled to toil and venture in the wars, as he hath done hitherto; and, if he find himself now considered there, it will keep him in heart, and shall not be ill bestowed."—Dublin, 1601, April 29. *Signed.* p. 1.

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**24.** "The examination of Dermond McMorris, taken before me, Sir Francis Barkley, knight, the 29 of April, 1601."

"First, he saith that on St. Patrick's day last, he left Munster, and went over the Shannon into Thomond; from thence to the country of Clanrickarde, to Kileoligin, where he heard of Redmond Burke's and the Irish forces coming into Clanrickarde. The next night he lay at the abbey of Rossirrill with the friars. From thence in two days he came to the Bishop O'Hart's town, dwelling in the county of Sligo, who after ordinary conference told to this examinee that he had lately been at Sligo, where O'Donnell and the rest of the Lords of those parts, as O'Rourke, McWilliam, O'Connor Sligo and the rest, had a parley upon the receipt of certain letters from O'Neill, and other directions for the maintenance of the wars. This Bishop told him further that he saw a letter written from the Earl of Essex to O'Neill. The superscription was to the General of Ireland, and the effect was, that he and the rest of his confederates should be of good comfort, for that he would shortly draw the English forces from Ireland into England, whereby he should with better ease obtain his purpose there, and desired O'Neill to send him a thousand light men to play withal in England; for the letter was

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received of O'Donnell the beginning of Lent. About this letter and O'Neill's other directions, O'Donnell and the rest held consultation three weeks at Sligo. From the Bishop's he went to Ballymote, O'Connor Sligo's house, where he heard the former news confirmed, and met with McMorris Kierie and Gerrott Roe Stacke, who told this examine that he, the said McMorris, had received money and munition from O'Neill to come into Munster. Gerrott Roe Stacke shewed him also threescore culivers and muskets, which was the proportion of arms allotted to McMorris. From Ballymote he went to O'Rourke's country, and to McGlanchie's, where he heard nothing but general news of their preparation for Connaught.

"From thence he went to Termon McGraffe, where St. Patrick's purgatory is, which place was the colour of his journey, where he met with old Captain Tyrrell and his cousin Walter Tyrrell. From thence he went to the abbey of Donegal with the said Tyrrell, where he found O'Donnell, which was their Easter even. Tyrrell being before O'Donnell told him the cause of his coming out of Leinster was the coming in [of] almost all Leinster to the Lord Deputy, and that he had lost all his cattle and much of his goods, and that all that province would be lost, except O'Neill sent a great force thither. He told O'Donnell the first news that the Earl of Essex had lost his head, for which they all seemed to be very sorrowful.

"Easter night at supper, after other speeches, they fell in consultation how they should maintain the course now in hand in Connaught, and in the end they concluded that, if Redmond Burke had any repulse, they would leave fourteen hundred men in Tyreconnell to attend the garrison, and send some forces from Sligo to Redmond Burke and the Munster rebels. He saith more that the garrison of Lough Foyle did kill the Pope's Primate of Ireland and four other bishops and priests. He saith that there are seven garrisons in Tyreconnell; the furthest off from Derry is thirty miles. He saith that in the Easter holidays Neale Garve drew a draught upon O'Donnell, lying at the abbey of Donegal, and had with him fifteen hundred men of the garrisons; and, came to Barnesmore ['Barnishemore'], ten miles from that abbey, and was discovered, and returned with great preys from the country to their garrisons. He saith that some of the garrisons do come to Termon McGraffe, St. Patrick's purgatory, in hope to get some good prisoners. He saith that the Spanish bishop left three men at Donegal to keep his treasure, and left each of them two pair of shoes, and assured them before those shoes were worn out they should see him return with great forces, or never see him. This examine spake with his men, who reported this much unto him. He saith he was in their munition house in Donegal, where he saw a great chamber full of culivers and muskets, a loft full of pikes, and three of powder, containing by estimation two hundred barrels. This was the general store; O'Donnell's own powder is in an island by Barnes[more] ('Barnishe'), where he hath great store of munition kept by O'Gallagher ('O'Galchor'), where he also hath two pieces of ordnance, belike that that was lost at Ballyshannon by Sir Conyers Clifford. He saith that O'Donnell hath with him at Donegal continually eight hundred men. He saith that they have great store of lead and match, and that the country make linen



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cloth of their match very white and good. He saith O'Donnell goeth in English apparel, and that he saw him go to mass in a fine English gown. He saith he met certain English Scots there, who told a young man that spake English, that was with this examinee, that the King of Scots had forbidden all Scotland to assist O'Neill with any means whatsoever. He saith that O'Neill nor O'Donnell never sent for men out of Spain till now, nor victual, but now they have sent for both, and that they expect an army at Donegal and Killibeggs before St. James[s] day next. He saith they are all sworn to expect the Spanish Bishop's return with forces, and, if they be not relieved by Michaelmas, they will be glad to accept of any peace.

"He saith there is a great garrison of O'Neill's in Tyrone, but he durst not go thither for fear of the English garrisons, and that Sorley Boy's sons have undertaken the garrison of Knockfergus shall do no hurt to Tyrone. He saith O'Neill hath two thousand men with him, and all the treasure for the wars, and the chief clergymen with him. He saith that about fourteen days sithence, Tyrrell returned into Leinster with three hundred men and seven horse-load of powder. He saith that the Ulstermen have no hope in any man of quality in Munster to join with them, except Florence McCarthy. This examinee saith also that about ten days sithence, as he was to come away, there came report to Donegal that four Spanish ships arrived at Killibeggs. This examinee and a cousin of his went to see them, but saw none, but the next day he met with divers that said they saw the ships and had it confirmed after at Ballymote.

"About ten days sithence he returned homewards, and came to Ballymote, where he found McMorris and Gerrott Roe Stacke. He asked Gerrott Roe if McMorris would have anything to his friends in Munster. Gerrott asked McMorris. He answered that he was where he was, and that if any of his friends would procure him any favour, he would be glad to accept of it, and come home to his country. If not, he must be constrained to spend his life in seeking his own. At Ballymote this examinee heard of the return of Redmond Burke, and that they had twelve men killed, and many churls and women drowned, and much of their carriage at the Suck returned to Wynterolis, and that John McThomas and Piers Lacy came to Ballymote the next day after he departed thence. He saith that Hugh Mostyn stayed at McDavies' country, and that none of the rest are nearer than Sligo. From Ballymote he went to the Bishop Hart, and from thence to McWilliam's country. There Tibbott Ne Longe and the rest, and Richard Burke McWilliam do hold with the Queen, and Tibbott Burke McWalter Kittagh is for the rebels, who lieth at Ardnerie and Tirawly, which is the lowest part of the country; and the other McWilliam hath the higher part, which is the better. He saith that McWilliam's country is well inhabited, and Sligo, and O'Donnell's, and corn reasonable cheap. In conclusion, he saith that in all the border countries where he hath been, there is a general expectation of Spaniards before St. James tide, and that they make no doubt of their coming; and saith further, if they come not, he thinketh they will be glad to be received to mercy. He saith

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further that McSwyne Ne Doe's castle is broken by the garrisons. He saith further that O'Neill and O'Donnell have sent into Spain to send all shillings and sixpences, for all their money are pieces of eight and four rials, which trouble them much. This is all for the present I can understand of him. As he remembereth more, your Lordship shall be advertised, if you will not have him come to you."

*Endorsed :—"The examination of Dermott McMorris by Sir Francis Barkley, who came lately out of Ulster." The words in italics are added by Sir George Carew, to whom this copy was sent. pp. 4.*

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25. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew. "I know not what is left unanswered you of the public in Her Majesty's letter and the letters of the Council, and yet methinks no despatches can pass from hence, wherein some occasion may not be taken for us to discourse each to other the continuance of our affection, or at least to speak by our letters, which is *now the best contentment*, where the greatest is taken away by our separation. I have greatly desired to make my Lord of Thomond know how well you have used him, *and accordingly* Her Majesty hath very graciously proceeded, for she hath used him with very great grace, and hath made him see how much she values you. But for the gentleman, I must speak freely to you. No man can tell what he would have, for I protest unto you, till this very day I could never get other answer of him, than this. When I would say to him, 'What is there wherein your Lordship would have my friendship', he *will* still reply, 'Nay, Sir, *even* what please you; I am yours to dispose,' with such like words. *Another time he would come to me and desire me to let him know what he should do. I did still answer him that you would fain have him back, and that you did tell me what great use the Queen should have of him in Munster. To which he would then straight reply, that he hath (sic) nothing to do there, but he would desire to be directed by me, and so would still hide himself in such sort, as, before God, it did much trouble me.* For first I know him to be a very good servant to the Queen; [he] loves the English, and particularly yourself. Out of all which grounds I would be the gladdest man in the world to be able to do him any good. This morning *only he came unto me*, and gave an information of the state of Connaught and the planting of Ballyshannon, *which he said he would do if he might have 4,000 foot, and I know not what. As soon as I heard this, first, I knew the consequence was, to be Governor; wherein, because you can well guess how unlikely a thing it is, that the Queen would yield thereunto in respect that other noblemen in Ireland would affect the like (though for his faith and valour I know no subject in that realm to go before him), I need not use many words concerning the same. Only this I will add, that we do here wholly leave the projects of the war to the Lord Deputy, who seemeth to conceive that Ballyshannon shall be planted either by himself, or else by Sir Henry Dockwra, who now pretendeth that if his numbers be made up to their old list of 3,000 (from which they are lately decayed), he will plant Ballyshannon*

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by land from the Liffer, and send such shipping as attends Lough Foyle about with their victuals. Consider you therefore now whether we shall here change all this course, and take hold of my Lord of Thomond's promise, with which the Deputy and State is no way acquainted; who, if he mislike it, will cast it away with the dash of a pen; and, if he do yield to it, and it succeed not, will leave the interpretation to the success. To conclude, Sir, I never found yet but the Deputies would either follow their own projects or mislike others, and for aught that I see, we are still the children of Adam. In this matter of Limerick, though, the Lords have written to you as they do, and, though in no sort they mean to detract from your authority, yet *they have here a better orator than my Lord of Thomond is. Nevertheless, we have no way seemed to yield, but we do wish that because the fine is great, that if they will submit themselves to pay what you shall moderate, that as of your own free accord you did deliver the Mayor upon bonds, and dispense with some part of the fine, as you know is done here, both in Star Chamber and otherwise.*

"I am very glad that the Earl of Desmond is here. He is well used, and shall have the same sum which grows by the lendings, but not by the apparel; at the least he shall not know so much, because he is every day looking for more than his allowance.

"*Other news here are none, but that the Queen is well, and going to Greenwich.*" *Draft, altered by Sir Robert Cecil, whose corrections are in italics. Endorsed:—1601, April 30. pp. 6.*

April 30.  
Dublin.

26. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Mr. Humpston, preacher to the garrison of Carrickfergus, for the Bishopric of Down and Connor. Sir Arthur Chichester has earnestly moved on behalf of Humpston. "The zeal he hath of establishing religion in the minds and understanding of those blind and ignorant people, with his desire to settle himself in those parts for the good of them, hath caused him at this time to undertake the obtaining of the foresaid Bishopric. And his learning, honesty, and course of life, by the report of Sir Arthur, whom I credit, hath prevailed so far with me as to write these my letters in commendation of his good deservings."—Dublin, 1601, April 30. *Signed. p. 1.*

April 30.  
Cork.

27. David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry, to Sir Robert Cecil. That as some money, which he had sent for his son, has miscarried, 100*l.* may be taken out of the next treasure directed to Munster, and given to his son; the same to be defalked out of the entertainment of the writer, who will give the Lord President or Treasurer a bill for the same. Has procured the Lord President's letters to Sir Robert in this matter.—Cork, 1601, April 30. *Signed. p. ½.*

April 30.  
Cork.

28. Sir George Thornton to Sir Robert Cecil. Returning thanks for the kindness shown him by Sir Robert.—Cork, 1601, April 30. *Signed. Seal. p. ½.*



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29. Chief Justice William Saxey to Sir Robert Cecil. His suit, when attending at Court in May last, concerning the sums of money due to him, amounting to 491*l*. Certificate of Mr. Wilbram, one of the Masters of Requests, and Mr. Skinner, concerning the same. Details of the arrears due to him. His losses. Decision that he cannot be at the same time Chief Justice of Munster and Second Justice of the "King's Bench." Her Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor at Dublin are allowed a yearly fee of 200*l*. each, "and yet retain the gain of their practice." Prays for the like fee, or that he may have some other place in Her Majesty's service, that may yield him sufficient maintenance. Begs otherwise to be remitted to his "former private life, with less loss and better contentment."—Cork, 1601, April 30. *Holograph.* pp. 4.

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30. Notes in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.

"It is to be remembered that we must provide to transport 4,000 men, of which from Rochester, 1,760. The rest to be transported from other ports, wherein we must observe how the first numbers were directed, and so the doubled numbers accordingly to proceed.

"The shires out of which 1,760 men are taken are these:—

London	- 300	Cambridge	- 50		
Kent	- 200	Hertford	- 50		
Sussex	- 100	Oxon	- 50		
Surrey	- 30	Bedford	- 30	Middlesex	- 50
Essex	- 300	Berk[s]	- 50		
Suffolk	- 200	Hamp.	- 100		
Norfolk	- 200	Huntingdon	50		
					1,760.

"Where there are already appointed 50 men out of Cornwall, there must be 50 more, and these embarked at Barnstaple, as the rest were formerly appointed; and because they may have a good ship in their company, that ship shall carry one hundred men of Cornwall, and all go about to Barnstaple, and there set sail together."—[1601, April.] *Holograph.* pp. 1½.

[April.]

31. Rough notes in Sir Robert Cecil's hand respecting Munster.

"No victuals to be sold but by survey. Mounture for three demi-cannons. General pardon. Undertakers to be omitted for the arrearrages.

"In the county of Clare. Sir Tirlogh O'Brien. Mc ne Morragh Finn. Mc ne Morrogh Reagh, Welsh secretary to McThomas. Direction out of England that no attainted lands of Munster be passed in old books. Barry to be written unto."—[1601, April.] *Holograph.* p. 1.

April.

32. Indenture between the Queen and Sir George Carey, concerning the new coinage for Ireland, appointing Sir George "Master of the Office of Her Highness[s] Exchange between England and Ireland," and granting him divers powers for the execution of the said office. Rates of exchange.—1601, April. *Draft.* pp. 27.

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[April.]

**33.** "The manner of proceedings in the settling and executing of this action for base monies in Ireland."

Printed proclamations. Advantages to be gained by the army. Commission by Her Majesty. Places of exchange. *These were to be:—Leinster, Dublin, Newry, Drogheda, Wexford. Munster, Waterford, Youghal, Cork, Limerick. Ulster, Carrickfergus, Lough Foyle, Ballyshannon. Connaught, Galway. In England, London, Bristol, Westchester.*—[1601, April.]

*Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:—"An Order for the settling of coin for Ireland." Unsigned. Draft. pp. 3.*

[April.]

**34.** "A note of remembrance" from Sir George Carew to the Privy Council.

To shew the reasons why the forces were stayed at Clonmell, and not recalled but by the Lord Deputy's directions. For a licence to bring wheat and malt out of England, for provisioning the table of the President and Council. All his entertainments together with his poor living in England scarcely able to feed his men and horses, and to their Lordships' knowledge, he has not "any helps out of the country, as my predecessors in plentiful times had, and that I am free from taking of bribes.

"That my Lady Norreys hath been wrongfully informed against Captain Harvey, and that her house and town hath been the better for my living there. That her company was upon their march towards Kerry before Spencer's letters were delivered, and that time they could not be sent to Mallow, nor, until Listowell was taken, they could not pass without aid of other hands. That 50 men is too much for a ward; 12 were sufficient in time of peace. That when my Lord Deputy hath 1,000 foot, besides the 500 already deducted, I shall not be able to carry into the field 700 men by the poll, which is a weak army. Wherefore I do pray a restraint, notwithstanding any former letters, that no warders should be allowed to particular men's houses.

"To urge Gawen Harris[s] coming over. To speak for the munition I wrote for. That the victuals may be sent to Cork and Limerick; no other natures than biscuit, cheese and butter; and at no time fish. That the victuals until Michaelmas next may still be continued for the list, to prevent want, if Spaniards should invade us, or any new insurrections should happen, according to the numbers left in the province."

To know their Lordships' pleasure about the Lady Joan. Five hundred quarters of oats "at the least" to be sent presently. "A general pardon for poor people, which I have written for, and is promised.

"To deliver to Sir Walter Raleigh the oar. To deal that the fine upon the Mayor of Limerick may not be remitted, and to tell Mr. Secretary the quietness and obedience, which since that time hath ensued; and to know his opinion of the repairing of the Castle of Limerick with that money." [*This last paragraph in italics has been added in Sir George Carew's handwriting.*]—[1601, April.] Unsigned. p. 1.

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May 1.  
Dublin Castle.

35. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. "Having long expected the coming over of Mr. Treasurer, upon whose relation of your pleasures in all things we might the better ground our resolutions here, I have hitherto deferred the account of the present estate of this kingdom, being in some hope to have delivered it to your Lordships from myself, or to make any particular project of our future purposes, because the chiefest overture unto our determinations should have been the knowledge of what and in what sort your Lordships had most desired to have been effected. But the year and our occasions drawing on so fast, and the means to perform our designs to be expected out of England, the Council here thought it fit to send over Mr. Newcomen with our humble desires to your Lordships to proportion and to distribute such quantity of victuals, and to such places as may best answer our intended endeavours; by whom because in our general letter we mentioned a project to be sent by me, the which I have delivered to this bearer, I do think it a duty which your Lordships will expect from me, to give you some light of the reasons and likelihood that moved me to conceive it; the chief whereof being grounded upon the present estate of our affairs, I must first presume to trouble your Lordships with a short and therefore imperfect relation thereof.

"Munster is not only long since reduced, and made new men by their pardons, but, as I hear, begins to taste the sweetness of peace, and to show good arguments of their desire to continue it. And the like I may say of all Leinster, except the Moores and Connors, whom I have refused to receive to mercy, yet banished the one clean out of Offally, and left of the others not above some forty living, scattered in the fastness of Leix. For Ulster, we have as much assured the northern borders as we can so uncertain a people; O'Hanlon's country, the Fews, Clancar . . . . [?vill, co. Monaghan], the Ferney, most of the gallowglasses, many of the McMahons, and some of the O'Reillys, being reduced, and a garrison planted in the Brenny to bridle the rest, to infest Monaghan, and to enable Maguire to look up as high as Ballyshannon, and sometimes as far as Lough Foyle. Sir Henry Dockwra and Sir Arthur Chichester have made their neighbours, if not sure to the State, yet unsure and almost unprofitable to the traitor, and both (as I think I may boldly affirm) have done Her Majesty excellent service. Only Connaught is of all others the most out of order, and yet the most easy to be reduced, insomuch that the only going through it with an army, to make the war in Ulster by Ballyshannon, is thought will absolutely reclaim and assure it; which is my reason to plant Ballyshannon through Connaught, and with an army. And the reason that moveth me to urge that plantation is, because there is nothing in reason (things standing as they do) to be conceived to the contrary, but that it will presently straiten, and very shortly banish, the two vipers of this kingdom, Tyrone and O'Donnell; and consequently make a final end of this war. Neither is it the least motive to my desire to make the war in those parts, and to have magazines accordingly there, seeing from thence, if Spain should attempt anything here, I might so conveniently join with the President of Munster, and apprehend the first occasions to resist them. To take away the chief dangers of this journey, I might to



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great purpose send from Galway by sea, or perchance by land, a thousand men to Sligo, somewhat before my rising from Athlone, which would assure our passage without any appearance of danger, and after join with us in our journey. To effect this work, your Lordships may perceive in the particular project that I have designed 1,500 foot and 50 horse to be taken from Munster, of the which I desire that a thousand may be still employed against Ulster, the other 500 foot and 50 horse but borrowed for a time, which in likelihood may be done without danger to that province. Of the which if it shall please your Lordships to confer with theirs, what numbers I do allot for Leinster, you may perceive that I have taken no less care to preserve it than these parts, in the reducing whereof I have a more particular interest, presuming that we carrying the war before us into Ulster, the forces left behind us will be sufficient, except the succours from Spain arrive, the consideration whereof we must leave to your Lordships, who best know the likelihood thereof, which if it shall appear unto your Lordships to be of any appearance, we must expect to be presently seconded from you, for we may fear a defection even of such as hitherto have never declared themselves. We do also find that Tyrone doth negotiate some aid of men from the Scottish Islands, which if your Lordships in your wisdoms, by such course as shall seem best to yourselves, might prevent, we should proceed with less difficulty in this war; but I hope their uttermost succours shall give us no main impediment. I do not write to your Lordships for more supplies of men, not because we have no need of them, but considering the intolerable charge Her Majesty and the country is at for their levy and transportation, and the little use we have of them when they come hither, such as commonly they are sent; and being in hope that the decreasing of the rebels' power will shortly give us leave to lessen Her Majesty's list, and by such companies as fall to fill up the rest that do stand; which course, out of my care to abate Her Majesty's charge, I have hitherto held, without preferring such as even mine own eyes have witnessed to earn their advancement dearly with their bloods, or by satisfying again some worthy Commanders, from whom I have taken part of their entertainment, or pleasuring such as with me do venture with their lives in Her Majesty's service, with hope by me to be righted by her employments. But if Her Majesty (as of late I have received divers letters to that effect) command me to give companies as they fall to others, I shall not be able to diminish her army, nor to do those that serve her here that justice which they may so boldly challenge of me, in giving places of preferment to such as being absent have perchance served in this country at the losing of the kingdom, before these that have been present to all the labours and dangers in regaining of it. Neither do I insist upon the interest it hath pleased Her Majesty to give unto all commanders for the disposition of the places under them, to acquire unto myself any private dependency, which I have ever reckoned a vanity and burthen, but to strengthen myself only with such power as may best uphold my ability to do Her Majesty service, while it shall please her to employ me; for to take away the reputation of the Commander is but to take away the vigour of her own instrument, and nowhere more likely than here

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to endanger her work. In the which work I have and ever will labour with such sincerity as I hope God, who best doth know it, both hath already and will hereafter the better prosper me for it. Most of the chief Lords that submitted themselves to Her Majesty's mercy were here at Dublin at St. George's feast, whom then I thought fit to use with all kindness, and assurance of justice hereafter, to leave nothing undone to win and assure them, by being a bitter scourge unto them when they were in rebellion, and by pretending to be a friend and mediator for them as long as they continue loyal, and as I had made them feel her power, so now to give them some taste of Her Majesty and mercy (*sic*), and seeing (God be thanked) our hopes draw on so fast to end this war, as I am loath to trouble your Lordships for supplies out of England, of whom as is likely we should have no-use, till the chief brunt of the service be past.

"It may please your Lordships to give me leave to wage some of these Irish by agreement and a certain time, as they use amongst themselves, whereby by them I should consume many of the rebels, and by the rebels consume many of them, and both for the good of the service. For I dare assure your Lordships, there rests little now to settle this kingdom, but some way to be devised to rid the remnant of the idle swordmen of both sides; and that the English owners would or were able to inhabit their lands. For the first, I find the Irishry at this time much to affect some journey into the Low Countries, or to the Indies, or to be led to any other place of service. Unto the which if it be objected that they will return more able soldiers and more dangerously affected, I can assure your Lordships there is no experience can better the knowledge they have already attained unto, both for the use of their weapons, and taking the advantage of such ground wherein they fight; and it hath been ever seen that more than three parts of four of these countrymen never return, being once engaged in any such voyage. For the inhabiting of such land of the English as lieth waste, I know not how it can be done in their possession that now have interest therein, the owners being so poor and the quantity so great. But your Lordships by this may guess at the inconveniency that groweth thereby to Her Majesty's service, there being both in Leix and Offally many gentlemen, and every one of them alone is possessed of so much land as, well inhabited, would maintain more men than all the rebels in both countries at this time are; yet these lands not being inhabited, the Queen must keep continual garrisons, or leave these countries as receptacles for such as at any time can gather together and make any head. Thus fearing to become too troublesome unto your Lordships, I humbly desire you to think that, although, according unto my duty, I have propounded the best project I could conceive for the present prosecution of the war, yet that I do submit myself therein, as in all things, to your Lordships' most grave judgments, being as ready to put in execution whatsoever course you shall otherwise determine, as this."—Dublin Castle, 1601, May 1. *Endorsed* :—"By Mr. Newcomen," and, "Received at Greenwich, 10 May." *Signed.* pp. 5.

1601.

May 1.  
Dublin Castle.

**36.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. "This bearer, Captain Morris, is one of those whom I have lately cashiered upon no other ground than that he had one of the companies that came last over. I have reason to do the gentleman any good, because I know him to be valiant, and otherwise very meet for this service, and besides [he] is a follower of mine own. Yet have I been so careful to reduce the list, and thereby to ease Her Majesty of her exceeding charge, as I have neither spared him nor divers others, whom for good cause I do specially affect. But since I can neither give them the pay of Captains here, until they might be restored unto charge, nor can indeed hope to place them any more, until many others yet standing be discharged, I cannot stay them from seeking their preferment elsewhere, and upon that occasion have licensed this bearer to repair unto your Lordships, to be a suitor for something that may do him good. If it be land he aimeth at in this country, as I partly perceive it is, I wish he may find your Lordships favourable unto him; for the planting of stirring men amongst the Irish, and such as are acquainted with the course of service here, will much better the places where they are to inhabit. And though I am very loath to trouble your Lordships with many suitors, if I might reasonably avoid it, yet I beseech your Lordships pardon me in this, considering by what a necessity I am led thereunto. For, having seen this gentlemen and divers others serve gallantly and shed their blood in the service, and immediately after to be discharged, having no means here to make them any recompense, if I should refuse to testify my knowledge, and to recommend them unto your Lordships, I should neither bear up the reputation of my place, nor do Her Majesty and her service that right which I hold myself in duty bound. I must likewise humbly desire your Lordships to forbear to recommend others from thence to places of charge here, for since divers yet standing must be discharged to reduce the list, it must needs be grievous both unto them and such others as already be cashiered, to see any man coming from thence, recommended only from your Lordships to enjoy that which they think they have especially deserved. And thus much I may say truly, that no one thing breedeth greater discontentment to the Captains here, and in the end must needs be troublesome to your Lordships; for when they find no hope to have their turns served here, they break out with me, and will never be satisfied, until I give them leave to seek their remedy from your Lordships, which I see not how I can avoid, without disabling myself to serve Her Majesty as I ought, and I assure myself she expecteth."—Dublin Castle, 1601, May 1. *Signed.* pp. 1½.

May 1.  
Cork.

**37.** Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. On the 18th of April, being then at Limerick, received by Patrick Crosby their Lordships' two letters of the 8th and 13th of March. Deputy-Commissaries of Victuals in Munster to be nominated by John Woods, the chief Victualler. Allen Apsley appointed, but earnestly solicits to be discharged from the post. Refuses to yield to his request. The care and circumspection of Apsley deserve commendation. Will readily assist the Deputy-Commissaries. The method



1601.

of issuing the victuals. Four staples to be appointed, viz., Cork, Youghal, Limerick, and Tralee. Her Majesty's charge in transportation, land-carriage, and the country will be greatly eased. Desires a due proportion of biscuit, cheese, and butter in every bark. Defects of unproportioned stores. Example at Cork, where there is remaining for 1,000 men eighty days' provision of bread, and of other victual that ought to answer the same but for eighteen days. At Limerick, also, there remains of butter, cheese, &c., for 1,000 men, provision for 172 days, and of bread but for 90 days. Desires no other victual, "but biscuit, cheese, and butter, which doth best content the soldier, is more portable for service, and will much ease him in the carriage of pots and pans, that the dressing of other victuals will require, and that hereafter we may not be troubled with oatmeal, pease, herrings, pork, Pore John, dry-fish, &c., the most whereof are subject to corruption, and very displeasing to the soldier." For the garrison of Munster, as they be now in the list, there are victuals for three months at least, if the same were equally proportioned, but being as they are, no one magazine will answer its garrison with victual for scarce half the time, "without assistance of other places by transportation, which from henceforth the Victualler with a little more care may easily remedy."

Has received a copy of the contract with the Victualler. "It seems there is too great a liberty given to the Deputy-Commissaries in the last article but one, by the which they have power to utter and sell to the poor in market towns where they shall reside, and near unto them, such victuals as are decayable and unfit to be issued to the soldiers, without limitation either of quantity or quality, but such as themselves shall say to be unmeet. Which trust to servants, and specially to those of that function, which many times are found deceitful (under your Lordships' reformation) were needful in some measure to be restrained; for, under colour thereof, they may at pleasure (if they be not the honester and not overseen) underhand sell the best-conditioned as well as the corrupt, which the scarcity of this time will the sooner invite them to do, by reason of the great profit they may make, and thereby Her Majesty's store to be disfurnished. For the avoiding whereof they may be limited to sell such victuals as upon due examination and survey shall be found defective, whereby falsehood may be prevented, the service better performed, and the Victualler notwithstanding sufficiently authorized, according the meaning of the article."

Will observe the two points in their Lordships' letter of March 13, not to diminish any of the forces into wards but upon necessity, and to give Sir George Thornton the next company that falls void.

Arrival of treasure. How long it will last, their Lordships may see by the enclosed list of forces. Although he promised at all times to be ready to assist the Lord Deputy with 1,000 foot, to the service of other parts, and is ready to perform it, yet prays they may be continued upon the list in Munster for countenancing the services thereof, "which no doubt will contain these provincials in good terms (of whose obedience I have daily appearance of good expectation), and make others more fearful to disturb the same,

1601.

which is specially endeavoured by Tyrone, who leaves no way unattempted (either by invasion from other parts, or by persuasion to the better sort inhabitants thereof) to infest it."

Prays that the munition he wrote for may be sent, one half to Cork, and the other to Limerick. If this cannot be done without Her Majesty's greater charge, then all had better be sent to Limerick, which lies "proper to answer the service as well of Connaught as Munster." The Master of the Ordnance to be directed to mount "the three demi-cannons now at Limerick, whose carriages, being rotten and decayed, cannot be made serviceable."—Cork, 1601, May 1. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 7 of June. *Signed. Seal. pp. 4.*

*Encloses* :—

37. i. "*A list of Her Majesty's force of horse and foot, as now they stand victualled and paid in Munster, primo Maii, 1601.*"  
Total, 2,500. Signed by Sir George Carew. p. 1.

May 2.  
Cork.

38. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "As well as I could out of the few papers and evidences which I have here, I have made an abstract of my pedigree, to give you satisfaction that my ancestors were possessed of the moiety of the kingdom of Cork, and also with it I do send you the copy (*both wanting*) of the letters patent granted by K[ing] Henry II. to Robert Fitz Stephens, my ancestor, and Myles de Cogan, by the which it may appear unto you that for many descents together Carew was in possession of the said moiety, and by what means and when my ancestors did leave this kingdom; in the which although their patrimonies were great, yet in like manner they had large possessions in England, which made them the more careless of their lands here. But to speak anything more particularly to the lands of McMorris (without farther search) I cannot, but nothing is more certain than that his ancestors did intrude upon the lands they have in Kerry, and that the two last Barons of Lixnaw have confessed the same unto myself, and did offer me composition, evermore fearing that I would commence suit against them. Your Honour knows by my last letters the little affection I have to Irish land, but yet hold it agreeable to discretion to make claim unto it; and in reason I think the Queen should deal somewhat hardly with me, to give it to any man from me, having both an interest in right unto it, and besides the chiefest labourer in this work to banish the traitor that did possess it. Your Honour willed me to write somewhat, and it should be delivered. I am sure I shall never frame any letter or supplication that will content you, wherefore I humbly beseech you, now that you are better instructed than heretofore, that you will be pleased to write as you shall think good, either letter or petition in my name, and likewise to pardon me of this boldness to move you in my particular business. I do suppose that either the Queen will grant me McMorris land, or else in lieu thereof to (*sic*) give me some recompense. I have sold in her service the barony of Odrone, which was more land and better than these lands in Kerry.

1601.

"By that pedigree you may also see how many descents my ancestors were possessed of Carew Castle in Wales, and that my grandfather did but by a mortgage lose the same to Sir Rees ap Thomas, whose son, Sir Griffith ap Rees, Sir John Perrott, and the late Earl of Essex, in whose possession, ever since the mortgage, the castle hath continued, have all of them died attainted, whereof two of them were executed, and I think that land will prove unlucky unto all men that shall enjoy it, except it be a Carew.

"If I doubted of your love unto me, I would press your Honour, to urge you further than now I do. By good hap, McMorris land and Carew Castle are both in the Queen's hands. In the one I am interested by law; in the other I can allege little, but being so many descents in my ancestors' possession, and myself in blood the next heir male unto him that did forfeit the same by a mortgage, together [?] with the long time I have served Her Majesty, and was never benefited by way of reward the worth of a penny, doth challenge preferment in the suit before another man. Not to be troublesome unto you, if neither of them seem motives to your liking, I will not be wedded to my opinion, neither yet will I press you farther than you will admit, for I have given myself and fortune to be governed by you, and, except it be by your means, I look for no reward or benefit."—Cork, 1601, May 2. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Greenwich, 7 Junii"; and by Sir George Carew, "This letter is but private affairs." *Holograph. Seals. pp. 2.*

May 2.  
Cork.

39. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. Recommending the bearer, Patrick Crosby, who has been employed in Her Majesty's service nearly twenty years. His faithfulness and zeal. He has lost all his goods and the profits of his livings by this late rebellion. He is beloved of the better sort, and greatly hated of all the evil-affected, "both for his religion, and for that they know him a continual worker of means for their overthrow." His trustworthiness. "I know no man of his coat within this kingdom that is better able and more unfeignedly willing to do Her Majesty's service than he is, not only in this province, but also in all other parts of the realm."—Cork, 1601, May 2. *Signed. p. 1.*

May 2.  
Murroneue.

40. Donnell O'Sullivan to Sir George Carew. "The times being now reduced to some quiet (the Almighty be praised)," has leisure to consider his particulars, and craves Sir George's assistance therein. After the decease of his father, who was possessed of the Lordships of Bear and Bantry (the writer being then but two years old), his uncle, Sir Owen O'Sullivan, entered into his inheritance, pretending the custom of tanist, and endeavoured quite to disinherit him. When the writer came to some years, he endeavoured, with the help of some friends in the Council of Ireland, to prevent this, and sued his uncle before the Privy Council. His right appearing, he was ordered the principal place of those cantreds, viz. the Castle of Bearhaven, and the Lord Deputy and Council were appointed to part the rest of the said lordships and territories. They referred the same to some



1601.

Commissioners in Munster. Neglect of the Commissioners, and an unequal division made by them, "differing greatly from the meaning of the said Lords, and of the said Lord Deputy and Council." Made suit thereupon in England for stay of the publication of the division. Meantime Sir Owen died, and the controversy growing betwixt the writer and Sir Owen's heirs, they referred the division to an indifferent arbitrator, who published an order with which they rest contented, "though I, for my part, being rightful heir of all, be thereby over-reached." As the writer's life is uncertain, he prays, for the sake of his heirs, that Sir George would recommend his cause to the Queen, that the writer might be warranted to surrender what he now quietly possesses, and obtain letters patent granting the same to him and his heirs, and that the pretended tanist custom may be quite abolished and extinguished.—Murronmue, 1601, May 2. *Signed.* pp. 1½.

May 3.  
Cork.

**41.** Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Patrick Crosby. Has written in his behalf to the Privy Council. Prays that Crosby may have some of the attainted lands, when they are disposed of. He has a suit to Her Majesty concerning the brewers about London.—Cork, 1601, May 3. *Signed.* p. 1.

May 3.  
Cork.

**42.** Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. Recommending Sir Richard Greames, who had received license from the Lord Deputy to repair into England for two months. Received their Lordships' direction to bestow upon him, for his good deserts, 100*l.*, but, by reason of Sir Richard's absence in Leinster, this could not be paid. Prays their Lordships to cause the sum to be delivered to him, and Sir Richard will by his services manifest his thankfulness.—Cork, 1601, May 3. *Signed.* p. 1.

May 3.  
Cork.

**43.** Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Sir Richard Greames for his good merits and service.—Cork, 1601, May 3. *Signed.* p. ½.

May 3.  
Cork.

**44.** George [Touchet, Lord] Audley, to Sir Robert Cecil. "I was once (I cannot deny) much devoted to the Earl of Essex, carried with a conceit that he was truly honourable, loyal, honest, and possessed with rare and most excellent parts. I was carried, I confess, above might, right and beyond reason; for in France he dealt with me more unkindly than I had either before or since received kindness, and yet could I not separate my sure grounded affection from him. But now being gone, and worthily gone, I find myself made fortunate through a well-counted liberty, being neither engaged with any knowledge of those most wild conspiracies, and being delivered besides of a most unjust monster, which was my own evil blinded affection. And therefore now at liberty, and honestly set at liberty, I make offer of my well-devoted mind to yourself." Will do his best to deserve his favour.—Cork, 1601, May 3.

1601.

[*Postscript.*] Has bought some land in Munster, so hopes he may be kept on the list of that province; also that his company may be made 200 again. Reminds Sir Robert of his first suit for the Glynn. *Holograph.* p. 1.

May 4.  
Cork.

45. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Captain George Greames, to his favour.—Cork, 1601, May 4. *Signed.* p. ½.

May 4.  
Clangibbon.

46. Edmund Gibbon, the White Knight, to Sir Robert Cecil. Prays that the arrearages of rent due by him may be remitted. Impoverished state of his country through the late rebellion.—Cork, 1601, May 4. *Signed.* p. 1.

May 7.

47. Sir Francis Shane to Sir Robert Cecil. The gracious reception accorded him by the Queen, and her order to reward him. Is referred to Cecil. Desires a pension out of the Exchequer of Ireland, or the fee simple of lands in Ireland, or part of Her Highness's land in the Duchy in fee farm. As he has been made a precedent, that others of his countrymen should desist from seeking abatements of Her Majesty's rents, prays for an order to the Vice-Treasurer of Ireland to give him such allowance out of the arrear of rents grown upon him by these wastes as the summer apparel due to his company in 1600 shall amount unto. Concerning Captain Mostyn's bills for 970*l.* sterling, for which he bought the lands and castle of Callow. "Only my humble suit is for a speedy dispatch, whereunto my wants which know no bounds do forcibly drive me. *Dirum telum necessitas.*"—1601, May 7. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "Sir Francis Shane to me." Holograph. Seal.* p. 1.

May 7.

48. Richard Hadsor to Sir Robert Cecil. "It may please your Honour to understand that since Tirlogh McHenry his last submission, he hath drawn his followers and chattels out of his country called the Fewes, being part of the country of Tyrone, into the county of Louth, and shelters himself there under the protection of Her Majesty's forces securely, without offering to make any head or resistance in the defence of his country against his brother the traitor Tyrone; and, if any disaster should happen, it is to be doubted that he will fly out again this next winter, as he hath done upon the Lord Burgh his death, and so avoid this summer's prosecution. But, if he were driven and assisted by the State there to dwell and fortify in some convenient place in his country, it would further the service, and drive the rebels to a narrow compass, being now at their pleasure possessed of his country. And the like course being taken with Ever McCooley McMahon, usurped Lord of the country of Ferney, who hath lately submitted himself to the State, of which country the late Earl of Essex was tenant in fee simple, and of divers other lands in that realm, by letters patent granted by Her Majesty to his father; and

1601.

also with O'Hanlon, and such other capital rebels as are or shall come in, it would keep them in continual action and blood with the rebels, whereby there should be the less hope of reconciliation between them, weaken their men of war on both sides, and strengthen the frontiers of the English Pale and other Her Majesty's obedient countries. If Her Majesty did think it fit to procure a marriage between the Earl of Desmond and the Earl of Ormonde his daughter, with his Lordship's consent, he might have some good houses, and above two thousand marks' land with her, and thereby [be] advanced without diminution of Her Majesty's revenue in Munster, which would rather nourish than break off the faction between the houses of Desmond and Ormonde, by placing of Desmond in the Butlers' seat and country. And if also Her Majesty would be pleased to procure a marriage between Sir Edmund Butler his only son, prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, and the Countess of Kildare's daughter, or any other whom Her Majesty should think meet, and that he should hold, with Her Majesty's favour, the titles of Earl of Ormonde and Ossory after the Earl's death, it would yield great comfort and contentment to the Earl and to all the family of the Butlers.

"This last summer I moved Mr. Attorney for Garrett Sutton my kinsman, whose father, being a civil gentleman, was accused by one Eustace, who had been in action of rebellion, of treason, and thereupon attainted in the late Lord Grey his government amongst divers other gentlemen, upon the like informations, whose heirs Her Majesty hath graciously restored all, saving only this poor gentleman, who desireth only that he may be admitted with Her Majesty's favour to the benefit of the law in reversing of his father's attainder, offering for Her Majesty's gracious favour therein, upon the reversing thereof, to surrender the lands which he shall thereby recover to Her Majesty, and to receive the same of Her Majesty by letters patent in fee farm, yielding to Her Majesty such rents and services as the now tenants thereof do answer to Her Highness. Wherein Mr. Attorney promised to yield him his assistance, to the furtherance of the benefit of the law, if Her Majesty would be pleased to signify her allowance by your Honour's referment thereof from Her Majesty unto him. Whereupon Sutton exhibited a petition to her Majesty in August last, wherein Her Majesty being moved by Mr. Wilbraham, Her Highness referred the same to your Honour. And Sutton, having obtained a letter by your Honour's good favour from the Lords to the Lord Deputy for his employment, is gone into Ireland, and followed the service there, having left his suit in charge with me. My humble request is, that it would please your Honour to refer the same to Mr. Attorney, desiring him to give Sutton his furtherance in the obtaining of the benefit of the law, in reversing of his father's said attainder, Her Majesty's revenue being not to be diminished thereby."—1601, May 7. *Holograph.* pp. 2.

May 8.  
Dublin

49. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I stand in some doubt in what style to write to you touching Udall and his projects, for, comparing his stirring spirit with the opportunity of the time,



1601.

he may take occasion to carry his wit to work as busily upon conjecturals as upon matters confident; and in other times he hath run that course with small fruit to the service, and some prejudice to his own credit. Likewise, being charged here with treason, by which he seeth into how high a degree of danger he is drawn, he could not devise to give a better scope to that matter, than to pretend strange discoveries for Her Majesty's safety, and preservation of you, against whom he may think that some dregs of the late conspiracy are reserved, to endanger your life, which in reason may be feared, though I hope God's providence will be the same over you still that it hath been from the beginning. In these respects I did the rather consent to his sending over, wishing he might be thoroughly sounded touching the verity or vanity of his pretended discoveries, to the end he might receive his measure accordingly; either there, if his overtures deserve favour, or be returned hither, to be tried in the accusations laid against him by Nelson and Bath. These two particulars I only drew from him; first, that in the plot laid (as he saith) for the destruction of Her Majesty's person and murdering of you, the conspirators therein should be compounded both of English and Irish, but he would not set down their names; secondly, that in England there were two gentlemen specially appointed to receive the conspirators after the act attempted, or otherwise to direct their retreat to some other places of safety. He named these two gentlemen to be Mr. Talbot of Grafton and Simon Digby of Coleshill, or near Coleshill, whereof I thought good to give your Honour this notice, lest, in making his reports, you might find him either to disguise or halt in that point. He also told me that in Ireland every province had his particular parties to this conspiracy, namely in Ulster, Tyrone and O'Donnell, and in Munster the counterfeit Desmond; wherein your Honour may see how he walketh in general paths, which even little children knoweth as well as he. And lastly, he brought forth the Lord Baron of Delvin to be the man that should stir coals in Leinster, and specially in the parts of Westmeath. But this I leave to his own explanation, with such further circumstances as he hath to induce it. This is that I have to write in private of Udall and his projects; for other matters particular between him and some great ones here, standing upon discourses more large, I have forborne to meddle with him therein, as not to give cause of offence, where I find already such aptness to take offence."—Dublin, 1601, May 8. [*Postscript.*] "Udall told me that one Baxter gave him the first light of this great conspiracy plotted against Her Majesty and your Honour. I could not work out of him any material particularities, neither touching the quality of Baxter, nor of the circumstance of their acquaintance; only he said he resorted to him at his now being in prison, but knoweth not now where to have him." *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"Sir G. Fenton to me." *Signed. Seal. pp. 1½.*

May 8.  
Moghelly.

50. Henry Pyne to Sir Robert Cecil. Notwithstanding letters from the Privy Council, the Lord Deputy and the Lord President are loath to name the captain whose company Pyne is to have.

1601.

Has therefore made choice to become a new suitor to the Privy Council, rather than return to the Lord Deputy, from whom he expects nothing more than before. Craves Sir Robert's assistance. "And although I have forborne writing to your Honour ever since my departure from you, yet have I no way neglected from time to time to impart unto the Lord President what I have gathered and thought fit for his Lordship to know, which he taketh in such good part and is so thankful for, as I never found more kindness in man than I do in him, for the which I humbly crave your Honour to take knowledge in your letters to him, as other matters needful for your Honour to know. I refer to the report of this bearer, Mr. William Hale, my Constable, who, for his true service to Her Majesty, and care of the discharge thereof in this place, deserveth better than my ability can afford him."—Moghelly, 1601, May 8. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

May 9.  
Dublin.

51. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Captain Fisher, this bearer, is one of the (*sic*) companies lately discharged, not for any fault in himself, but to ease Her Majesty's charges. For I humbly assure your Honour he hath always kept his company full, and governed them with good reputation, as any Captain in the army, insomuch as at the day of his discharge (which was sudden and without warning) the Commissary of that garrison certified that he stood full eighty-six men by poll, very well armed, and in all things fashioned for the wars. He meaneth to be a suitor for a castle, and certain land belonging to it, called the Narrow Water, standing upon the passage to the Newry, fallen to Her Majesty by the treason of Magennis, and by his fall is merely in Her Majesty's disposition. It is not so fit for any as for a servitor, who, being enabled by some competent ward for a time, may both defend the place, and give commodity to all provisions that are to pass from Carlingford to the Newry, where if it should be put into any other hand, it might be abused to the prejudice of Her Majesty's service, as it hath been and is now, for that the most part of the inhabitants are but priests and such like, who in the heat of the rebellion were dangerous traitors, and now, since this late calmness, do stand but as neutrals. The ward that is now in it consisteth upon thirty soldiers drawn out of several companies, which though it be no new increase to Her Majesty, yet the army is weakened by wanting so many men's bodies in the field, and I think Captain Fisher (having some state in it) may undertake to keep it with sixteen for a while that the country do grow to a better settling, and then those numbers may be lessened, and in the end quite discharged, and the castle kept by the Captain upon the profits of the lands and other helps of the tenants. This, I think, will be the state of Captain Fisher's suit, for which all his hope is in your Honour, to whom I find he beareth a very true and faithful heart, and is a man that in his profession is well able to do you honour and service, for that he hath both a good understanding in the wars, and carrieth an orderly government of those men that are under his charge. For my part, I am glad when I find such a one as he is, being bred in this country, but I am more glad to see him faithfully given to

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your Honour and your service, of whom, in my opinion, you may make as certain account of an honest, true gentleman, as of any other of his sort that pretendeth to follow you, or depend upon your countenance. And so I most humbly leave him to your honourable favour touching this suit of the castle, or for any other if it should fail. Lastly, he is chosen by the Lord Deputy and Council, as a man of trust, to take charge of Udall, to bring him to your Honour, a matter which he would not have meddled withal, were it not that he is commanded by the State.”—Dublin, 1601, May 9. *Signed. Seal. pp. 1½.*

May 9.

**52.** Sir John Bolles to Sir Henry Dockwra. “That I might be the better furnished to satisfy the Lords in those things which I know they will demand of me, I have bethought myself of these points following, of which I pray you that you will advisedly consider, and of those things which concern your own designs, [and] that you will at leisure set down in writing what you will have me to answer.

“1. What quantity of victual, munition, and instruments the whole army is furnished with, and every garrison in particular?

“2. The garrisons planted, of what numbers they consist by list, by poll of able men, how they are scited to defend or offend, what enemy they affront, of what strength is he, how nigh?

“3. What journeys have been made, and their success?

“4. What journeys are intended, when, to what end, how to be performed, and particularly for Ballyshannon; how the necessaries of them that stay there, their victuals, munition, instruments to work, and ordnance to take the place, shall be conveyed, so as to correspond justly with the men that go by land, and what quantity of each of these you will send; how many men you will leave there at first, how they shall be provided of houses, whence victualled, paid, and supplied hereafter; what horse you will leave there; how many men you will need to return with; how you will divert the forces of O’Cahan, and them of Tyrone, from joining together to impeach you in your journey or return; lastly, when this shall be undertaken? The like, almost, for the planting at the Bann?

“5. What use is to be made of the Irish in pay; what of those that are come in with their goods; what assurance of both, and particularly of Neale Garve, Cormack O’Neill, and Hugh Boy?

“6. What course you intend to take for the finishing of this war, and assuring of Her Majesty’s charges; what hope you have thereof, within what time, and upon what grounds; what impediments you find, and how you desire to have them removed?

“These things cannot well be answered unto by me according to your mind, unless you further my memory with your writing, neither would I indeed speak of any of these things which are to be done, without your hand to warrant it to be according to your purpose.”—[1601], May 9. *Draft. p. 1.*

May 9.  
Cork.

**53.** Captain William Power to Sir Robert Cecil. His love for the late Earl of Essex, “while he lived honest to himself.” Now that Essex has “deserved his end,” the writer must shield his



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honest carriage under some other in England, "from whence proceeds our light here." Offers his services to Sir Robert, to whom he has asked the Earl of Desmond to write on his behalf.—Cork, 1601, May 9. *Signed.* p. 1.

May 11.  
Dublin.

54. Sir Richard Wingfield to Sir Robert Cecil. "The late message I received from you by Mr. May, gentleman usher to the Lord Deputy, touching my suit for Castle Rebane, argueth the honourable good affection it pleaseth you to bear towards my well-doing, which doth not only comfort me to think that you would vouchsafe (amongst so many weighty and serious occasions) so honourably to remember me, but also doth encourage me to entreat your further favour in that behalf. But because I have already sundry times, and lately by Sir Francis Shane, been told to entreat your furtherance for Her Majesty's warrant for the grant and passing thereof, I will at this time only recommend myself and suit to your Honour's good consideration, and ever rest yours devoted in all love, duty, and service."

Recommends the bearer, Captain Fisher, who has "very well and sufficiently discharged his calling." Has been an eye-witness thereof.—Dublin, May 11. *Endorsed:—1601. Holograph. Seal.* p. 1.

May 12.  
Dublin Castle.

55. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Council to the Privy Council. "On the first of this instant, one Thomas Bath, a poor gentleman of this country birth, came before us, and at the Council table exhibited in writing under his hand some informations against one William Udall, touching him very deeply with several breaches of his allegiance (if the matters alleged by him prove true). In like manner, on the fifth of this instant, one Captain Neilson delivered to us some informations against Udall, wherein he doth in some points concur with Bath, and confirm his declaration, and in others accuseth Udall of some other special and very heinous matters (if his informations have any good ground). To the answering of which several matters preferred by Bath and Neilson, when we called Udall before us, and confronted them together (which course we thought meet to be used, because the informers do not agree in every particular), we found him to use for himself a double defence; first, by his denial, to avoid the matters where-with he standeth charged, and secondly, by his constant affirmations, that he hath matters of great secrecy to discover, concerning the danger of Her Majesty's person, and the safety of you, Sir Robert Cecil; to desire to be sent into England, there to deliver his knowledge of all things, which he absolutely refused here to make known unto us. Whereupon, misdoubting that this request of Udall's might proceed from some device to be delivered from these troubles, we urged him by all good persuasions, and especially (in regard of the dangers by him pretended) to discover unto us his particular knowledge of these matters, and made offer unto him, that, in case he distrusted any of this Council, or were unwilling that the matters known to him in private should be communicated to us all, then of

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himself he should make choice of any one or two of this table, to whom he might impart his knowledge, for prevention of the dangers aforesaid ; and at length, being earnestly pressed by us all, he made his choice of us, the Marshal and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, promising in particular to deliver such matters unto us as he did know and had learned, and his declaration, made to us in writing under his hand, we the Marshal and Secretary do send to your Lordships at this present (*wanting, but see No. 20.i.*). And further we make it known to your Lordships that, on the second (*sic*) of April last, Udall in like manner came before us, the Bishop of Meath and Sir Robert Gardener, and in general terms laid down in writing under his hand before us (being first authorised by the Lord Deputy to hear him) an outward show of great and weighty matters, hidden and kept secret in his own breast (as he affirmed), which he requested us to send to you, Sir Robert Cecil, and refused absolutely to acquaint us further with any particulars, albeit we both promised him our faithful secrecy, and offered unto him our careful travail and endeavours to bolt out the truth of any information he should deliver unto us for Her Majesty's service. According to which request of Udall's, by our letters of the 26th of April, we the Bishop of Meath and Sir Robert Gardener did send unto you, Sir Robert Cecil, Udall's declaration, all under his own hand, conceiving then that Udall himself would presently have followed our letters, to have performed those great matters in England, whereof (as he said) he did but deliver unto us the shadows ; in which time he had his liberty to pass at his pleasure. And now albeit these informations delivered against Udall, and severally affirmed (as appeareth in the enclosed), are heinous and seem partly to be proved ; yet, inasmuch as he pretendeth the discovery of great matters for the preservation of Her Majesty's sacred person, etc., we all thought it agreeable with our bounden duties to send him to your Lordships as a prisoner, under the guard of Captain Fisher, together with the copies of the informations preferred against him by Bath and Neilson (which we have done with the first opportunity of the wind), to the end that, upon his coming before your Lordships, you may better discern the true manner of his dealing, which he hideth from us, and thereupon may direct such a further course to be holden towards him, as in your grave wisdoms shall be thought most convenient ; only giving your Lordships to understand that where Udall hath here given out, both by words and writing, that Bath and Neilson have received some encouragements to inform these matters against him (besides their apparent denials of this upon their oaths), we do all, both upon our duties and credits, affirm it to your Lordships that, neither directly nor indirectly, any course or proceeding hath been used to our knowledge, but such as is agreeable with the places we severally do hold, and with the duties we owe to Her most excellent Majesty."—Dublin Castle, 1601, May 12. *Endorsed* :—Received by Captain Fisher the 28th. *Signed.* pp. 4.

*Enclose* :—

55. i. "The declaration of Thomas Bath, exhibited upon his oath, the first of May, 1601, before the Lord Deputy, Mr. Marshal, Sir Robert Gardener, and Sir Nicholas Walsh.

1601.

*Notes taken against William Udall, upon speeches at sundry times, as followeth.*

"1. Upon the 9 of February, 1600, between the hours of 9 and 10 of the clock in the forenoon, the said Udall wished that the Lord Deputy amid the whole army might be overthrown as Sir Henry Bagenall was, in the hearing of me, Thomas Bath, who, replying, said that was an evil wish for the Queen and the whole country; to which Udall answered, that he spake it not for hurt to Her Majesty, but for his private hatred to the Lord Deputy.

"2. Also, upon the 6 of December, between the hours of 2 and 3 of the clock in the afternoon, and in the foresaid year, this deponent and Udall being talking together within his house at the High Cross, among other speeches told me that he had conference with traitors from time to time, who demanded whether he had authority so to do, in respect of a prohibition to the contrary by my Lord Deputy and Council, forbidding all manner of persons either to confer with or protect traitors (except the Earl of Ormonde, the Lord President of Munster, and Sir Henry Dockura, Governor of Lough Foyle), who answered, 'Let me see who dare control me therein.'

"3. Further, upon the same day and year and place, he wished with all his heart to see the King of Scots King of the three realms, and then he would hope to be favoured and graced to his contentment.

"4. He further declareth that William Udall reporteth that he was the first that discovered the Earl of Essex[s] conference with Tyrone, which Udall said was in this manner. The Earl of Essex going to the borders of the north, Tyrone came unto him, and meeting him said, 'Your Lordship is welcome into Ireland.' 'No,' said the Earl, 'you are too Scottish to bid me welcome.' To which Tyrone answered, 'No, my Lord, there is no man that liveth better welcome to me than your father's son.' The Earl said, 'Can I build upon that?' 'Yea, my Lord,' said the other, 'you may be sure of it.' These speeches were told to the said Udall by one that lay in a bush near the place of their conference (as Udall told me), but the man's name he doth not remember. [Marginal note:—"Udall confessed that it was Thomas Blunt."]

"5. He saith also that Udall and he being talking of Doleman's book about January last, Udall told him that the King of Scots wrote unto him, charging him to be the author of that book, but thereof (he said) he cleared himself to the King, and after was commanded by the Queen to answer that book; which after he took in hand and had done somewhat in it, the Earl of Essex, understanding of it, reproved him for it, so as after he never durst proceed in that work.

"6. Also he saith that upon the coming over of the proclamations against the Earl of Essex, Udall used these speeches to him, 'Now the gap is open for the King of Scots.'

"7. Udall likewise told him that he was sent over by the Queen and Sir Robert Cecil to pry into the Earl of Essex[s] doings.



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*"A further declaration of the said Thomas Bath, exhibited the 4 of May, 1601, before the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Meath, Mr. Marshal, Sir Robert Gardener, Sir Nicholas Walsh, Sir Francis Stafford, and Sir Geoffrey Fenton.*

"8. About the midst of October last, Udall sent for me to come speak with him, and, sitting together in the said Udall's house by the fire, Udall said that he knew all Lapley's conspiracy, long before it was put in practice; and thereupon I asked him how it chanced that he, knowing thereof, had not revealed it. He answered that he revealed it to Sir Robert Cecil, but he would not at the first give credit to it, but, after he was advertised from hence thereof, Sir Robert sent for Udall, and told him he had found his words true, saying to him these or such words, 'How couldest thou come to the knowledge of these secrets?' Udall answered, 'It is sufficient that your Honour know I know them, and that I told you the truth. I know also that you gave Lapley thirty pounds secretly, thinking that none had known thereof but yourself and Lapley'; and then Sir Robert said he would for ever after believe him the better.

"9. Also he told me at the same instant that he had revealed to Sir John Stanhope that Florence McCarthy and other gentlemen of Munster being about their suits at Court in England, that their meaning was presently upon their landing in Ireland to go out into rebellion, and hereupon his credit first grew with Sir John Stanhope upon this information.

"10. He said likewise that my Lord Deputy is as far engaged in these late troubles of England as any of the rest, and for that cause the treasure was brought ashore again, after it had been embarked for this land.

"11. Further, he reported that his Lordship was sent for into England.

"These articles were delivered upon oath by the said Bath to the Councillors before named, the 5 of May, 1601.

"12. In November last Udall said that the last time that ever Tyrone was in Dublin, the said Tyrone stayed at the bridge of Dublin till Udall came to him, whom he kindly embraced at their meeting, and so they went on foot together, till they came as far as the butts on Oxmantown Green, where they had secret conference together by the space of two hours or thereabouts, walking between the two butts, and promised to show me a letter that he had received from Tyrone, but never did so.

"13. And at many other times he said that, if Tyrone would but follow his counsel, he would show him the way quickly how to come to his purpose, without making so long a work of it, but by means of the Earl of Essex he thought that now the Earl of Tyrone would not have given him credit.

"The 7 of May, 1601. This day, Thomas Bath, being by the Lord Deputy and Council aforesaid examined upon his oath, whether he hath had any private conference concerning Udall with the Lord Deputy, or whether he hath received any private encouragement from the Lord Deputy to accuse Udall,

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deposed that never in his life, before the first day of this instant May, he did ever speak with the Lord Deputy, and then, before the Lord Deputy and Council, delivered in writing under his hand his declaration against Udall, and neither before nor sithence had any manner of encouragement from his Lordship or any other to accuse Udall, against whom he protesteth he had taken this course only in discharge of his duty.

“The copy of a letter, written to Sir Robert Gardener, from one Nicolas Fitzsimmons and William Dougan, prisoners in the Marshalsea.

“It may please your worship, Mr. Udall, prisoner where we are, hath in our hearing and presence delivered these speeches; that a plot is laid for destruction of Her Majesty and murder of Mr. Secretary Cecil. The plot is laid by men both in England and Ireland. These speeches being horrible, we, for acquittal of ourselves of (sic) any imputation touching the same, have thought good to advertise your worship, as one that principally should have care to be a discoverer thereof. And so, humbly praying your worship to cause thus much for our discharge to be remembered in the Council Book, for prevention of what may be objected against us, if hereafter it might be alleged or said we have not performed our duty therein, we take leave. The Marshalsea, 2 of May, 1601.” [Copy certified by Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Here follow the signatures of the Lord Deputy and seven members of the Council.]

“The 7 of May, 1601, Thomas Bath and William Udall, being before the Lord Deputy and Council, Udall was charged with every of the said Bath’s articles in particular.” [Udall denies articles 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 13.] Article 4, “Udall confesseth all this part of Bath’s declaration, and being demanded why he did not reveal it, he saith he did reveal the same to Sir Robert Cecil.” Article 5, “Udall denieth that the King of Scots did write to him, or did say so to Bath, but saith he procured the priest Watson to answer Doleman’s book.” Article 12, Udall confesseth he told Bath that he met Tyrone on the bridge, and had private speeches with him.”

“Udall, being charged with the letter sent from William Dougan and Nicolas Fitzsimmons, confesseth that he told those words to them two in the Marshalsea.” [Copy certified by Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Here follow the signatures of the Lord Deputy and of the same seven members of Council as before.] pp. 8.

55. ii. “Marmaduke Neilson’s declaration upon his oath, exhibited before the Lord Deputy and the whole Council, the 7 of May, 1601.”

“1. At such time as my Lord Deputy was following the enemy in Offally this last summer, William Udall told me that the rebels had made a very strong head, and had engaged our army in a strait where they could not come off, but at the least they were sure to be very soundly beaten, using such a kind of gesture and countenance in the delivery of these words, as manifestly bewrayed the inward joy he conceived thereat.

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"2. He showed me two libels, written in a fond kind of poetical rhythm, the one very opprobriously taxing Sir Robert Cecil and extolling the Earl of Essex, the other altogether in opposition of the first, affirming that he knew the authors of them, and had sent copies thereof into England. Both which libels, consisting of like kind of verse, and carrying one and the selfsame kind of style, must needs be the invention of one man's head, and myself comparing them with a short pamphlet of Udall's, which I had seen written in commendation of women, found that all was but his own invention, to give a colour to the rest of his forgeries.

"3. About January last he sent for me, requesting that I would come speak with him, and he would tell of very strange matters that were lately happened. When I came, he was in the upper room of his house in private talk with some one, so that he could not attend to speak with me, nor I to stay his leisure, but came away. But he presently sent for me again, excusing himself for not coming down to me at first, by reason of his secret and earnest business, which he had with the foresaid party, whom he affirmed to have come directly from Tyrone, and to have brought him such wonderful intelligence, as I would marvel to hear, but he might not disclose it, till he were in England. But in conclusion, his business with me was to borrow money, to redeem a purse that was in pawn, which pleasure I was content to do him, at his wife's request.

"4. He had formerly acquainted me with a stratagem for the taking or killing of Tyrone, assuring me that he had dealt so effectually with his two brothers-in-law, the Geraldins (sic), as they should not fail for their parts to give their assistance towards the performance, persuading me by very honest reasons to be a participant in the enterprise. Whereto I condescended, thinking he had meant truly and honestly for Her Majesty's service. But when I perceived that he did but dally and linger the time, and would never bring his said brothers to confer with me about the project (they being the parties by whose especial means the device should have been coloured), but still shifting off with vain excuses, every day borrowing money of me by 2s., 3s., and 5s. at a time, as he did likewise of another person of no mean place and calling, who was also interested in the cause [marginal note:—"Sir Griffith Marcham"], I began to suspect that it was but a cosening trick and a coney-catching device of his to serve his turn upon us (his want being extreme), as indeed in the end it proved to be. For I, urging him still to go forward with the practice, and charging him that, whereas he had promised for his two brothers that they should not fail, I found they were either very slack and weary of the match, or else they had no such intent at all, he answered, viz. (sic), 'What is that to me, whether they perform or no? It is not the performance of the thing that I do stand upon. It is all I desired but to have their hands to show to the State that I have brought them to make the offer, and, if they do not perform it, the blame is theirs, and



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*I am free.* ‘What care I if they were both hanged’ (said he)? I know them to be but coggng companions, and will keep their word in nothing. They have put me to no small charges here for their lodging (shewing me the bed and pallet where they lay), and promised to send me money, but they serve me in that as in the rest.’ When I found this, I knew he did but abuse the State, and told him I would be loath to bring my name in question, to promise a service of such moment, seeing so slender hope and so tickle a confederacy for the performance. Yet, if he would acquaint the Lord Deputy therewith, if his Lordship did like of it, I would be willing for my part to put it to the trial. But he (to delay the time) said it must of force be first allowed of by the Council in England. Whereto I replied, that we knew well enough that the Lord Deputy had proposed a reward for Tyrone’s head already, and therefore the Council in England would not only return and refer the matter to his Lordship, but would blame us for not making the first offer to him, and besides the Deputy might have reason to take it unkindly at our hands. ‘Well’ (quoth he), ‘then I perceive you know nothing. If you knew what I know, you would beware how you acquainted the Deputy with any such matter’; and so fell into a violent humour of railing, as though he would accuse the Lord Deputy of some high and capital crime. Here did I first discover his malice, and though before I did conceive but some light suspicion that he was the enemy’s instrument, used like a spark under dry straw, to lie lurking till he might find an opportunity to fire the house of the State by sedition, yet now his own speeches betrayed him, and made me out of doubt that my former opinion was not vain, but that he is a devoted enemy to the present State, which I prove by these reasons.

“5. He hath confessed to have had private conference with the enemy and intercourse with Tyrone, by what authority or to what purpose let him answer. He hath practised to sow sedition in the State by forging untruths and suggesting false calumnations, not only against the Lord Deputy, but against divers others honourable personages, especially those whom he seeth most careful of Her Majesty’s services, and such as Her Majesty hath in dearest respect, therein rightly imitating the devil, who, being himself most wicked, never ceaseth to accuse the godly. [There is no paragraph, No. 6.]

“That he thirsteth vehemently after an alteration these reasons and inducements make manifest, viz. :—

“7. He hath many times said that he wished he might see the King of Scots established in the three realms, and in mine own hearing he said it would be a happy time if that were once come to pass, which desire of his must needs infer the loss of our most dear Sovereign.

“8. He hath confessed to have received letters from the King of Scots, his wife is of Scottish descent, and, as he saith, of the best blood in Scotland, wherein he boasteth much, shewing what friendship he should find by her means, if the expected time were once come.

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“9. When he heard of the late troubles in England, he was so ravished with joy and puffed up with arrogant conceit, as he burst out into these and such like speeches, viz., ‘Now let me see who will say Udall is dishonest? Now I hope I may hold up my head again? Who hath done this work but I? Was not I the discoverer of this treachery? I hope I have now made the passage clear; I have removed the block; I hope to see the day shortly to be as much graced as ever I have been disgraced’; boasting ever of his future hopes, and covertly and by way of surmise, as though he would that his meaning were understood, and yet in plain terms would not express it. He would give such apparent glances northwards, as a man of meanest capacity must needs judge that he wished and hoped to see the end of this Her Majesty’s most gracious and happy government, in hope to be advanced by the successor, knowing himself to be so spotted with villainy as during the virtuous reign of Her Majesty such as he shall never find favour. I have heard Thomas Bath of Dublin report that he did utter these speeches in his hearing, viz. [marginal note:—“This was about November last as Thomas Bath affirmeth”], ‘If I thought the Earl of Tyrone would take my counsel, I could teach him a way how to overrun this kingdom quickly without making so long a work of it as he doth; but I think now he will no more give credit to me by means of the Earl of Essex’; by which words it appears that, before the Earl and Tyrone did parley, Udall was of some trust with him, but now he doubts Tyrone is altered.

“10. The said Udall confessed to myself that he had a caveat given him by a friend of his to beware that his own hand were not showed to the Deputy to manifest his practices, and that upon this warning he did burn all his papers that concerned any matter of moment, fearing lest his house should be searched. If those papers contained no treachery why should he burn them? If his conscience were not guilty, why should he fear?

“11. He hath many ways scandalised the State, as namely in every base company where he cometh, he professeth himself to be the Queen’s spy, only to borrow and shift for money at their hands, whom he finds fit subjects to work upon; where, if he were willing to do Her Majesty’s service, in giving true and honest intelligence, he should walk as covertly as he might, and let no man know that he is used in such purposes.

“12. He said that Her Majesty commanded him to pen a discourse, which he termeth a motive to draw the Earl of Essex into dislike or hatred of the people, presently after his first committal, which discourse I have seen. What a base lie this seems to be, I refer to the judgment of wise men, who know that Her Majesty hath choice enough of more excellent wits, if there had been such use of them, and would never have admitted such a drunken tell-tale as this to so high a secret. I chanced to see a letter wherein Sir John Stanhope did sharply rebuke Udall for bragging that he was countenanced by him and Mr. Secretary, utterly disclaiming him and his

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dependency. When Udall saw that I had read the letter, he told me that I was but a novice in the policies of Court; 'that letter,' quoth he, 'was written of purpose to be showed, but I could show you another manner of letter, if it pleased me.'" [Copy certified by Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Here follow the signatures of the Lord Deputy and of the same seven members of the Council as before.]

"The 7 of May 1601, Marmaduke Neilson and William Udall being before the Lord Deputy and Council, Udall was charged with every article." [Udall denies Nos. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 13.] Article 2, "Udall confesseth he told Neilson of certain libels, and now saith he sent the same into England, to Sir Robert Cecil." Article 3, "Udall denieth that he told Neilson of any messenger from Tyrone." Article 4, "Udall confesseth he acquainted Neilson with his plot, and said, if his brothers deceived him, he trusted other manner of men than they were to effect it, and little cared whether they performed it or no. And Udall denies the last part of the article concerning the Lord Deputy. Neilson affirms it, and saith that Udall did tell him that he had made offer of this plot to the Lord Deputy, and that the Lord Deputy did refuse it." Article 5, "Udall saith that whatsoever he hath said in this article he hath certified it into England." Article 12, "Udall denies the article, but confesseth he did write such a motive. Neilson affirms it, and saith he can prove it by witness." [Copy certified by Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Here follow the signatures of the Lord Deputy and of the same seven members of Council as before.] pp. 9.

May [12]. **56.** Sir Richard Wingfield and Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Dublin. Udall's alleged "discoveries." He will not give particulars to any save Sir Robert. Enclose his declaration (*wanting*). Udall is being sent to England in the charge of Captain Fisher. "And we have specially enjoined Fisher to look narrowly to him, lest he escape, which we have reason to think is his main purpose, if he be not well prevented; for, in our observation since we had dealing with him, he hath shewed some tokens thereof."—Dublin, 1601, May [12]. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"The Marshal and Sir G. Fenton, Maii, 1601." *Signed. Seal.* pp. 1½.

*Enclose* :—

56. i. William Udall to Sir Richard Wingfield and Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Complains of his treatment, when he desired by his discoveries to do Her Majesty service. The "perfidious and base practices" of his accusers.—1601, May 6. *Endorsed by Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Holograph. Seal.* pp. 1½.

56. ii. William Udall to Sir Richard Wingfield. The strange way he is used. Strictures on Captain Nelson. Reposes his trust in Sir Richard and in Sir Francis Stafford. "Sir Robert Gardiner told my wife twice that I should presently be sent into England, but I doubt there is no such intent, except it be by your worship's means." This is Nelson's third practice



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*against Udall's life. "My prison affordeth me no conveniency to write unto you at large."*—"From my restraint," 1601, May 9. *Holograph. p. 1.*

May 12.  
Dublin.

57. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. Recommending Captain Fisher, who is licensed to go to England on his private affairs. Udall is sent over in Fisher's custody. "And forsomuch as he had the conducting of the last supplies of 2,000 men out of England, and since that time the command of 100 foot in these wars, and that in my care to lessen the Queen's expense, and abate the list according to your Lordships' expectation, I was forced of late to cast his company, I thought good to give him this testimony, that I discharged him and others of very good desert, not for any opinion of their unworthiness, or any want I found in them, but only thinking it the most equal course to begin with the companies last erected."—Dublin, 1601, May 12. *Signed. Seal. p. ½.*

May 12.  
Derry.

58. Sir Henry Dockwra to the Privy Council. "Within two days after my return from the journey into McSwyne Fanat's country, even as I had finished the letter which I wrote unto your Lordships of the success thereof, I was advertised by true intelligence of O'Donnell's coming down, and that he held his course directly as if he had purposed to enter Ennisowen, which I was the more easily led to think he would have done, because I had divided the forces (as I wrote unto your Lordships), leaving Neale Garve with all the Irish and 150 English in Fanaght, to take in the same. And therefore I made head to the passages with such men only as I had then in readiness about me, but at my coming to Bert Castle, which I made the chief place of my rendezvous, I heard he had changed his course, and was turned towards Neale Garve, for whose security, as also for saving of the country, I had in my opinion sufficiently provided before, in that I left him furnished with a competent number of men, a place of safety to retire unto if necessity urged, and a sufficient provision of victual, besides the cows which the country yielded, to live upon. Notwithstanding, the same night came Neale unto me himself (having passed over the water at Ramollan). He brought me word that after he had taken McSwyne['s] and divers other chief pledges, and accounted himself sure of the rest, that O'Donnell surprised him on the sudden, and was entered within two miles of the place where he lay, before he knew anything of his coming; and by that means having yet a party that never came to Neale, they stole unto him, and with their cows, and goods laden upon garrans' backs, accompanied him, and departed the country, because the sudden surprising of him in that manner could not be excused. He mended the matter the best he could with saying the prey was small, and not within the compass of his power to have relieved, though he had known before of O'Donnell's coming. Hereupon (the matter being now past remedy), I entered into Council, whereat Sir John Bolles was present, what course were

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fittest to be taken, seeing O'Donnell lay still upon the neck of Fanaght in Hugh McHugh Duff's country, and the pledges taken for the Queen. For to have forced the people to obedience, and then to have abandoned them to be preyed the very next day, seemed a thing both dishonourable and unjust; and to have sought to remove O'Donnell from the place where he lay, for divers considerations we thought it not fit to attempt, and especially for this cause, that, howsoever he lay, strong or weak, we should never come to fight with him, but at his own choice, and upon terms of advantage. Our resolution therefore was this; Neale Garve should return, and keeping with him still the Irish and those 150 English, which I left with him at first, he should go and encamp at Ramoltan, a place that lies fitly to be furnished with victual, conveniently to be defended with a small power against a greater, and the meetest and most commodious of any other upon the neck of the country, and for defence thereof. Having thus resolved amongst ourselves, we sent for Neale Garve, to acquaint him with what we had determined. Whereunto he replied the country was waste, and for him to stay there in that manner, he would not, but rather return to his own garrison at Lifford. By the fairest means I could, I persuaded him to consider the necessity of the Queen's service, and advised him without contradiction to conform himself to the benefit thereof; but all prevailed not, for he answered me plainly he would not. Whereupon I told him again he should, and charged him upon his allegiance to make no further dispute, but go in hand to execute that I commanded him in Her Majesty's name. With much ado he yielded to go, but as a man discontented thereat in the highest degree; yet going and performing the business more earnestly than he had done before. For he built up the castle with his own people, sufficiently tenable with a few men, and with no manner help of tools or instruments from us, for we had them not. It took good effect, and within three days after was the greatest part of the prey stole[n] into the country back again, and O'Donnell removed from those coasts, and encamped himself at Ballinakip, twelve miles beyond Lifford. So that by this means the country being again reduced into some reasonable good terms, and a countenance given for defending it, and O'Donnell's weakness discovered, that had not power to enter further than the very neck of the country, the people began to be more secure, and glad of their protection under Her Majesty. And in this state doth it now stand, which is the best I can set in till I have further time (and less work in hand otherwise) to be acquainted with the state thereof, and to settle the same in a better assurance. And so, to satisfy Neale Garve the better, I have yielded him leave to come away, leaving only a brother of his with 100 of his foot, and Shane McManus, with the 50 foot and 25 horse which he hath in pay, taken out of the number allowed to Neale. So that by this your Lordships may much discern the disposition of the man, that further than he may hope for his own benefit, there is nothing to be required at his hands, but by mere compulsion, as your Lordships may also the better perceive by this, that the time I took the prey before McSwyne Fanat was come in, he came in a raging and violent manner, exclaiming on the

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injustice of the course that was held in preying a man that was ready to come in, and had assured him of the same, urging me even with these words, 'What shall I be the better for the country, when you leave me nothing in it, but the bare land desolate and destroyed?' Upon which importunity of his, I yielded to leave a great part of the prey, and freely gave back much at his earnest suit and request, and yet but two days after, himself lost all that I had spared, and to make amends (having first taken the pledges of the country) he took even of that small remainder O'Donnell had left, about three score cows, and converted them to his own use, not to eat for the present (for that had been tolerable if need had required), but to carry home to make use of to his own direct profit, which was a thing much repined at, and complained of by the country, yet, for appeasing his insatiable humour, I was contented to wink at. And thus much concerning our proceedings since the writing of my last letters, and the unreasonableness of Neale Garve's humours, which perhaps I may seem a little too curious in setting forth; but I do them to the end your Lordships shall be fully informed of the reasons that move me to hold that opinion of him that I do, craving pardon if I err in another fault by too much tediousness.

"Now your Lordships may be pleased to understand I have received from your Lordships by this passage four letters, dated the 10 of February, the 23 of March, and the 20th and 22nd of April. The first concerneth the setting of the ovens a work, and providing wood for the same purpose, wherein I shall gladly obey your Lordships' commandment, so far as lieth in my power; for I will deal with the churls of the country to bring in heath and wood, so much as may serve, and hire as many as I can get thereunto, for to do it by the labour of the soldier I find a matter utterly impossible, by reason there are few companies left in this place, and those that are have so many other works in hand, as it is impossible they should attend it, as your Lordships may be better informed of by Sir John Bolles. Another point in the same letter is that I should seize upon such victual as should come into this harbour without license, and cause it to be issued by the Commissary to the Queen's use, which I have given directions for, but find that none such hath at any time been brought, saving beer or wine, which cannot be distributed to the soldier, and therefore (as I take it) is not your Lordships' intent should be meddled withal. A third point is concerning the sending over of Marmaduke Handenby, who is long since departed, and I assure your Honours left the best and likeliest men behind him that ever I saw come out of England, as Sir John Bolles can best testify, that received them from him. The next letter doth only concern the leave granted to Sir John Bolles, who accordingly is the messenger and bearer hereof, and as fully instructed in all things as either of us can devise.

"The next is touching a supply of 1,000 foot and forty horse, which it seems Her Majesty is pleased shall be forthwith levied for making a plantation at Ballyshannon, to which point I have answered at full in a discourse thereof apart. And for the planting at Coleraine, your Honours shall be informed of the difficulties and impossibilities by Sir John Bolles. The next point is touching Her



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Majesty's gracious persuasion of my poor and honest endeavours and your most honourable acceptation thereof in good part, which I humbly acknowledge with all thankfulness and duty, according to which, God (the searcher of all men's hearts) knoweth the scope and drift of all my doings have in deed and ever shall be conformable. The last point in the same letter is touching the Spaniards, of whom your Lordships seem to be secure for this year, and so do I confidently give it out in the country, and doubt not but your Honours are sufficiently assured thereof by infallible advertisements. But Sir John Bolles can inform your Lordships what is the opinion of Hugh Boy in this matter, and what I said of it before I imparted any thing thereof unto him. For he ever told me from the beginning, and so I wrote (as I remember) by Captain Vaughan, or at least he knew it as well as I, that it was the word between these rebels and the Spaniards, that when they should be advertised of a few forces ready for the Low Countries, they should be assured it was intended for them, and only so disguised to the end the letters being intercepted should not be rightly construed.

"The last letter is wholly concerning an abuse committed by the Marshal in exacting a fee upon the beer provided by Her Majesty's ministers for relief of the army; whereunto should I be accessory, my fault were inexcusable. But your Lordships are wholly misinformed in the matter; for neither did ever man open his lips in complaint of any such thing to me, nor hath any such course been ever put in practice. But the fees demanded by the Marshal was at first indeed 8*s.* upon every tun of beer of those only that tapped and sold by the can (for of the merchant or any other delivered out to the use of the soldier hath never penny been demanded); and because I thought that exaction too great, though he claimed it by a common custom over all Ireland, I abated it one half, and yet conditionally and by provision that my Lord Deputy (to decide all controversies), should set down his allowance by his Lordship's warrant, which I expect every day to receive. And for making a levy for paving the streets, and making a wharf at the waterside to land on, I have indeed imposed upon every victualler to pay 2*s.* upon a tun of beer, and 4*s.* upon wine, in the name of a fine for his license, without which I suffer no man to use that trade, for the manifold abuses and inconveniences I have found by suffering the contrary.

"Your Lordships may further be pleased to take notice that I have returned the two crompters, because they are grown out of order, and almost unserviceable, whereof your Lordships wrote for one before, but she was then at Dublin. I have victualled them both, for that they had none from England, and could not persuade them to stay without allowance. I beseech your Lordships it may be allowed according to the acquittances remaining in the Commissary's hands for receipt of the same, and abated in their allowance provided, or to be provided, by the officers of the Navy."—Derry, 1601, May 12. *Endorsed* :—Received at Greenwich by Sir John Bolles the 28th. *Signed. Seal. pp. 5.*

May 12. 59. "Provision of victuals to be made for Ireland;" viz., for three months, to Dublin (2,000 men), to Carlingford (3,000 men),

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to Lough Foyle (2,000 men), to Lough Foyle for Ballyshannon (1,000 men), and to Galway (500 men). The provisions are to be embarked on 31 May, 25 June, and 20 July. *Here follow* "the Lord Deputy's demands," and further details as to the provisions. *Endorsed* :—12 May, 1601. *Draft*. pp. 3.

May 13.  
Cork.

60. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of [Henry] Pyne. This time his suit is for Her Majesty's profit. Recommends him to Sir Robert's favour. Encloses a petition (*wanting*) from Pyne to himself.—Cork, 1601, May 13. *Signed*. p. 1.

May 13.  
Dublin.

61. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. Strongly recommending Captain Fisher, who has, much against his will, been sent to England in charge of Udall. Fisher's good service and reputation. "He kept his last company very full of English, and well appointed, and held them always in good discipline, and readiness to answer all employments." His costs greater than all his entertainment. His suit for the "castle called the Narrow Water and certain lands lying to it some three miles from the Newry." These by the revolt of Magennis are returned into Her Majesty's disposition. The Narrow Water is one of the fittest places to be kept by Her Majesty in those parts. The writer was the first to take it in, on the death of old Magennis. It is now defended by a ward of thirty soldiers, commanded by a man of mean reckoning, who suffers the best half of the ward to be for the most part absent, "whereby Her Majesty is defrauded, her provisions engaged in the passage, and the lands all kept waste, or inhabited by neutrals and seditious priests, to Her Majesty's prejudice." If the castle and lands were bestowed on Fisher, he would undertake to keep it during the wars with half the ward now allowed, and would be encouraged to follow his good course of service. The castle was heretofore given by Sir Henry Sidney to a gentleman of Offally, who afterwards sold it to Magennis for 100*l*. or thereabouts. Again commends Fisher.—Dublin, 1601, May 13. *Signed*. *Seal*. pp. 2.

May 13.  
Blarney.

62. Cor[mack] Carty [Fitz Derby McCarthy] to Sir Robert Cecil. The loyalty of his ancestors and of himself testified to by the late Lord Burghley. His refusal to join in the insurrection in Munster, notwithstanding the promises and menaces made by Tyrone and the attacks by the rebels. Sent the heads of those he slew to the Lord President at Cork. Was dangerously wounded and lost many of his gentlemen and followers. Is, as always, willing and ready to refresh Her Majesty's forces. There has been no rising forth by them, either in Ulster or Munster, but he attended the Lord President both with horse and foot. Good effect of this on some of the Lords and gentlemen of Munster. Craves Sir Robert's patronage and tuition, "and thereby to make these mine humble and dutiful offices known to Her Majesty and to the rest of the Lords, and to be a mean that I may be tendered with

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like equal respect of favour among the Lords (Her Highness['s] subjects of this province), that peradventure have not so well deserved."—"From my house of Blarney," 1601, May 13. *Signed.* p. 1.

May 14.  
Dublin  
Castle.

**63.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "This bearer, Captain Richard Hansard, was, before my coming into this kingdom, Trenchmaster of the army; in which place, as also in the place of Quartermaster of the army, I have used his service (so often as occasion was offered) with my very good satisfaction. In November last, when I fought with Tyrone near Carlingford, his place (with other commanders) was in the rearward, where, after he had carried himself the whole time of the fight with very good resolution and judgment, he received in his coming off a very dangerous hurt with a bullet, whereof he remaineth lame at this present. Which testimony of him I think myself bound to make unto you, that my just attestation of his valour, industry, and understanding in his profession, might move you to further a suit which he intendeth to have unto the Lords of the Council. Wherein I desire so much his good success, that I cannot satisfy myself in being only a witness of his merit, but make myself a suitor in his behalf, earnestly intreating that to that which you shall be moved to do for him for his own desert, may be added something at my instance."—Dublin Castle, 1601, May 14. *Signed.* p. 1.

May 14.

**64.** Memorial to the Privy Council on behalf of Sir George Carey, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, by Thomas Wattson, his agent.

That 70,000*l.* of the new monies may be forthwith coined, and sent with all possible speed; first, 50,000*l.* for Munster, whereof 40,000*l.* to Cork and 10,000*l.* to Galway; then 20,000*l.* to Dublin, for that Mr. Treasurer means to disperse forthwith the 51,000*l.* last sent over in Ulster and Leinster; and as soon as he understands that this 50,000*l.*, to be sent for Munster, has arrived there, he will give order through the kingdom to issue the same according to his instructions.

Such proportion of sterling money as Mr. Treasurer has appointed to be sent to Chester and Bristol with the new money, and to remain there until the latter is issued in Ireland. The statute of 19 Henry VII., prohibiting the transportation of sterling money into Ireland, to be put in due execution. Instructions to be sent to the officers of all the English ports.

"That whereas Bristol, being a place remote, far from the Treasurer himself, or any of his people of great trust, and far from your Lordships' eyes; and having appointed one Wilson, a servant of his, to attend the exchange there, he hath in his discretion, for the safety of Her Majesty's treasure, made choice of Mr. Pitt, Chamberlain of Bristol, a man of good report and estate, to associate his servant in these businesses, for which he will give him a yearly stipend, the money to remain in Mr. Pitt's house, where his man shall confine himself to live, Mr. Pitt to keep a key to the chest, and his man the other. He humbly beseecheth your Lordships to



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be pleased to write your letters to Mr. Pitt to this purpose, and that your Lordships will command him to take this charge into his house."

A learned and discreet man wanted to succeed Sir Robert Napper as Chief Baron in Ireland, since the affairs of the Exchequer there are being much hindered.

The *Popinjay* old and unserviceable. Her sale recommended. Birkinshawe to be commanded to repair speedily to Dublin. Sir Richard Greame to be sent back as soon as possible, for the Lord Deputy can ill spare him, now that his Lordship is going into the north. For the same reason, Newcomen, the Victualler, to be returned speedily to Dublin, "the Lord Deputy having hitherto made no journey but [he] hath taken Newcomen with him, by reason of his extraordinary care, diligence, and service." Warrant desired for the "releasing of the impost of coals," both in England and Ireland. Some reasonable contentment to be given to Alderman Weston, of Dublin, in his suit for a debt of 1,700*l.* due to that city. The great sums lent by the citizens of Dublin to Her Majesty, "in which, and some other shews of their loyalties, they are far before the rest of the towns in Ireland."

A letter to be written to the Lord Deputy, "to give straight commandment to the army, that none in Her Majesty's pay shall take up anything upon ticket in Ireland of any subject, after the issuing of the new money, upon great penalties, but to pay ready money for anything they take. This thing will give a general contentment to the subject, and add reputation to the project." The carts that conveyed from the Tower the munition sent for Ireland have been sold in the parts of Cheshire at mean values. Allen, who has charge of that munition now, to be enjoined to take over with him forty [carts], if his proportion be so great, or so many as their Lordships shall think requisite, to remain always in the store at Dublin, and other places of the realm, in readiness for the carriage of Her Majesty's munition, victual, clothes, &c., which will be a great help to the services, and lessen the extraordinaries. Payment to be hastened of the Irish debts to many poor suitors, whereby their Lordships shall give great contentment to many, and disperse much of the new money into several parts of the kingdom. "The suitors are also indebted to others in the realm of Ireland, whereby they will also disperse it amongst the subjects into divers parts, for the payment of their debts in small sums. If a composition be made with them, he humbly entreateth that it may be made in England, and that a schedule of those debts may be sent to Mr. Treasurer, with full instructions what shall be paid to every particular man; and to be set down exactly by the Auditors."—1601, May 14. *Unsigned. pp. 2½.*

May 14.  
Derry.

65. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. "There is no subject (in matters of war and advertisement of business) so certain to write upon, but commonly, even before a man's letters are finished, there happens an accident to alter it. So is it with me at this time, for my letters written, and my despatch (as I thought) fully made, I have notice of the rebels assembling together with

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great forces, such as where before I held myself in nature of an assailant, I am now enforced to take upon me the person of a defendant. But seeing the bearer is able to deliver unto your Honour our true estate, as well in this by his own entire knowledge, as in other matters partly by knowledge and partly by instruction, I may excuse myself (with your honourable favour) though I omit that large discourse which would require leisure and advisement, because they are two commodities which the suddenness of time and this present action afford me not. For all other matters touching what I have done, what reasons have led me, and what by probable conjecture I gather may be done, my general letter to the Lords, and my particular discourse apart by itself, will declare." His devotion to Sir Robert.—Derry, 1601, May 14. *Holograph.* p. 1.

May 14.  
London.

66. [Donogh O'Brien], Earl of Thomond, to Sir Robert Cecil. Has sent him his "conceit" for the reducing of Connaught and surprising of Ballyshannon, now undertaken by Sir Henry Dockwra. Desires to do service agreeable to the Queen. "For the Earl of Clanrickarde, there can be no exceptions taken, though, being a nobleman, he resteth still in his own country, and followeth not Her Majesty's service in each place, as I have done. Besides, being in conference with him at my coming over, he manifested himself very desirous of my employments there. To return into Ireland in more disgrace than I came from thence, I would be very loath, and therefore now rest only at your Honour's disposition, nothing doubting of your furtherances in these my most willing enterprises."—London, 1601, May 14. *Signed. Seal.* p. 1.

May 14.  
[Carrick-  
fergus.]

67. Anthony Dawtrey to Sir Arthur Chichester. Hearing by Ensign Clatworthy that Sir Arthur was minded to write to the Lord Deputy for a new supply of men for Carrickfergus, urges the necessity of a bark of 30 or 40 tons coming at the same time with victual. The butter is almost gone, and they will have nothing shortly but fish, "and here is no contract yet for this place."—[Carrickfergus], 1601, May 14. *Copy.* p. 1.

*Overleaf are:*—"Sir Arthur Chichester's demands for the present service at Knockfergus." *These are*, to have certain boats built upon Lough Eagh, in addition to the other boats already there, and for that purpose that there be sent pitch, tar, oakum ("okecome"), rosin, ropes, nails, sails, masts, boards, and other necessities; that more victuals be sent; that 5*l.*, promised to the bark and messenger that came with these letters, be allowed him; and that a "present answer" may be sent to him. *Copy.* p. 1.

May 15.  
Massereene.

68. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir Robert Cecil. "Albeit I write by an uncertain passage, sending these to Dublin before they can be transported to England, yet I thought it unfit to let slip any opportunity, conveyance being so seldom afforded unto me. Since my last letters written about the middle of April (as I remember) James McSorley was buried. His brother Randall, returning out of Scotland, met with James McConnell, son to the Lord of

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Clantire (Cantire), coming from Tyrone with Henry O'Hagan and eighty of Tyrone's men in his company, who made shew of purposes to speak with me. Randall requested assistance from me, and James a safe-conduct to confer about business concerning Her Majesty's service, as he seemed to pretend; but it could not be honest, he bringing O'Hagan in his company, which made me draw forth with the few foot and horse I had ready upon the sudden, and marched towards the place [? where] I thought they should meet, of which I had little doubt, though I trusted neither party, for I knew them to be mortal enemies, and I knew I should make my party good, they being by the ears. Which I found as I expected, for, before I came to the place, a messenger met me from Randall, declaring the overthrow of James, who is prisoner in Dunluce, and O'Hagan and some 40 or 50 others slain. Some three or four days after, I met with Randall, who sought Her Majesty's protection, until he had answer of a petition exhibited by him (as he said) to Her Majesty, preferred by the King of Scots to be followed by his ambassador, the Earl of Mar, and he urged this service as a testimony of his honest meaning. I demanded to have James delivered me as the Queen's prisoner, and that he should give me pledges during his protection, and until I understood the Queen's, or my Lord Deputy's, pleasure touching his petition. Both which upon slender reason he refused, which notwithstanding I gave him a protection, more to avoid suspicion of revenge, which I am thought to seek upon him, than for any thought I have his desires will be granted, if he stand upon those terms himself reports unto me, which is, a pardon for himself, brothers, and followers, with a patent for the lands of the Route and Glins, and some 4[00] or 500 men in pay to keep it. The McQuillins, who have served honestly among us during these wars, have better title to the Route than they, and when it was last ordered in Sir John Perrott's time, that country being divided into nine towns, Sorley Boy had five, and the McQuillins four. Now it is all the Queen's by reason of rebellion, and so is all the north, and if I had so many men more to these I have, as he propounds for, I would soon bring him to lower demands, or ease him of a country. I cannot say but Randall hath carried himself true of his word ever since I had first dealings with him, and I should be glad he were an honest subject, but not to the hurt of others, nor to make him more proud, for I assure your Honour the hearts of these rebels be brought much lower than hath been accustomed.

"The bonnaughts which I lodged upon the Upper Clandeboy have given good testimony of their honesties. It is a month since Tyrone sent about 400 men to his nephew Brian McArt to war upon me, and that country, with which he brake into the plain through the woods, of which I had notice being then in Knockfergus, and marching presently to their relief we fall to blows, in which day some seventy or eighty men were slain, and all Irish, and some of the chiefs of that country as Owen McHugh O'Neill, Magylyaspicke, [and] some of the Kellys and Tortroes. These were of our side, lately come from the enemy, and entertained by me. Brian McArt lost his brother, and other of the O'Neills. It was good service on both sides, for never an honest man was slain.



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“Since that time I have been most at this fort, and have visited Tyrone with the boat of the Queen’s and some small boat[s] and cotts, in all which I can transport sixty men besides labourers; and we have burnt and destroyed along the Lough, even within four miles of Dungannon, where we kill[ed] man, woman, child, horse, beast, and whatsoever we found [‘fende’], not being able to bring anything thence, and our stay must not be long in that country with so few men. The last service (from which we returned yesterday) was upon Patrick O’Quin, one of the chief men in Tyrone, dwelling within four miles of Dungannon, fearing nothing; but we lighted upon him and killed him, his wife, sons, daughters, servants, and followers, being many, and burnt all to the ground, whereat Tyrone marvelled; being within a mile, hearing a drum, and seeing such fires in his country, he sent some shot upon us, who did us little hurt, and some of them never returned unto him.

“I am few men in list, and much tired with continual service, lying dispersed upon divers holds, with which I have acquainted my Lord Deputy, and with all business in these parts. I hope for some supply from him, and for more boats, or money to build them. I protest unto your Honour all the men of war the Queen hath in this government have not been able to make ten pounds these twenty days. We can neither feed ourselves, nor reward spy, guide, or any other that shall draw us upon service. We all live upon the store, which is now all near spent but fish, which is no meat for our men lying in field, where they have no kettles to seethe them, nor means to water or carry them. It is written from the contractors to their servants here that we are not contracted for. If we have neither victuals nor money, we shall not do what is expected, and I assure your Honour (for the number) we can and will do as good service as others that should seem to be more respected and thought on. I hope of the continuance of your Honour’s love, which is my greatest comfort in these miserable wars. I will be thought worthy thereof, if my true and faithful service can deserve so much. I must keep my men busied for fear of murmuring, having long wanted money, and I no means to supply them. I hope your Honour hath favourably respected my humble suit touching the payment of the money due from Her Majesty, and I humbly beseech your Honour to give order that this government may be paid half money and half victuals, the greatest part bread or meal. I have written hereof to my Lord Treasurer a month since. Some ships are passed by to Lough Foyle laden with victuals. If we be not contracted for, I wish they might have order to relieve us, as we have done them.

“If more men be sent unto me, I will settle at Toom. I cannot as yet hold it and these other places, not being strong in any place a 150 men. The carriages of our victuals overland most troubles us, in that there is much loose, and it is told me by the contractors’ men that we shall bear the charge thereof, and of the carriage. If it be so, my entertainment will not defray it, having nothing allowed unto me but ten shillings a day; and for my companies of horse and foot, no Captain gets less by them, nor will I, where men are

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of more esteem than money. I refer me and the consideration of these things to your Honour, and when my Lord Deputy comes northward, he shall find I have carried myself like an honest man, if I can in the meantime keep what I have gotten. I hope of his speedy coming, and the sooner the better ; so much I have advertised to his Lordship, and given him good reasons to hasten.”—Masse-reene, 1601, May 15. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 7 of June. *Holograph.* pp. 4.

May 15.  
Derry.

69. Captain Humphrey Willis to Sir Robert Cecil. “I landed at Culmore with Neale Garve and Cormack O'Neill, returning from my Lord Deputy the 13th of April last. The 16th of the same, the Governor did march to the Lifford, and from thence, with 500 English and the Irish, to McSwyne [Ne] Doe's country, to relieve his castle, which was besieged by the old McSwyne (late with us) and by O'Donnell's brother Rory with 400 men. As soon as we came within eight miles of the same, they raised their siege, and took some few cows, and drew away towards Donegal, where they left O'Donnell very weak.

“In this journey, continuing four days, we took in McSwyne [Ne] Doe's country, and McSwyne Fanat's country, and have their best pledges ; also Hugh McHugh Duff's country, and have fortified his castle Rathmoltan that was razed (down one side), and there left one of Neale Garve's brothers with 100 of his foot in garrison. A boat of 20 ton[s] will anchor at the castle. In this journey also we took many poor cows and other cattle, but little beneficial to the soldier, for a great part of them were restored again upon good consideration. Cormack O'Neill hath now of himself fortified at Strabane, and made it strong against the Irish, and lieth there with his men. They have already built a tower there after their fashion. There are come in to him, since his coming, at least 5,000 cows, and most of them by the Governor's direction are gone into O'Dogherty's country ; never a cow of them have (*sic*) been taken for the use of the army. O'Dogherty's country now is so fortified in the neck of the land between the two Loughs by raising six forts, that it is as it were an island. Within are of the country cows by estimation 16,000, and all the people these cows belong unto. They have been commanded by one Hugh Boy, who hath been a great counsellor of O'Donnell's, but now Cahir O'Dogherty (son to the late Sir John O'Dogherty) is come from O'Donnell, having been in durance since his father's death. He is a great man in his country already, and all the country do stoop unto him. O'Donnell lieth now twelve miles above the Lifford, with O'Connor Sligo, Hugh Mostian, Shane Shamerie's sons, and some other helps out of Connaught. He is some 800 men.

“Cormack [Mc] Baron and O'Cahan are at the Newtown with their forces. Tyrone is to and fro about the Blackwater and Dungannon with not many men. O'Donnell is feared, and doth give out he will come into O'Dogherty's country, and take the cows with all the force he can make. I will not believe it (if O'Dogherty be true), but if he do, we shall, I trust in God, put this war to a good

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end, and have a happy day. If your Honour did see the country, and how our forts lie to answer the passages, your Honour would think it strange for their forces to go into the country, we lying at them as we do. Tyrone and O'Donnell now with the rest are fully persuaded they shall have no help of Spaniards this year, and have for some part resolved in council that when they are fully put to it, they both will away for Spain, and leave their countries (as Tyrone to his eldest son Hugh, and Tyrconnell to Rory O'Donnell) with directions how they shall make means to the State, as innocents that have not offended, and so to seek to hold the countries, until they may have some relief.

"I doubt those letters which I wrote to your Honour from Dublin and hence are miscarried. Your Honour shall hear further from me very shortly."—Derry, 1601, May 15. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

May 15.  
Dublin.

**70.** Ga[rrett Fitzgerald, Earl of] Kildare, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Being advertised by my servant of your honourable and friendly regard and acceptance of my last letters, by your friendly acknowledgment of your willingness to further my request therein, I am thereby emboldened once again to importune you by renewing the same request to you again; beseeching that it may please you to vouchsafe the continuance of that your honourable and friendly inclination towards me, for which I shall rest most bound and beholden.

"Since my return hither, I have alway attended my Lord Deputy in all his journeys, in Ranelagh, Byrnes' country, Westmeath, the borders of Percall and Offally, until it pleased his Lordship, the 26th of March last, to appoint me some companies of foot and horse, for attending the service of Offally, and prosecuting the rebels thereabouts, being within my government. Since which time I have, by all the endeavours I could, followed them; yea and the same in such sort as (thanks be to God) the traitors, the Connors, are so banished and dispersed, some to the north, some to Connaught, sundry of them and their followers put to the sword, their dwellings and principal habitations and holts of Islands and Inches, upon woods and in rivers, are burned and rifled, [and] their substance and means, as well cattle as otherwise, generally taken from them. By which means they are not left together in number in that part above thirty persons, and the number so divided into parts and sects severally, as there is not above six or seven in a company. All which maketh me hope, if those companies be admitted with me to attend my charge, that the Connors shall not in a long time grow to the like head again. In these and other employments I have since my charge here sustained the loss of sundry good men, together with the loss of horses, to the value at the least of 400*l.*; and so do purpose evermore to adventure my life, with all the means and men I shall have in this world, to perform such acceptable services to her most excellent Majesty, as manifest unto Her Highness my zealous and dutiful intention to do her service, as I have formerly bestowed the rest of my life and living in her service.

"I do not advertise particularly what hath been done and performed by my companies, for that I think the same is publicly



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advertised by sundry others long or (*sic*) now ; and so praying you earnestly that I may not always remain at one stay, without any token of Her Majesty's favour. For though it please Her Highness, as she doth often express, to think much of my entertainment, yet I assure you I have spent a thousand pounds of the small portion [that] was received for the sale of my living in England, over and above my pay or any other coming in I have, to maintain myself in her service, the same being the extremest and last shift I am able to make, so that being no way enabled by Her Majesty I must utterly perish through wants wholly grown by my expenses in her service, as the world doth witness. I am loath to meddle in matters that concern me not ; notwithstanding, in discharge of my duty to Her Majesty, I have thought good to inform you that the most part of Her Majesty's army at this day in this kingdom are of the Irishry, and most of them hath been in action ; which although they be the ablest and fittest men for this country service, yet in my opinion it were very necessary the forces here were reinforced from thence. I speak this like an Englishman, and would be glad to be so accounted. No man can have assurance of any such people as are runagates, and only hunt after spoil."

Hopes, through Sir Robert and the Treasurer, to attain his suit, as it is in no way prejudicial to Her Majesty, nor of such value as she is informed, "rather a matter to express her gracious meaning towards me, than likely to yield me profit during my life."—Dublin, 1601, May 15. [*Postscript.*] Has written to the Privy Council touching a house of his, called Rathhangan. Prays to have his suit therein furthered, as the building requires some haste, to the good of Her Majesty's service. *Signed.* pp. 1½.

May 15.  
Derry.

71. Captain Humphrey Covert to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since my last letter to your Honour of the 23rd of April, Neale Garve O'Donnell being possessed by Sir Henry Dockwra of McSwyne's country, having good forces of his own, and 150 English to assist him, O'Donnell the rebel, through good espial upon him being carelessly quartered, as the manner of the Irish is to do, suddenly gathered his forces, and re-preyed most of all the cows before by us and them taken ; besides, some of that country, which five days before had yielded themselves to Her Majesty, upon this incursion revolted again, and went out into rebellion with him.

"The 26, the Governor sent for me, and entered into a long discourse of the Captains' discontentment through my strict musters, alleging how desperate the enterprise of Lough Foyle was at the first held to be, the extraordinary charges they lived at in this place, more than the Captains in any other, and now that Tyrone was come to Newtown, six miles beyond Lifford, the army altogether (and of long time before) without money, how impatient they seemed, even when he was to draw them upon service, being (as they said) the worst dealt with of any other Captains the Queen hath, whereas at the beginning of the war of Lough Foyle they were promised best usage and largest contentment of all others. I had the less disposition to answer, because I knew all this speech tented to the musters, and in them something concerned myself.

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Howbeit, I pleaded your Honour's instructions, which I durst not break, or would, notwithstanding their injuries and practices against me, nothing doubting but Her Majesty, through your Honour's motion, would vouchsafe so great satisfaction unto them, in partition of lands, that they would be glad they ever entertained so honourable an action; and so for that time we ceased.

"The 4th of May, the Governor having a purpose to attempt the castle of Newtown, six miles beyond the Lifford, suddenly left it upon O'Donnell's coming thither, who stole a few cows from the Lifford, and slew and hurt very dangerously fourteen of our soldiers going for wood, and some report we killed as many of them. But because Sir John Bolles was there, and not myself, I refer to his report the truth and manner of it, and all other accidents that hath lately happened, with O'Cahan's subtle and desperate ambuscades upon his own garrison of Dunalong, the 6th of May, being the day of our general muster.

"I am an humble suitor to your Honour in the poor soldiers' behalf that you will be pleased to allow to the several companies at Lough Foyle, being 25 in number, a pair of wooden scales and brazen weights, sealed according to statute, viz., of four pounds, half pounds and ounces, which will not rise to any great charge, but be a special mean to preserve many a man's life; for the clerks being the Captains' servants use stones for to weigh with, which, for want of true weights to compare them withal, we cannot disprove, but the falseness thereof is found in many of the soldiers' cheeks. When these complaints are by me urged in their behalf, the poor soldiers dare not appear for fear of worse usage; or if he do, the officers spare no oaths to avouch their dealing to be just.

"The contractors for the victual have sent too great a proportion of fish called Poor John to Lough Foyle, for, besides the soldiers utterly refuse to eat of it at all, their means is very inconvenient to prepare and boil the same. The content of it amounts to ninety thousand, for the stowage and keeping of which the ship called the *Samaritan* is yet stayed, at three score pounds per month charge to the Queen.

"One of the two storehouses, which was sent in March last, was very well set up, and covered with slate, but the Commissary of the Victual having stowed in the middle floor thereof about fifteen ton weight at the most (*sic*), the two great sommers, or main pieces of timber, that lie [a]thwart the house, brake in the middle in the whole timber, as Sir John Bolles and this bearer can witness, who have seen it; which fault was not in them that set it up, but in the badness of the stuff allowed by the Mayor of Chester.

"The seventh of May the summer apparel for Her Majesty's soldiers arrived in Lough Foyle, and the 13th they were unladen at the Derry, the check whereof I will certify your Honour upon the full delivery, which shall be done with as much speed as the distance of the garrisons will give us leave.

"I have sent your Honour an abstract of the half-year's checks, with all the Captains' muster books and books of entries and discharges to confirm the same, with a brief certificate (herein folded) of the last general musters taken the 6th of May; within which abstract I have also sent your Honour the plot of the large

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county of Ennisowen, or O'Dogherty's country (whose son and heir came to the Governor this day, either in policy licensed by O'Donnell to come, or else escaped); by which plot your Honour may plainly perceive, both how the forces are dispersed in several garrisons, and also how strongly it is enclosed with rivers, loughs, bogs, and forts; only Hugh Boy is yet in possession of the strong castle of Birt, which, under your Honour's correction, me seemeth would far better become an English garrison than an Irish, the strength whereof this bearer, my Lieutenant, can very justly report, who hath been in it, and very judicially viewed it, to whom I humbly beseech your Honour to be gracious, in regard of his great pains and honest careful dealing, used with me in performing the musters." Prays that his half-year's endeavours may be allowed of.—Derry, 1601, M[ay] 15.

[*Postscript.*] "Since the writing of my letter, O'Donnell is drawn near our Island of Ennisowen with all his own forces, assisted with eight hundred of Tyrone's best soldiers, under the c[ommand] of Cormac his brother. He is thought to be in all full 2,000. They have . . . . . and sworn each to other to prey the country, and beat us out of . . . . . Island, which they shall never do, albeit Hugh Boy do turn traitor ag[ainst us], of whose fidelity I do and have always greatly doubted. Of the success [?] thereof by my next letters your Honour shall be advertised." *Endorsed*:—1601, May 15. *Signed.* pp. 3.

*Encloses*:—

71. i. "Abstract of the checks imposed upon such companies as be resident in garrison in or about the Derry, for the space of six months and fourteen days, beginning the 1 of October, 1600, and ending the last of March, 1601." *Total*, 4,242l. 12s. 4d. pp. 2.
71. ii. "Abstract of the checks raised upon the companies of foot and horse employed at Lough Foyle, in the several garrisons of the Derry, Dunalong, and the Lifford, with the castles of Culmore, Colmackatreyne, Strabane, and Romolin, for six months fourteen days, beginning the 1 of October, 1600, and ending the 31 of March, 1601, as well for the Captains' entertainments and the lendings of the soldiers, as also for their winter apparel." *Total*, 7,607l. 7s. pp. 5.
71. iii. "The state of Her Majesty's forces at Lough Foyle in Ireland, as they appeared at the general muster taken the 6 of May, 1601." *Total*: foot, 1,854; horse, 86. *Signed* by Captain Covert. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .
71. iv. Sketch map by Ro. Ashby of the country about Lough Foyle, shewing the following places:—Derry, Culmore, Dunalong, Strabane, Lifford, Cargan, Ellaugh, Inch Island, Fane Castle, Colmackatreyne, Birt Castle, and Ramollan. One sheet.
71. v. Sketch of the castle of Birt. p. 1.

May 15.  
Cork.

72. Meyler [Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil. "I do now perceive by your Honour's long silence in not answering any part of my letters, and not granting my requests,



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that the untrue information, or rather the false and slanderous accusation sent or made to your Honour of me (as your letter to the Earl of Desmond purported) that your Honour do conceive of me otherwise than I deserved, and by that I find myself of late much decayed, both in credit, profit, and reputation, to which I know not what to say but *nihil mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc justificatus sum*; but this I know, that your Honour shall never find any English or Irish able to prove any just cause against me, whereby I should be stopped or hindered in any of them. And where your Honour did write in the said letter, that I most irreligiously suffered the churches under me to lie like hog-stys, and that I was not so bare left by the wars, but that I might remedy the same, I do confess the churches in the most parts, and within five miles to Dublin itself, to be like hog-stys, or rather worse, yet am not I in fault thereof, but rather the three sorts of people against whom I have no power, namely, the traitors, the papists, and the soldiers; and in this land is hard to find so many as will suffice to build or repair a church, but the said sorts, amongst whom the very best sort the soldiers, although they pull not down the roof and the walls but seldom, yet some of them, in former Governors' time, have taken the vestments, the doors, and the very rotten bones out of monuments, where they lay more than 500 years; yet all the fault of the want and disorder of the church is imputed to me and to others of my sort, who are not obeyed, feared, revered, or harboured. And thereby it came to pass that I myself, being named (though unworthy) an Archbishop, was the last Sunday, being the 10th of this May, beaten like a dog by Captain Nuse, within the precinct of mine own broken and burned house at Lismore; saving, for credit's sake, that instead of a cudgel or a club, I was beaten and struck with pikes [and] halberds, and shot at with bullets, which kind of credit I would rather lose than have; and as poor and as despised as I am, God knoweth that I might within one hour after pay that Captain well home according to his deserts, if it pleased me; yet I would not, making choice to bear injury rather than to use just revenge, which I have now committed only to the Lord President and Council, before whom the matter now standeth to be redressed. Where if I shall want that measure which should be given for such a fact, I assure your Honour that I will trouble yourself with my presence there (being mine only place of refuge), although, as far as I see, all my endeavours and doings are misconstrued there; in which case I wonder that the Lord President, who is an eye-witness of my daily diligence in Her Majesty's service, do not satisfy your Honour of the truth in my behalf; which if he omitted to do, his own letters are extant good witnesses, and the truth shall be known in due time; and till then, by the enclosed copy of a declaration by me delivered to the Governor, your Honour shall know the manner of the abuse offered by Captain Nuse, which I beseech your Honour to make known to Sir Walter Raleigh, being committed by his servant, to whose judgment and yours I mean to draw that matter.

"And now, notwithstanding all misinformations, I am boldly to put your Honour in remembrance of your promise concerning the

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poor stipend of 40s. by the week, allowed to me by yourself in March last was twelvemonth, of which I received no part ever since, although your Honour promised, if the Lord Deputy should deny me, that then your Honour would see me paid from yourself, assuring your Honour, upon my poor credit, that I got not of Her Majesty's money, since I came to Ireland last, as much as spials, messengers, and other instruments about Her Majesty's special service did cost me during that time. And where it is informed to your Honour that I have ability of myself to support my charge, I protest, upon my fidelity, that at this present year, all my revenues, spiritual and temporal, will not make up one hundred merks sterling; and if this be a competent living for a man of my calling and diligence in Her Majesty's service, having neither household nor goods abroad left me by the rebels, let your Honour judge thereof; and to the end that my state should be fully made known to your Honour, I am now seeking a commission to examine and certify what my certainty and profit is by the year, in hope that your [Honour] shall be a mean to supply some part of my want, having still spent more in Her Majesty's service than some of them to whom she giveth 2,000*l.* by the year.

"And concerning the present state of this province, I know that the same is particularly certified by the Lord President daily, whereby I need not trouble your Honour with the same. But concerning *James FitzThomas*,<sup>o</sup> I am persuaded that 2049† and the *Archbishop of Cashel*<sup>o</sup> have already appointed more means to find him out than the Lord Admiral of England hath for the hunting of the fox, yet the same is not had as yet, although promised daily, such is the favour, power, and strength of the *priests*<sup>o</sup> and 2057 amongst us, that when one or other do bargain with me to deliver unto my hands *James FitzThomas*,<sup>o</sup> suddenly after, by the enchantments of them and their instruments, they are stopped and put back, and mine intent discovered to my great danger. And yet I will still (God willing) follow that hunting until I get the game, unless I be compelled to flee into England, being hated above all men by the Irish, and not much countenanced or harboured by others, the Irish proverb signifying in Latin, *Ve cui solus princeps amicus*, being fully verified in me. There are other impediments, whereby the delivery of *James FitzThomas*<sup>o</sup> is deferred, because that the promises made first in articles to the *Archbishop of Cashel*,<sup>o</sup> by the *Lord Admiral*<sup>o</sup> and 2030,‡ is now altered by proclamations and otherwise; and also because the *Archbishop of Cashel* have not the 607 to be shewed to the parties that will take the *service*<sup>o</sup> in hand, being very doubtful and incredulous that promises shall be kept to them. If these impediments were removed or mended, it were much the better; and in truth I do know none more earnest about this matter, although many undertakers thereof, saving 2049† and the *Archbishop of Cashel*<sup>o</sup> and 851. The rest of the 1080, that were very willing heretofore, are now in the absence of 1078 very slow in it, saying that they know not what good it should work; therefore I would that 1078 were here, for I do lack him much. For when I do urge that the end of *James FitzThomas*<sup>o</sup> shall be

\* Cipher deciphered;

† Sir G. Carew.

‡ Sir R. Cecil.

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the next way to increase the prosperity of *James, Earl of Desmond*,\* they reply that they have less hope of that now than during his being with 2063. By which speeches they shew both their ungratefulness and foolishness, because they esteem nothing but their own private and present commodity, and their love to *James, Earl of Desmond*\* is only when he is able to give them profit; and now they, knowing his disability therein, they forget him; insomuch as I think, if *James FitzThomas*° would trust them, they were surer to him now than ever before; and for my part, having the bridle of my horse in another man's hand, I ought not to be blamed for not running well; *sapienti hæc dico*. And unless 1078, who be there now with *James, Earl of Desmond*,° shall dissemble in the matter, your Honour shall have full knowledge in these cases, and why *James, Earl of Desmond*,° is not had; which I would Her Majesty and your Honour had known as well as myself [rather] than all my revenues this year."—Cork, 1601, May 15. *Signed both with name and cipher.* pp. 3.

*Encloses:—*

72. i. "The manner of my coming, on Sunday, being the 10th of May, 1601, toward Lismore, having with me the Lord Power, with intent to settle his Lordship in the possession of the lands there, for term of years, after concluding with him for that purpose; and how I was resisted and abused by Captain Nuse; thereof followeth in particular.

"First, the said Captain, having the night before at Youghal assembled together a number of soldiers, as well of Captain Sheffield's company as others, travelled them all that night till they came to Lismore, where having placed and left them in sort as an ambush, the next morning did ride toward Dungarran, and meeting us in the way from thence to Lismore, saluted us in friendly manner, and accordingly was conversant, and in friendly sort returned with us back, making motion unto me to purchase my interest in the said lands, until we came to the town of Lismore. And I knowing not in all this while of the said Captain his pretence or purpose, I and the said Captain entering together into the ruinous walls of the house there, and when I saw some of the soldiers placed upon part of the broken wall, and others following himself as a guard about his body, marvelling of it demanded of him what he meant by drawing of Her Majesty's soldiers from their garrison place thither; who said that he came to defend that possession for himself. Whereupon, having then told him of mine own interest therein, being possessed thereof by virtue of Sir Walter Raleigh's lease passed unto me of the same, and accordingly desired and required him in Her Majesty's name to withdraw his force, and not to interrupt myself in my possession, nor in the purpose I came thither for, which was for the settling of my Lord Power in the possession of the said lands, as aforesaid, and desired him not to give me occasion or impediment to forego so good a tenant. Who replied that he would not in any respect depart; at which I turned to my

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\* Cipher deciphered.



1601.

Lord Power (then standing by), and desired his Lordship (being a Justice of Peace within that county), the force being in his view, according to law to remove the same. Whereunto my Lord Power said that he would send to the Sheriff to have a jury impannelled, and accordingly to proceed. At which word the said Captain, no sooner hearing the name of a Sheriff, but presently took a pike out of a soldier's hand standing next by him, and with the same lifted his hand, and struck me in my head and shoulders, and presently thereupon made a push or two of the pike at my body, which my Lord Power seeing, with a white wand in his hand commanding the peace, the said Captain made another thrust at him, and thereupon commanded his company to charge upon us, which they did, insomuch as if our horses had not stood by (having recovered them with very great danger), the said Captain would have killed us every one, as he did soon after affirm. Wherewith being not contented, after we were mounted, [he] chased us a great way, still making shot at us, until we came out of their reach, where lighting to stay for some of our company dispersed, and to part with my Lord Power (who was to return homeward), the said Captain sent a message by one Edmund Offloyne, that he was right sorry that I had so good a privy coat as then I wore; and presently thereupon we were ware of nothing, until we saw him and his company suddenly issuing out and coming upon us, still charging and shooting at us, that we had much to do in recovering our horses the second time, and so followed us a great mile, still making shot at us, that it was most miraculous how we did escape the danger. It is since reported from him by [an] agent of good sort, that if he had known my children (then present), that he would for no good forego the shedding of their blood. This being the truth of the manner of that fact wherewith I am so dangerously and slanderously abused, I beseech your Honour and the Council to consider thereof as becometh, and speedily to provide some fit remedy therein, as also in the hindrance I received by losing so good a tenant as my Lord Power, with many others that came before to inhabit that land, of whom the said Captain took a prey the same morning, and who thereby departed their dwellings, and left the land waste. Wherein I crave your Lordship's speedier dispatch, the time requiring haste, as your Honour knoweth." Subscribed and signed:—"Veritatem scripsit Milerus Ar. Casselen." pp. 2.

May 16.  
Dublin  
Castle.

73. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. "This bearer, Mr. Sherwood, is sued at this table by Philip Conran, an Alderman of Dublin, for the sum of 174*l.*, which by both parties is affirmed to be due for wares received by Sherwood to the use of Sir John Norreys, whom lately he served, and hath now no other means left for him to help himself at this present, other than certain warrants to the value of 172*l.*, which belonged to the said Sir John. Sherwood has attended the State, and followed the service, both in Sir John Norreys's time, and ever since under the

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Earl of Ormonde. Payment of this large sum, being not his own debt, will be even his undoing. Pray that the warrants may be paid to Sherwood, or that Sir John's executors may be ordered to free him from the debt, by paying the same to Conran, or to Sherwood for Conran's use.—Dublin Castle, 1601, May 16. *Signed.*  
p. 1.

May 16.  
Cork.

**74.** Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. "Immediately after my repair from Limerick to this town, I presently made a despatch, relating unto your Lordships all which had passed from the Earl of Thomond's departure until that present, which packet bare date the third of this month, and also therein an answer of those letters which were brought unto me from your Lordships by Patrick Crosby, into whose hands I delivered the same, but for want of wind hitherto [he] hath been detained in this port. Since which time I have received a letter from your Lordships, bearing date the 28th of April, by the which I receive no small comfort, to hear that my poor endeavours in this province (in themselves unworthy of so great favour) have such good acceptance in the censures of Her Majesty and your Lordships. But whereas it pleaseth you to mention in your letters of one from Her Majesty (to be sent with your Lordships', as I suppose), I have not received any such, whereof I am exceeding sorry, in being deprived of the sight of her royal hand, than the which (but her sacred person) nothing of more comfort can be presented to mine eyes.

"I may not omit to present unto your Lordships all humble thanks for the supplies of munition and victuals, which by your letters are shortly to arrive, as also for the sending of shipping upon this coast, which will assure us from invasion by sea.

"Before the receipt of your Lordships' letters, it was here bruited by the priests that in England there were certain letters counterfeited as sent unto Tyrone out of Spain, and given out to be taken in the ship of Peter Strong of Waterford, whereas (as they report) there was no such matter, but a device in England to distract weak spirits from persevering in the Catholic cause. Wherefore (in my weak opinion) your Lordships (to beat down untruths) have with great judgment sent hither the copies of the said letters, under the testimony of your own hands, which no doubt being well handled will produce good fruit to alien many from this wicked rebellion. For as far as I can judge of the present estate of this kingdom, were it not for the hopes of aid from Spain (whereof in their opinions this summer they shall not fail) the rebellion would instantly die. But if they receive succours of men, money, and munitions, or of money and munitions only, the war will be drawn to a great length, and (contrary to the vulgar opinion) I think that the aid of money and munition (of the two evils) will prove the worst. The only comfort I retain is, that they will be deceived in both, if the relations out of Spain of the King's weakness in each of them be true. The other points of your Lordships' letters (which require an answer) I will forbear your further trouble in them, being ready to obey your commandments.

1601.

"Since the third of May (the date of my last letters) in this province hath been no alteration, and the external appearance of continuance in obedience better confirmed, making no doubt, with God's favour, although Tyrone and the Popish clergy do endeavour by all possible means to put new flames in Munster, to keep the same, by any Irish attempts, from general revolt. But to warrant every part of it (having more idle swordmen in it than in any other province of the realm) I dare not adventure, for the return of Teig O'Rourke and Redmond Burke by land, and McMorris by sea, is daily expected, whose coming cannot choose but make disturbance and in the looser sort, that cannot live in a settled government, will breed defection. But as in my former letters, so in this, the list and state of Munster standing as now it doth, I do not esteem of all the malice and practices of the rebels, hoping in God to make them weary of any attempt against the province."—Cork, 1601, May 16. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 7th of June. *Signed*. *Seal*. pp. 2.

[May 16.  
Cork.]

**75.** Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. The suit of Alderman Philip Conran at the Council Table in Dublin against Henry Sherwood, sometime secretary to Sir John Norreys and now to the Earl of Ormonde, for the sum of 174*l*. Begs that the desires expressed by the Lord Deputy and Council in the behalf of Sherwood [*see* No. 73] may be fulfilled, and the debt answered where it is most properly due. Recommends Sherwood to Sir Robert's favour.—[Cork, 1601, May 16.] *Signed*. p. 1.

May 19.  
[Dublin]

**76.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I will not trouble you with much by this bearer, because Mr. Treasurer tells me he will within these two or three days despatch a servant of his unto you, by whom I shall have occasion to advertise you of more. In the meantime this man having obtained my leave to go over about his own business, I thought good to let you know that I have received your letters by Mr. Treasurer, and resolve very shortly to place Sir Francis Stafford in the Newry. If you think it good, I desire my Lords should take some notice in their public letters of their dislike to Sir Samuel Bagenall, whom if I did not think unfit for the place he holds, I know you would excuse me, and I would desire it, from doing him any wrong. But the commendation I have heretofore given him was for the service I found at my first coming done at that garrison, which at that time in this kingdom was dainty ('daynty'). But since, I have observed that it was performed by such under him that would have done more if his weakness had not hindered them, and himself to be imperfect for any charge of importance.

"Sir, I have some light that you have conceived that I have not been so forward to farther the fortunes of your friends with my power here, as I have been to others. Believe me, Sir, I am confident to make you know that ever since my coming I have been and shewed myself as willing to pleasure any, whom I did indeed think yours, with any substantial courtesy, as any of my own friends; and if I have not used them with like inward familiarity



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as others, it hath been their own fault and not mine. And even at my first coming over, my Lord President can witness, whether I did not complain unto him that some of them did too much estrange themselves from me. But, Sir, believe me, I pray you, that I will ever endeavour to go beyond my profession to you of that love you have deserved, and I am resolved to bear you, and so, Sir, I wish you as much happiness as to myself, or else I desire God to send me none.”—[Dublin], 1601, May 19. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

May 19.  
Dublin.

**77.** Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. “I have little to write now, but to advertise your Honour that the Lord Deputy about three days hence meaneth to draw to Dundalk, there to spend time upon those borders, while the season of the year do bring on the great intended journey for Ulster. By his being there, he shall be apt to take opportunities to do service upon the rebels; but chiefly by his presence upon the borders, his Lordship shall better contain the late submittees in obedience, and haply put them into blood against the traitors of Ulster. Besides, he will work the submittees to cut down passes, and make passable the Moyerie, by which hitherto the army hath received most distress. These are the main purposes of his going; other accidents may fall in, which are considered of, but not to be advertised, till some matters secretly projected may shew themselves. And if it be not too much to harass his army before the time of the main journey of Ulster, I think his Lordship will pass some forces to the Newry, and so further northwards, to puzzle Tyrone about Lecale and those borders. But lastly, his Lordship by having the army upon the borders (a matter not looked for of Tyrone) will assuredly astonish that traitor, and haply break some of his greatest designs. I think his Lordship will return to Dublin to answer the time of the general hosting, which is this day proclaimed, to begin the last of June next. And in the meanwhile he hath left to the Council the care of all preparations to answer the expedition of Ulster against the time.

“Touching such directions as Mr. Treasurer brought, I forbear to write anything, for that the matters of that despatch are but now in deliberation, and have not had time to sort to resolution. Only by the Lord Deputy’s commandment, he and I have this day given order to have 2[00] or 300 proclamations printed, to the end they may be ready to be published, when the several bulks of money shall be settled in their due places to answer the exchange, and afterwards to be issued according the time limited in the proclamation. I dare not prophesy of the good or ill success of these new coins, for that all sudden and new alterations run no small hazard, when they are to pass through the hands of many contentious spirits, who in their envy will not stick to raise slight oppositions at the first. But after, when the project shall be rightly apprehended, and the distribution of the money made by well-chosen officers, I see not (for my part) but it will be gladsomely received, both of the army and the subjects; only the first plantation may find some difficulties, but they can be of no continuance.”—Dublin, 1601, May 19. *Endorsed:—Received at Greenwich 7 Junii. Signed. Seal. pp. 1½.*

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[May 19.]

**78.** Sir Geoffrey Fenton [to Sir Robert Cecil]. Warmly thanks Sir Robert for the 100*l.* procured by his means. "Received in one year more comfort in my poor estate, than in twenty-two years that I have spent my health in the toilsome services of this wretched land." His devotion to Sir Robert.

"Tyrone is gathering all the forces he can to resist the invasion of Ulster, but, if we be not interrupted by Spain, I hope this summer's work will either make a final end of him, or at least so weaken him, that he will never be able to bear up head again. Many of his principal confederates are prepared in heart to forsake him, when they shall see the army strong in Ulster. It is a real invasion that will either cut him off or expel him, and I hope this summer is the time prefixed by God to perfect that work."—[1601, May 19.] *Without date or signature, but in the handwriting of Sir Geoffrey Fenton.* p. 1.

May 20.  
Dublin.

**79.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Council to the Privy Council. "We have little to advertise by this despatch, other than that, since the arriving of me, the Treasurer, being six days past, we have conferred together touching the settling of the new monies, to the which we have had no time to give other beginning, than, upon view of Her Majesty's proclamation, to give order for 2[00] or 300 of them to be printed, to answer the several parts of the realm, to the end that all the subjects may take full notice of Her Majesty's most princely purpose concerning those coins. And in the meanwhile I the Treasurer am in hand to divide the monies that I brought with me, some to Lough Foyle, some to Knockfergus, and some for Munster, to be laid in those places as a bulk, to be issued when the other proportion shall come out of England, and then all to be ready for distribution after the proclamation shall be published, and a time limited for decrying of all other monies, which we think will be either fourteen or twenty days at the furthest, after the divulging of the proclamation. Touching some other points of the directions, which I, the Treasurer, brought, your Lordships by our next shall have a more ample certificate, and yet in the meantime we have given order to take the Clerk of the First Fruits accounts, and are now to pass commission to call the undertakers' deputies to yield their reckoning for their disbursements and other matters incident to their charge, which had been long before performed, if they had been ready to exhibit their books.

"We have this day, upon an assembly of grand council, agreed upon a general hosting for this year, to begin the last of June next; and in the meanwhile I, the Deputy, will draw to Dundalk, to occupy the time upon the northern borders, while the general hosting shall be preparing, there to be at hand, to apply occasions and opportunities for Her Majesty's service, and specially by my presence to press the late submittees to attempt service upon the Archtraitor and his confederates, and to put them in blood one against another, if I can. Towards the time of the general hosting (if other greater occasions of the Ulster service shall not stay me), I mean to be back again at Dublin, having now left order

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with the Council to put in readiness all preparations for that great action, so as no time may be pretermitted to set upon the Archtraitor at his own doors, when we shall be fitted for it. Wherein we humbly desire your Lordships to expedite with all possible speed the victuals and munitions that are to come from thence, for the which your Lordships have there with you two special solicitors, Newcomen and Allen, whom it may please your Lordships to dispatch away with the several proportions committed to their charge, which if they be here to answer the time, we hope your Lordships shall hear of some honourable service attempted in Ulster; at least there shall be no time lost by us, which is all that for the present we have to trouble your Lordships withal, for that, by our next letters, we shall have occasion to write more at large, and particularly of Sir Henry Dockwra's project for Ballyshannon, which yet we have seen no cause to disallow; the rather for that he, being near the place, doth see at eye, and is best able to judge of the probability of that plot."—Dublin, 1601, May 20. [*Postscript.*] "If your Lordships think that you shall not be able to answer us with the provisions for Ballyshannon in due time, then I, the Deputy, must think of another plot to carry the army against Tyrone, and to set upon him some other way, of which I would be glad to have some understanding from your Lordships, whether those provisions will answer us, or not answer us, in due time." *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich 7 Junii. *Signed.* pp. 1½.

May 20.

80. Sir Theobald Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. "This bearer, Captain Yelverton, repairing thither, being one most willing in my own knowledge to venture his life for your Honour, and in furthering Her Majesty's service, he hath been this many years following the wars, well known to me, and often in my own sight discharged the part of a valiant gentleman. He lost both his brothers, all his goods, and himself banished from his house and dwelling, as myself and others are to our great hindrance. Such a Captain as he is for many causes in my opinion were more fitter for the service here than many others. I had a desire to have seen Her Majesty and your Honour, but that my Lord Deputy would not license me as yet, saying I may not be spared from the service; my charge being but one company of foot continually employed. If mine advice, willingness, or experience, be to any purpose for the furtherance of Her Highness[']s service, I would I were better enabled thereunto than the meanest Captain in the kingdom, considering how long I have served without charge to Her Majesty, well known to Sir William Russell during his government here, and to many others, and that I am also banished from my living in Connaught, and my houses razed, and all the goods that I and mine had taken by the rebels, and that Tyrone in person came where I now dwell, and for not hearkening to his traitor[ou]s offers, burnt, preyed, and spoiled not only myself, but all such as depended upon me, well known to this bearer and to all the realm of Ireland, and sent commandment publicly to O'Rourke, and gave the like to Tyrrell, the Omalaughlins, and the McGeoghans and all the rest, to apply me and mine, which they did often with



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the greatest fury they could, in killing, burning, and spoiling, as well by night as by day, until they left nothing but bare castles. God be praised, they are not much the better. Now many of the doers thereof do submit themselves, only for very want, and for no desire they have to do Her Majesty service, whereof I am well assured. I would, seeing my fortune is such, that neither the will and desire I have, and the continual travail and pains I take here, according my bounden duty unto Her Majesty, do not deserve to [be] better enabled for the furtherance of Her Highness['s] service in this unhappy country, that it would please your Honour to employ me in Her Highness['s] service anywhere else in the world, protesting I think no man of my sort living that hath a greater desire to venture life and living in the service of her most gracious sacred Majesty than I am, wishing that by your Honour's good means I may be so employed in some service for a time, that I may make manifest the same, which is the only desire I have. I humbly beseech your Honour that I may be licensed by Her Majesty to go see Her Highness, and in the meantime that your Honour, as already you have done, write to my Lord Deputy to respect me with some extraordinary favour, or else, if it may please your Honour, that I may have it from thence, to the end that mine enemies may see that I am remembered and respected.

"I hope by Michaelmas, if the castle of Ballyshannon be gotten into Her Majesty's hands, these troubles will be ended; then God grant that good courses may be held for the continuance thereof. Though the wars of this country be ended, as there is no doubt thereof, yet is it no place for me ever to dwell amongst them, unless I shall be able ever to make my party good against these rebels, whose ancestors were never true to Her Highness['s] most sacred Majesty nor to her ancestors, being now come hither with one that I took coming out of the north from the traitor Tyrrell to his wife and friends in Leinster, to encourage them, and to let them know that he will be with them himself five days hence, and that eight of his company were taken in their passing to the north lately by my son-in-law, and executed at Mullingar; amongst whom there was one Shane O'Reilly, which doth greatly grieve him.

"I understand that Cowley, the suitor, is troubled for the money which I appointed him to pay at my last being with your Honour, beseeching your Honour to be a mean that he may receive so much as is due to me by Her Majesty, for the discharge of my credit."—Dublin, 1601, May 20. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

May 20.  
Cork.

81. [Meyler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel], to Sir Robert Cecil. "I am given to understand that it was reported to your Honour and others there, that I have precisely and generally sworn that I never did or shall do by word or writing any act or acts in derogation of the credit and profit of *The Earl of Ormonde*.<sup>o</sup> The manner and truth of that oath, as it passed betwixt the *Archbishop of Cashel*<sup>o</sup> and the *Earl of Ormonde*,<sup>o</sup> was thus. A general

\* Cipher deciphered.

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report was given out through 276 (? Munster) that the *Archbishop of Cashel*<sup>3</sup> hath combined with 1102† in making and exhibiting books of articles and defamations in *England*<sup>3</sup> against the *Earl of Ormonde*<sup>3</sup>, whereby it was given out that the *Archbishop of Cashel*<sup>3</sup> was not like to live long in that country, and by reason thereof divers of both sides did advise the *Archbishop of Cashel*<sup>3</sup> to signify the truth therein, rather than to be subject to the dangers that might follow. And thereupon the *Archbishop of Cashel*<sup>3</sup> made a corporal oath before good witnesses that he was never privy nor aider of that book, or the like, either to 1102† or any other; which oath is most true. And thereupon the *Earl of Ormonde*<sup>3</sup> and the *Archbishop of Cashel*<sup>3</sup> have promised to continue friends during each party [h]is loyalty. And whatsoever more than as aforesaid is reported or certified concerning that matter, it is a flat lie (as the Lord liveth) and subornation, whosoever saith the contrary, and the *Archbishop of Cashel*<sup>3</sup> is ready in every respect to prove, either in *England*<sup>3</sup> or *Ireland*<sup>3</sup>; praying therefore 2030 (*Sir Robert Cecil*), not to think otherwise of the *Archbishop of Cashel*<sup>3</sup> than too zealous and constant in all his actions, and so to continue till the end, and in the same.” —Cork, 1601, May 20.

[*Postscript.*] “The daily expectation of the end of *James Fitz-Thomas*<sup>3</sup> is the only stay of the *Archbishop of Cashel*<sup>3</sup> from *England*<sup>3</sup> and being there shall prove the premises. And in the meantime 2030 (*Sir Robert Cecil*) may consider why that which was reported of the *Archbishop of Cashel*<sup>3</sup> was not had under his own hand, being so publicly done, as well as under others, being by their report a voluntary act, &c.”(*sic*). *Unsigned.* p. 1.

May 20.  
Dublin.

82. Proclamation concerning the new moneys for Ireland.—Dublin, 1601, May 20. “Printed by John Francke at the Bridge-foot.” *One sheet.*

[May 20.]

83. Abstract of the foregoing proclamation.—1601, [May 20]. *The month has been erroneously set down as June.* p. 1.

[May 20.]

84. Memorandum concerning the new coinage.

“The fifteenth of May, the Lord Deputy received by the hands of Sir George Carey, Treasurer at Wars, a proclamation (signed by the Queen) to be published, for making the new standard of mixed moneys to be only current in this kingdom, all other coins being to be brought to the Treasurer; and likewise a letter from the Queen, requiring the Lord Deputy and Council to further the due execution of the contents of this proclamation, and by some plausible graces done in general to the subject (in the establishing an exchange of this coin into sterling money of England, and taking away the impositions of sea coal transported into Ireland, and in particular to the Captains of the army, in allowing their dead pays in money, after the rate of 8*d.* per diem, and some like favours), inviting, &c. (*sic*). ”

\* Cipher deciphered.

† Cipher undeciphered.

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"The twentieth of May, the Lord Deputy advertised the Lords in England that they had given order to print 300 proclamations for the new coin, to be published through all parts of Ireland at one time."—1601, [May 20]. *p. ½.*

May 20.  
Fort in Leix.

85. Sir Francis Rush to Sir Robert Cecil. Excuses himself for never writing to Sir Robert. His poor and private command can yield little matter worthy attention. Encloses a particular (*wanting*) of the state of Queen's County. Expresses his devotion to Sir Robert, and craves his patronage.—Fort in Leix (Maryborough), May 20. *Endorsed* :—1601. *Holograph. p. 1.*

May 21.  
Dublin.

86. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "Upon my now arrival, I delivered your H . . . . .<sup>o</sup> to my Lord Deputy, who accepted of th . . . . . kindly. I did assure his Lordship of your Ho . . . . . love towards him, which was very . . . . . unto him, and his Lordship with many vows . . . . . did assure me of his love and affec[tion] to your Honour, on whom he would rely . . . . . make his chiefest dependency. If I . . . . . believe a Christian, he is wholly yours assure[dly], and ready to deserve those good favours that your Honour shall do to Her Majesty in his behalf.

"His Lordship, being now furnished of all things necessary, which he wanted before my coming, is ready to depart this town, and intendeth to draw down the army unto the borders of Tyrone, and there to be doing of something, as occasion shall be offered, until he begin the northern journey, for the which the general hosting is now agreed on. His Lordship approaching to the borders will occasion the Traitor to keep his forces together (*sic*) which will spend and weaken him very much; and by his lying there he will the better assure Tirlogh McHenry and the rest unto Her Majesty, by enforcing them to draw blood on their neighbours. I signified unto his Lordship that it was greatly expected in England, both of Her Majesty and Council, that the Archtraitor's head should not so long stand on his shoulders. His Lordship is not negligent therein, and hath good hope to effect the same, for he hath laid two or three plots for the doing thereof.

"Sithence my coming over, there wa . . . . . Hamilton of this town who brou[ght] . . . . . Lordship a letter from one that lately cam[e] . . . . . Scotland, who by contrary winds . . . . . into Beaumaris, and there stayed . . . . . the party that sent the letter was un . . . . . unto his Lordship, and his Lordship, suspicious to receive any letters that came out of Scotland, being in jealousy what they might import, sent the said letter unto me by his secretary, fast sealed as his Lordship first received the same, with request that I would open the letter. The letter I opened, and examined the party that brought the letter, all which I send your Honour hereinclosed. Sithence which time the party himself is arrived, and in my presence delivered unto my Lord Deputy a packet from your Honour, wherein was a letter to

\* The letter is mutilated in parts.



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his Lordship from the Earl [of] Argyle. These things being made known to the Council here, I suppose his Lordship will acquaint your Honour therewith, and with his answer to the Earl.

"I desire that the rest of the new moneys may be sent into Munster with all speed, for, if that were there, we would then put forth Her Majesty's proclamation, and begin to issue the same. I hope in God it will be for Her Majesty's good service. I have now sent in Her Highness[']s ship, the *Tremantayne*, to Lough Foyle twelve thousand two hundred and fifty pounds of these new moneys, and five thousand two hundred [and] fifty pounds to Knockfergus, that the same may be in a readiness.—Dublin, 1601, May 21.

[*Postscript.*] "The Dean of Limerick continueth still in the list of the preachers. His entertainment shall be paid, for my Lord Deputy hath promised not to displace him, or check him in respect of his absence." Asks that Mr. Lake may be remembered with some recompense for his travail in the matter of the exchange. *Endorsed* :—Received at Greenwich, 7 Junii. *Holograph.* pp. 2½.

*Encloses* :—

86. i. "*Richard Gile, of Hilbree, master and owner of a barque called the Harry of Hilbree, saith that being at Chester about the ninth of May, to receive some loading for his barque, being then bound for Dublin, there came one unto him with a letter, directed to one Robert Hamilton of Dublin, and desired the said Richard Gile to deliver the letter accordingly. But who it was that delivered him the letter, or what manner of man he was, the said Richard Gile knoweth not. But the letter he delivered at his coming to Dublin. And Robert Hamilton confesseth the receipt of the said letter and saith that in opening of the said letter he found therein enclosed a letter to the Lord Deputy, which he delivered unto his Lordship in the presence of Mr. Cook, his Lordship's secretary, Sir Henry Davers, Sir Henry Folliott, and others.*"—1601, May 18. *In the handwriting of Sir George Carey, and signed by him.* p. 1.

86. ii. "*George Askinson (sic), of Scotland,*" to Robert Hamilton ("*Hambleton*"). Requesting him to deliver a letter to the Lord Deputy of Ireland.—*Beaumaris, 1601, May 9.* Addressed to Hamilton "*at his house in Dublin, near the Merchants' Quay.*" *Endorsed* :—"Delivered by Richard Gile, of Hilbree." *Holograph.* p. ½.

86. iii. George Erskine ("*Areskyn*") to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "*I was directed from Scotland by my master, the Earl of Argyle, with letters to your Lordship and to O'Donnell, if so it might seem meet to be delivered unto him. I had some particular credit from his Lordship to have imparted unto your Honour, but a violent tempest hath carried me hither into Wales, where I am made prisoner, and my letters taken from me, and direct[ed] to London. I had but three; two from my master to your Lordship and O'Donnell, with commandment to be ruled in that letter of O'Donnell's by your Lordship's advice and direction. The third was from some Englishman, direct[ed] to your Lordship's page from some of his parents, which contains no matter of importance, except fatherly love to*

1601.

his child, and regret for his own trouble, which is by reason of some enmity that has happened with some warden or commander on the border, and by reason of the same to have fled into Scotland; desiring his son, if it might seem to himself expedient, that he should visit him with letters or presents.

“The credit of my letter to your Lordship was to lay a course against Her Majesty’s rebels there, who are to make alliance with Sir James McConnell, my master his greatest enemy. But because this matter would take a longer time, your Lordship shall understand them either by me, or some other direct[ed] by my master to that effect.”—Beaumaris, 1601, April 30.

[Postscript.] “It may please your Honour to excuse my boldness; although my acquaintance be little, my business has forced me to do this.

“I am very uncourteously used here by the Mayor of this town, who would not convey my letters with his own to London, to Mr. Secretary. For this afternoon I have understood that some malicious persons have traduced me here, giving me out for a seminary, or some man that would have killed the King of Scotland. Means [were] found out by Captain Bethel, of Tradaff, to linger me in these parts, seeing I could have complained, for his robbery done (as I am informed) upon some of our people, unto your Honour. He has been reset and entertained in this town fourteen days. I pray your Lordship signify this to Mr. Secretary, for all means are closed whereby I may do the same.” *Holograph.* pp. 1½.

May 21.  
Dublin.

87. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Council to the Earl of Argyle. “Although by some course taken by the Mayor of Beaumaris, not being able to distinguish of the safety or peril to suffer such a one to pass as your Lordship’s servant arriving in that place in such sort as he did, there hath fallen out some interruption to the service you gave him in charge, yet out of the confidence Her Majesty hath of the good affection the King, and consequently your Lordship, doth bear to the prosperity of her just and royal proceedings both here and elsewhere, I found her graciously inclined that, according to your desire, this bearer should have leave and the best safety I could give him to confer with O’Donnell, and to that purpose have given him a safe conduct to pass in such sort as he shall advise to be best for his own safety. But as we presume upon just cause that your Lordship will entertain no correspondency with him, but sorting to the good, or at the least not against the good, of her estate, so we are the rather induced to desire you that you will authorise whomsoever you shall employ in this negotiation to communicate the effect thereof upon his return with me and Her Majesty’s Council here, that we may the better concur with your Lordship in the end we presume your Lordship doth propound unto yourself in this business.”—1601, May 21. *Copy.* p. 1.

1601.  
May 21.  
Dublin.

88. Safe-conduct given by the Lord Deputy to George Erskine, servant of the Earl of Argyre, to pass to O'Donnell and to return.—Dublin, 1601, May 21. *Copy.* p. 1.

May 22.  
Rhudlan in  
Wales.

89. Captain Edward Fisher to Sir Robert Cecil. "It pleased my Lord Deputy and Council to commit to my charge, to be safely brought to your Honour, one Udall, who[m] Sir Richard Wingfield, and others chiefly depending upon your honourable favour, entreated me to be exceeding careful of, for that his sending over chiefly concerned your Honour's safety, which the rather I will with all respect and duty perform. This Udall, being fearful of his not coming for England after a resolution to the contrary, wrote this letter unto me, which hereinlosed (*wanting*) I send to your Honour. Whereby you may perceive of what importance his discovery seemeth to be, and how he urged me for the same. The packet with which this letter goeth Sir Geoffrey Fenton gave me direction that presently after my landing I should send before me to your Honour; another packet I have from the Lord Deputy and Council, which with myself I will bring to your Honour; all which I thought my duty to acquaint your Honour withal before."—Rhudlan in Wales, 1601, May 22. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"Captain Fisher to me." *Signed. Seal.* p. 1.

May 21.  
June 1.  
Madrid.

90. John Trehar to Thomas Honeyman, "merchant in London." "The other day I sent you a letter, showing how that I was safely arrived to Madrid, and from thence had determined to have gone for Seville, but by reason of the great plague, there is no passing to nor fro. There dies every day, as it is reported, three hundred. Those great and little crucifixes, which I left order with you to be sent me, you shall not need send them, until you hear farther from me. I have of late heard that there are some fifteen pictures of Our Lady del Antigua in a ship at St. Mary Port, with twenty-four crucifixes of the greatest sort; and as yet I cannot learn of any other, neither any probability is there any other as yet. I have sent to Lisbon to understand whether any crucifixes be arrived there for me, but I cannot learn of any; news of importance we have none. The King and the Queen are in good health, thanks be to God. Now of late the King hath taken a note of all plate in Spain, as well in churches as in every private house, and it is imagined that he minds to take the third part thereof. The which is as it is only surmised; but, howsoever it be, I doubt not but it will be all for advancement of the Catholic religion."—Madrid, 1601, June 1 [<sup>May 21</sup>/<sub>June 1</sub>]. *Copy.* p. 1.

*This letter is evidently in cipher, at least partly. In the margin is written, "15 galleys, 24 great ships," as interpretation of the 15 pictures and 24 crucifixes. The copy is headed, "Jesus in St. Jean de Luz, 30th June, anno 1601," which has given rise to the erroneous date in the endorsement. This, however, was probably intended by Sir Robert Cecil as the date of receipt. Seville, also, is put by another hand as the place of writing.*



1601.  
May 23.  
Drogheda.

91. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir George Carey. "I send you hereinclosed Sir Arthur Chichester's letter and demands for money and necessaries for the building of certain boats. I assure myself they will very much further the service, and therefore mean presently to write unto him to make up so many as he shall think fit, and pray you very earnestly to furnish him with money and such other things as he writes for, and dispatch them with all speed possible; for I doubt not but he will be able to do great matters, if he may have help in time as he desireth. I know your readiness and care, yet cannot but recommend the same unto you; and that you will also take some speedy course to have them victualled, seeing their store is spent, as he allegeth, and without more the service will be hindered. I will dispatch letters to him forthwith from Carlingford, and let him know that he shall have all those things from you that he lacketh.

"I pray you acquaint the rest of the Council there with my desire that Neale O'Quin may be sent to me speedily to Dundalk, and take some course to have him brought safely thither for some special occasions of the service."—Drogheda, 1601, May 23. [*Postscript.*] "In these matters for the boats and such like, we must not be sparing of the Queen's purse, for then we shall overthrow the service. This gentleman is to be respected, and his endeavours, for they are likely to prove of great consequence. Farewell, good Mr. Treasurer, and God send us a happy meeting, and me to do Her Majesty some good service in the meantime. I pray send me Sir Arthur's letter back, when you have read it." Copy. p. 1.

*Encloses:—*

91. i. Sir Arthur Chichester to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy. "I would more often give you notice of the success and estate of these parts, but no means is afforded me of conveyance of my letters, but such as I press of purpose, or force against their wills. Since my last letters written in April, Henry O'Hagan is dead, and I have spoken with Randall, whose demands I have set down in paper hereinclosed (wanting), and have given him a protection until your Lordship's pleasure made known unto me, and for 48 hours after, if I must make war upon him. Which I granted to him the sooner for killing Tyrone's men, though I know he did it not willingly, but, being in company with his mortal adversaries, he was slain by a good slane (sic) after he was in hand. And I understand by letters from Mr. Nicholson, lieger in Scotland, that Randall preferred a petition to Her Majesty by the Earl of Mar, the King's ambassador now in England: in which suit the King (as he writes) will undertake for his and brothers' honest carriage towards the Queen and her proceedings. And I cannot say but Randall hath carried himself true of his word since I first dealt with him; but I know his demands are greater than his hopes, for much of those lands belong to the McQuillins, who have all these wars served honestly among us; and in granting patents for lands I hope your Lordship will think well of that business of import, for one journey northward will make them hearken unto more reasonable terms than they make show of, and, if

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*they be well curbed, they will be unfit for rebellion of long time. I dare not wade too far in these matters. Your Lordship hath better counsel about you, but my knowledge of these parts, and zeal to your Honour, makes me say something, and I may truly write, I find few men in these parts worthy of what they demand, or [of] what would have been theirs, had they carried themselves for the Queen's service. But now all is the Queen's, and your Lordship may give and shorten their demands as best pleaseth you, who I know will do nothing but justice and favour.*

*"Tyrone doth so relieve his nephew, Brian McCart, with supplies of men, and he keeps himself so within the fastnadge of Killultagh and Kilwarnan, that I cannot harm him as I desire. The force[s] I have are 550 foot and 125 horse. We are weak in good and able of both sorts, though I patch up the number, more for terror to the enemy than service, which lies upon the hands and hazards of a few. In my last letters I acquainted your Lordship with the helps I had, since which time Captain Jephson is fallen very sick, and I see our endeavours take so good success, that I am loath to be idle, and I take more in hand than I can keep, if your Lordship supplies us not in season.*

*"I have launched the great boat, and have twice visited Tyrone with her, and oftener with lesser[boats]. We have killed, burnt, and spoiled all along the Lough within four miles of Dunganon, from whence she returned hither yesterday; in which journeys we have killed above 100 people of all sorts, besides such as were burnt, how many I know not. We spare none of what quality or sex soever, and it hath bred much terror in the people, who heard not a drum, nor saw not a fire there of long time. The last service was upon Patrick O'Quin, whose house and town was burnt, wife, son, children and people slain, himself (as is now reported unto me) dead of a hurt received in flying from his house, and other gentlemen which received blows in following us in our return to the boat; and Tyrone himself lay within a mile of this place, but kept himself safe, sending 100 shot to know the matter, which he seemed to marvel at. He keeps some sconces upon that side. We can carry in our boats and cots some sixty men to fight, and I would endeavour the making of more boats if I had money to pay workmen or content spies, guides, and such necessary employments. What I give is in victuals, and what we have more than the store affords us, we must fight for. I beseech your Lordship to supply our wants of men, money, victuals, tools, and other necessities; otherwise we shall fall into decay very shortly, and withdraw our men from the places I have now lodged them in, and fittest to answer the services upon Tyrone of any in these northern parts.*

*"If your Lordship make a journey hitherwards in season, you shall find a wonderful alteration. He is weak in men, weak in opinion; every catching knave is desirous to serve upon him. It is lately that one of the Clandonnell's is gone out against him with 100 shot, and keeps himself in the middle of his country, doing harm upon him daily. More would follow, if they saw any succours near them. I would have been this day at Toome,*

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but news came yesternight unto me that the Traitor was drawn thither, minding to give upon this country in revenge of his burnings; but some spies lately come unto me assure it that he is near the Blackwater, attending your Lordship coming upon him, and God grant it be so; and you shall find no great resisting I hope. By God's grace, I will thither to-morrow, and I shall either force their hold, or place one of our own, which I shall well supply hence with the boats. Our greatest impediment is carriage overland, and will be victuals, if you supply us not. For the contractors have written out of England that we are not contracted for. Three or four great ships are passed by to Lough Foyle, laden with victuals, and we have furnished them with most of it we had in our store, but fish, which is ill furnishment for these places, where we have not a kettle to scethe them, and most of the fishes will be in pieces before it comes unto us. I have sent the contractors' servants' letters this day written unto me from Knockfergus, so that if men be sent, victuals must needs be sent with them. If neither of them both come, we shall be driven to withdraw to the town and take from the country, which forbearance hath brought into reasonable show of honesty.

"We are in as great want of clothes as of money, and of them both more than ever I formerly saw in the Queen's wars. I can hardly keep our men in discipline, they so exclaim for those defects, and it is not reasonable to inflict punishment, where dues are so long withholden; their daily employment, some killing, and a little booty puts them out of minding of these wants many times. I beseech your Lordship to think of us, for I find we are not much thought of elsewhere, and we will do you very honest service, and give your Lordship good testimony thereof, if you come into these parts. May it please you to answer Randall's business, if you send me more men; and you please I will bring him to very indifferent terms shortly. He promised to write unto your Lordship by a messenger of his own, and to set down what was contained in his petition to the Queen's Majesty. But that matters not much, for I have acquainted you with the whole, and will do him with your Lordship's pleasure.

"This matter of entertainment of Irish doth little good; they keep never a man the more for it. Shane McBrian hath had it these five months, and I could never draw them together, but a few loose fellows with much trouble, which hath made me to divide the entertainment betwixt them and Neill McHugh (who hath lately gotten more men), as I have done the country, until your Lordship order a better agreement betwixt them. And I desire that this may stand with your Lordship's good favour, for it is done with both their assents, and it breeds much quiet to the country; and, if your Lordship please to hang them both, you shall have cause enough against them, notwithstanding my endeavours to make them honest. I might well propound for more boats and greater numbers of men, for I know how to do good service with them, but I know not how your Lordship can supply me, and I am loath to be a greater craver than a doer.



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*In these and my former demands sent by my man, I humbly desire your Lordship's answer, and I will follow your directions very respectively.*"—Massereene, 1601, May 14. Copy. pp. 5½.

May 24.  
Cork.

92. John Meade, Mayor of Cork, to Sir Robert Cecil. Prays that the Corporation may be eased of the charge for the diet of horsemen. Formerly it was charged upon the country. The rate is 16*d.* sterling for the horseman and 5*d.* sterling for the boy. The repayment is by ticket, and for but 9*d.* sterling. "Her Majesty's treasures be without bottom, as the citizens have ever found by experience." The prevailing scarcity.—Cork, 1601, May 24.

[*Postscript.*] "It may also please your Honour to remember that, among other the Lords' resolutions, it was set down that soldiers offending other subjects, or committing felonies, robberies, or like misdemeanours, or being indebted, should be tried and their causes decided by course of common law, and not by any martial proceeding. I beseech your Honour to put my Lord President in mind that we may enjoy the full benefit thereof, for the captains and soldiers do greatly endeavour to take another course." Signed. p. 1.

May 25.  
Dublin.

93. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "The Lord Deputy is now drawn to Dundalk, where he shall want the service of some captains that are at Court, and particularly of Sir Francis Shane; for that his Lordship, attending the borders of Ulster with some part of the army, is to make distribution of the residue to other places of the frontiers, to stop the incursions of Tyrrell into Westmeath, where, by reason of Sir Francis Shane's absence, all those western parts of the borders are like to be distressed, for that there are few others that can or will take care to defend the subjects in those quarters. And it is not meet that any captain or commander should be suffered to be from his charge at this time, when both the Lord Deputy is abroad in person, and the service is like to grow hot in all places. It may please your Honour, therefore, to dismiss all those that are attendant at the court, and particularly Sir Francis Shane, to the end that every one in his charge might be ready to do that in the public service, for the which they receive Her Majesty's wages. But in this I humbly beseech your Honour that I may be secreted better than I have been, for that of late I have been taxed to be an informer against the absence of Captains, wherein some copies of my letters have been returned hither, and my doings therein have been made matter of imputation against me, to my no small discouragement, though in that kind of my advertisements I have written truly, and as becometh a faithful servant to Her Majesty."—Dublin, 1601, May 25. [*Postscript.*] Sent away immediately to Dundalk a packet, addressed by Sir Robert to the Lord Deputy, brought by the post-barque to-day. Signed. Seal. p. 1.

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May 25. Dublin. **94.** Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Apologizes for troubling Sir Robert with a letter of recommendation, but makes bold to write on behalf of "this bearer, Captain Hansard, a man of great sufficiency in his profession, and of so good rule and government of his soldiers, as, being a Commissioner in the grievances between the country and the army, I have not heard so much as one complaint against him, which is rare, and without example in others. And in truth such as he is should be leaders of men in Ireland, who knoweth what belongeth to discipline, and will not suffer the rules thereof to be corrupted. Besides he hath a very good insight in fortifications, and so qualified otherwise in the knowledge of wars, as he may be a leader of greater numbers than of 100 men. For my part, I have not found many of his capacity and gifts in his profession, and the same accompanied with a feeling mind of the miseries of the country." Recommends Captain Hansard also for the "wounds of his body, which will be a perpetual maim to him."—Dublin, 1601, May 25. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*
- May 25. Chester. **95.** Jonathan Field to Sir Robert Cecil. Apologizes for not going to see Sir Robert before his departure from London. Was anxious to get to Chester before the time limited: even so other men have anticipated him in his purpose of service there. For, arriving but one day after my prefixed time, I found things done that I, without causing new work to the Commissioners, could not enter into. For this cause, but especially for the wind's sake, which is like to be fair, I have deferred my certificate till I come on land at our garrison." Meantime, for the state of the forces, he refers to the report of the Mayor and Captain Vaughan. Of their 830 men, under 50 were missing. If the wind prove fair, they purpose to put to sea next morning. Desires the good opinion of Sir Robert.—Chester, 1601, May 25. *Holograph. p. 1.*
- May 26. Chester. **96.** Captain John Vaughan to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the mustering of the forces at Chester. Mr. Field did not arrive until the 21st of May. Most of the forces had been mustered before he came, and the Town Clerk acted as a Commissary. If Mr. Field has not time to certify before the forces depart of the muster taken yesterday on board, it shall be done from Lough Foyle. Has taken great pains in this service. Desires to dwell in Sir Robert's favour.—Chester, 1601, May 26. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*
- May 28. Cork. **97.** Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. Has received Her Majesty's letter, which has multiplied his comfort. Will take the uttermost care to see that the contents of the letter are performed. Sends by the bearer, Patrick Crosby, three letters of the 1st, 2nd, and 16th of May (*wanting*). Easterly winds have prevented their despatch hitherto. These letters contain the relation of two whole months. "This province remaineth (as before) without any alteration, rather yielding hopes of more assurance in conformity than to the contrary. How narrowly I have many times missed the taking of James Fitz Thomas, because I missed him, I will not

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trouble your Lordships with long and needful discourses. But my hope is, ere it be long, to make you a better account of him." The necessity for the victuals to be more proportionably sent to the magazines. There is no want in the quantity. The last supply of treasure, which arrived in April, is already disbursed, "so as to answer any sudden occasion (more than out of my own credit I shall be able to supply) I know not what shift to make." Prays their Lordships to consider this.

"Together with Her Majesty's letters I received the copy of the proclamation intended to be published for the calling down of the moneys now current in this kingdom, and for the establishing of the new coin to be sent; wherein your Lordships (to my understanding) have proceeded with so great judgment, as no good subject can mislike thereof, and those which are worst affected cannot justly find cause to grudge at it." Doubts not "but to give so full satisfaction to every one, as that the new coin shall have good acceptance. The men that will most repine at this good establishment are the merchants, who, not regarding the public good (in respect of particular gain which hitherto they have made by embezzling the sterling coin sent out of England into foreign kingdoms, for which no other return was made but such commodities as is most vendible to the rebels) will do what they may to discredit the same. But the country being satisfied, their repining harms not; for, as they are in their own natures backward evermore in their duty, so are they in quality weak, and unable to disturb the State."

The provant clothes arrived in Cork about the 18th of May. The satisfaction given by them. "What hath prospered well in Munster must be wholly attributed unto your Lordship's provident regard of the same."—Cork, 1601, May 28. *Endorsed* :—Received at Greenwich 7 Junii. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

May 28.  
Drumconragh.

98. Sir William Warren to Sir Robert Cecil. The favour shewn him by Sir Robert, in obtaining for him the reversion of his brother's land and in his suit for the government of Carrickfergus. Expresses his devotion to Sir Robert.

"I was by your Honour's direction a suitor to the Earl of Essex for his favour for the government of Carrickfergus, he then having his dispatch for Ireland. Wherein I prevailed to my cost, although no profit to him, and yet never received the benefit of my desire. His behaviour was very well perceived here, if man durst have either spoken or written of it. His greatness was such, he was called here the Earl of Excess, which name he well deserved. For, if the wealth of England and Spain had been put into his hands, he would have consumed it winning towns and towers in the air, promising much and performing nothing. I protest to Almighty God, I would not have lost the least part of your love for his entirest affection."

Will make known his griefs to Sir Robert, having no other succour to fly unto. Has served these twenty years as a Captain, having raised 100 foot and 50 horse at his own charges. Of late it hath pleased the Lord Deputy to take away 25 of his horsemen,



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and to give them to another. Is left altogether without any employment or preferment in the service. Is able many ways, if he were employed, to do better service than divers that have great commands. "I am informed that it is by direction out of England that I am kept back from any advancement, which grieveth me the more, considering that I have ever carried myself like an honest subject in Her Majesty's service, my father having lost his life in her service, and myself and seven of my brothers serving of her ever since we were able to carry weapon."

Desires that the Lord Deputy may be directed to employ him "as my ability and long continuance hath and can deserve," and to give him 25 of Captain Dawtray's horsemen, Dawtrey being dead. "I do hear that Tyrone will fain come in, and will offer very good terms and dutiful."—Drumconragh, 1601, May 28. *Signed. Seal.* pp. 2.

May 29.  
Kilmeaheny.

99. Ed[mund Fitz] Gibbon, the White Knight of Munster, to Sir George Carew. "Being not unmindful of the great charge your Lordship gave me divers times for the searching out of James Fitz-Thomas, and especially when now last I was at Cork, I have, both to satisfy your Lordship, as also to manifest my willingness to do my Prince service, all this while endeavoured myself to enquire after the said James. For compassing of which purpose, I protest to your Lordship I could take no rest, for I think, if any other should take him but myself, my heart would burst. I came in conference with the harper Dermott O'Doan, John Shannyghane the priest, and the Baldons, whom your Lordship knoweth to be their last relievers and company, privately offering every of them particularly to have Her Majesty's mercy and favour extended to them, their wives and children, with other great rewards, about which matter I spent a long time. Yet every one of them did put me off, taking their oaths they knew not where the said James was at all. Yet I found them perjured therein, because now I know the priest and [O']Doan was that very day with him. Well, when that way failed me, I brought before me all those of my country that I most trusted, and that I knew to have loved me most. I fell into private conference with every of them particularly, shewing them what great danger was like to ensue to me and my country, unless I had done some service upon James Fitz Thomas, who always was found to be bordering upon my country. Wherefore they were to be suspected for him. And the more to procure them to venture themselves for me in my extremity, I published amongst them that Sir George Thornton was bound for me, body for body, to appear at the next Sessions. Whereupon I eftsones prayed them, as they loved me and my country, and to avoid such great inconvenience, that they would work all the means they could to learn me news of the said James. To which every one answered that they knew nothing of him at all. At last, seeing me in that perplexity, one, whom I protest I least suspected of all my country, came to me a little before supper, and told me that the said James and one Thomas Roe O'Feighy lay at such a cave or den by Slevgrott. I, unwilling to lose my opportunity, seeing it pleased God to send me such good news, repaired

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thither presently with a very few company ; and, being right over the said cave or den, sent down three or four men, who finding them there, James returned me one forth, putting me in mind of his kindred, and praying me not to remember him at that time for any harm he did me before, promising to make great amends thereof, and that he was sure to be well able to perform it within two months, for that he should have, or that time, 6,000 men well provided with munition and other necessities in Munster, with many other unreasonable offers, which should be to my great profit. When I would not accept anything at his hands, but told him that he was now Her Majesty's prisoner, then began he to rail at me, and laboured my followers and servants to forsake me, and take his part, and that he would reward them largely with lands for their posterity for ever, and other gifts of great value, whereof he failed, as of the rest. This is the manner of his taking, having him and the said [O'] Feighy in my safe keeping within my castle, to be presented to Her Majesty ; and as I have performed this, with many other principal services heretofore for Her Highness, even so do I hope that this shall not be the last. I sent to Sir George Thornton to Kilmallock, presently to bring me a good guard of horse and foot, to lead him to your Lordship to Cork to-morrow." —Kilmeheny, 1601, May 29. *Endorsed* :—Received 30 ejusdem. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

May 30.

**100.** Captain Charles Egerton to Sir Robert Cecil. Understands by Mr. Henry Seckford, of Her Majesty's Privy Chamber, that he has moved Sir Robert in the behalf of Captain Henry Seckford, his brother's son, for the charge of Carrickfergus Castle, together with the foot company under Egerton's leading. Subtle devices used against Egerton in his suits in England. These must be prevented by the course of law, or he, his wife and children, will be utterly undone. Delays in his case, and need of his continuance in England. First had the charge of the said Castle from Captain Seckford's father. The captain is the son of Egerton's sister. Will give up his post and company to his said nephew, in preference to any other. If this be not to Her Highness['s] liking, will rather hazard the loss of his whole estate "here in England," and follow the service in Ireland, than incur any displeasure by giving his post over.—1601, May 30. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil* :—"30 Maii, 1601. Mr. Seckford's suit for Egerton's place." *Signed. p. 1.*

May 30.  
Dublin.

**101.** Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Returns thanks for Sir Robert's favour and support. Sinister endeavour of some that sought to supplant him in his office. This was bestowed upon him wholly through the mediation of Lord Burghley, was under the Great Seal for term of life, and with a special dispensation to execute the same by deputy. His past services ; the money he saved Her Majesty in his first year of office.

"Which, Right Honourable, I do not now produce to beg a thank to myself (humbly acknowledging I did therein but my duty), but only at this time to use it as an armour of some sound proof against

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the paper bullets of reproachful slanders at random shot at me by my injurious competitors." Their inexperience. Her Majesty to maintain inviolable her princely letters patent. His gratitude to the late Lord Burghley and to Sir Robert.—Dublin, 1601, May 30. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

May 31.  
Dublin.

**102.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer, Christopher Peyton, Auditor of Ireland, has craved leave to repair to England, to make known some things regarding his office, and also for some private business. His diligence and labour "in collecting in one volume a book containing Her Majesty's debts in this kingdom of twenty years' collection, all Sir Henry Wallop's time, containing many particular sums, being a very great work, and to good purpose for calling in Her Majesty's debts." Recommends Peyton for his service in matters of victuals, munition, &c. These his businesses "are done of his own charges."—Dublin, 1601, May 31. *Signed. Seal. p. ½.*

May 31.  
Lough Foyle.

**103.** Captain Humphrey Covert to Sir Robert Cecil. "Albeit I am well assured, that Sir Henry Dockwra hath at large acquainted your Honour with these last proceedings of the northern rebels, Tyrone, O'Donnell, and their confederates, upon our garrisons, yet, in discharge of my ever-bounden duty, I have humbly presumed to certify what I observed thereof.

"Hugh Boy, through his cunning temporising with O'Donnell, made him believe that all his familiarity and abode with Sir Henry Dockwra was but to betray him and all the English into his own hands, and, to confirm the same, gave him slight intelligence as testimony thereof unto him; by which means he got young Cahir O'Dogherty out of his fingers, assuring O'Donnell, if he would procure Tyrone and O'Cahan, with their forces, to lie upon Strabane side to force it, or Dunalong, which he held not hard to be done, and himself with Cormack McBaron, O'Connor Sligo, O'Rourke, and McWilliam, with the rest of his friends, being in number twelve hundred foot and horse, to lie betwixt the Lifford and Ennisowen, himself with the Irish faction of that country (of whom he stood assured of) upon his entry into the same would either seize upon the Derry and the other forts, or come so stiffly upon our backs as we must needs be overthrown.

"That the rebels with their forces, according to this plot, were assembled, your Honour was advertised by Sir John Bolles. Ten days they encamped near our garrison, and in all that time, perceiving small effect of Hugh Boy's promise, the 22nd of this present, Tyrone, impatient of delay, commanded O'Cahan with his kern to charge upon Cormack O'Neill's quarter, which was, and yet is, at Strabane. The which he did very resolutely, and took away a few cows, with the loss of four of his men for one of Cormack's.

"The same day likewise, about five o'clock towards evening, O'Donnell with his companions, knowing certain English companies to be withdrawn from the Lifford to reinforce Ennisowen, two of the which (as God pleased) were sent up thither by water that afternoon, gave a very round charge within culiver shot of the



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same, against whom part of the garrison sallied out, and forced their retreat. The skirmish endured till dark night; the rebels lost forty that were slain in the place, besides very many that were hurt, and since as we hear dead; and we lost but one, an Irishman, Captain Tirlogh's Lieutenant. O'Donnell remained yet in his quarter, within six miles of the Lifford, expecting Hugh Boy's further direction. But Tyrone and O'Cahan departed further off, subtly giving it forth he was gone against my Lord Deputy, who was come to Arnagh.

"This day Lieutenant Higham, Captain Errington's Lieutenant, and Captain Coach's clerk, who had received some apparel from the merchants for their captain's companies which were at Lifford, were slain rowing in a boat with the same up thither; for some of the rebels, spying the boat, fell from the skirmish, and in the narrow place, which the islands make, took it and rifled it. Against them came Captain Tirlogh and his company upon Strabane side, and forced them to run away. So the boat was recovered with the beer and wine that was in it, but the apparel is lost, to the number of fifty private suits and six officers'. Captain Errington is since dead of sickness, and his company disposed, by the Lord Deputy's order, to one Lieutenant Rand.

"The 25th, O'Donnell lodged within three miles of the Birt, whereupon the Governor possessed himself of that strong castle, and dismounted the great artillery thereof, placing it in the fort at the foot of the same hill, and at Colmackatreyn. He caused all the cows of the country, except those that were about the Derry, to be driven to the furthest end of the country of Ennisowen, where nature hath so framed a neck of the land, as, with a little labour of intrenchment that was raised, they were preserved. Phelemy Reogh, Hugh Boy's brother, was there, with some churls of the country and four score English, for the defence of the place. The 26th, by break of day, O'Donnell entered into Ennisowen, with twelve hundred men, horse and foot, upon four score hurdles laid over the bog, between Colmackatreyn and the little fort next unto it, at the end of the Lough that lies next to the Cargan, and marched through the country peaceably, without any manner resistance of us, and encamped the same night at Fane Castle, in the edge of Lough Swilly. The 27th, he marched with like liberty further into the country, towards the end land, whither all the cows were driven, nothing doubting of getting all the prey, and of the revolt of many in the country unto him. But those who were appointed to defend the place maintained it so well that, although about a hundred of the rebels were (at the third charge) entered forty paces within the trench, and had clapped two colours upon the walls [O']Connor Sligo's and Mostyn's, they beat them back again, and recovered their ground in their despite, to their great commendations. O'Donnell lost at this charge seven of his best commanders, Captain Connell, a notable traitor, being one, and thirty other, that were slain on the place, besides divers drowned, and many that were hurt. And when he perceived how dearly he had bought this enterprise, he grew to tempt them with promises of rewards and advancement of charge, if they would give over the place, laying before them our weakness, his own strength present,

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with the power of Tyrone and O'Cahan not far off in his assistance, who kept them from any relief or hope of succours that Sir Henry Dockwra could give them; which they despitefully refused, and defied him to his face (although their munition was very far spent), calling them all rebels, cowards, and traitors, till they were hoarse with crying, and had not Almighty God provided better for them than either they expected or the Governor could assure, the rebels had forced the place, and driven the prey. For this evening O'Donnell's scouts discovered those ships under sail, which we knew not of, that brought our supplies from Chester; whereupon, the next morning early, he made his retreat, having gotten about 100 cows, which one of the country gave him, who came in to him; and at low water passed upon the sand between the Birt and Colmackatreyne. At this place the Governor, with those soldiers of the Derry and others that were laid thereabouts, skirmished with the very rearward upon their going off, without any hurt to them, except fourteen of their horsemen slain and hurt with the ordnance; and we had a Lieutenant and four soldiers shot, but without danger of death.

"The day before this sudden retreat, or indeed, running away of his, the Governor sent Neale Garve with his Irish to burn and prey O'Donnell's country, which as he was in purpose to do, being at Lifford, he had intelligence where the fox Tyrone was 'chasht,' who two days before caused it to be published he was gone to Armagh, which was but to make us secure, for he only lurked in O'Cahan's country, and for the feeding of his people (before day) had stolen a few cows from a priest of Sir John Bolles his protection near Dunalong. And as he lay at large, watching occasion upon us, and listening after O'Donnell's success, Neale Garve, with his own Irish, only countenanced with some of our English, fell spritly (*sic*) upon him, and slew a full hundred upon the ground, hurt very many, put them all to rout, took thirteen of Tyrone's chief horse, forced him to abandon his foot, and with twelve horse in his company shamefully to run away, Neale crying unto him to strike one blow, as he was a gentleman. In this service the valiant Tirlogh was shot through the thigh, and, in return from the chase, they found good store of furnitures, as Spanish pikes, culivers, and such like. So as, Almighty God be thanked, they have all now left us, with no small grievance to their chiefs, discontentment to their confederates, murmuring of their followers, and not without fear to be forsaken, for by common and true report they have left behind them slain two hundred bodies, besides the hurt, and those not of their worst servitors; and of our part, one Lieutenant and four soldiers slain, Lieutenant Mannington shot in the thigh, but with hope of recovery.

"The supplies sent by Captain Vaughan are arrived, and distributed according to the check of every company, so far as they would reach, being about 800; and upon the coming of the Barnstaple men, which daily are expected, the rest shall be fully supplied. There is of them to come a hundred and seventy, or thereabouts. The last of this present, there arrived seven and twenty horse in two barks; the third bark in which are thirteen,

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was even now said to be entered the Lough ; such as I have viewed, which is the number landed, are very sufficient and faultless. The treasure is also this day come, but without order from your Lordships to be issued, for they have not yet Her Majesty's proclamation for the authorising of the same. Such is the paymaster's speeches, which yields some discontentment to the army in general.

"Your Honour's gracious letter (vouchsafed me all unworthy) by Mr. Field, gave me like content as balm to the wound, warmth to the cold, health to the sick, strength to the weak, and life to the dead ; for the which I humbly acknowledge myself justly bound unto you.

"The delivery of the summer apparel, and check thereof, with what else I now for haste have omitted (or shall in the interim happen), at my coming, which shall be with the convenientest speed I may, I will according to my ever-during duty most humbly present your Honour with."—Lough Foyle, 1601, May 31. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil :—Captain Covert. Signed. pp. 3.*

May. **104.** The inconveniences that grow unto Her Majesty's service by granting ample and large charters to the corporations of the several cities and towns of Ireland. *Endorsed :—1601, May. Unsigned. pp. 2.*

[May.] **105.** An estimate by Sir John Bolles of the provisions fit to be made for the intended journey to Ballyshannon ; such as ordnance, shipping, houses ready framed for lodging the forces, storehouses, a hospital for forty beds, boards of oak, fir and deal, a smith's forge, Welsh coal, &c.—[1601, May.] *Unsigned. pp. 3.*

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VOL. CCVIII, PART 3.—1601, JUNE-JULY.

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1601.

June 1.  
The Gate-  
house.

**1.** William Udall to Sir Robert Cecil and Sir John Stanhope. "If now, Right Honourable and Honourable, I do not discharge myself from all objections made against me, or if now I do not prove that those services which I have offered you in Ireland have been crossed by traitors and traitors' practices, or if now without dalliances or delays, myself remaining in prison, I do not effect the plot upon Tyrone, and other services that I have offered, and more than I have offered, or show such courses for the same as may satisfy your Honours of my assured desires, then do I disclaim all favour, and seek nothing but perpetual imprisonment whilst I live. For any information which I have here, or shall hereafter deliver to your Honours, I do engage both life and liberty upon the proof,



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either by witnesses, by letters, or by such circumstances as shall yield ample assurance of all that I shall discover. To satisfy your Honours in all circumstances, or to deliver in writing all that I have observed and noted, is more than a week's continual labour. If in anything that I have written or shall write, your Honours take exceptions either upon brevity or obscurity, I am ever ready to satisfy you further, as your Honours shall direct me.

"How strange soever your Honours may think of my informations in general, either of the practices and discourses against Her Majesty and your Honours, or of the rebels coming in by consent of Tyrone and the priests of the Spanish faction, or that the courses held in Ireland are more for the rebels' advantage than Her Majesty's, or that this coming in of the rebels is much more dangerous than their being in wars, with other informations of the like quality, yet your Honours shall find that nothing can cross my proof and satisfaction in all, if I may have trial, if the greatness of such as hate me do not prescribe against me, [and] if this consideration be interposed, that for this year past I never used man for Her Majesty's services, or ever conversed with any that was known to repair unto me, but he hath been murdered, imprisoned, disgraced publicly, threatened, assaulted, endangered, or suborned to accuse me; of all which I am able to give several example[s], and as ample proofs as can be required. I do not speak how I may tremble and fear in any further proceeding in discoveries to do Her Majesty or your Honours service. Comfort or encouragement I have none; for this year never [was] man put to the like distresses and disgraces. No service would be accepted that I could offer, no remedy of any injustice could I procure by any complaint whatsoever. Five months no man ever saw me abroad, till I was sent for to go to prison, being threatened by my Lord Deputy's servants and followers. It is infinite to tell the extremities which I have endured, and which all Dublin can witness. Of all occasions that have bred my confusion, no one hath been greater than my Lord Deputy's reports so publicly and so generally, that of all men your Honours both hated me, and held me an arrant knave. Who durst trust me? who durst come at me? who durst venture any service, when so great a magistrate gave out so publicly so grievous speeches? Notwithstanding all these difficulties, if your Honours please to vouchsafe me trial, and that to your Honours I may be bold to deliver plainly and resolutely what I know and what I have observed, there you shall find not promises but performances in all my offers."—"From the Gate House, this Whitsun Monday, 1601." *Holograph. p. 1.*

June 1. 2. "A list of the army, as it is divided, the first of June, 1601"; giving certain garrisons and numbers of horse and foot. Total: horse, 1,130; foot, 13,250. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"A list for Ireland." *Unsigned. p. 1.*

June 1. 3. Duplicate of the preceding.—1601, June 1. *Unsigned. p. 1.*

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June 2.  
Cork.

4. David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry, to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have lately written to your Honour in my son's behalf, to receive some exhibition out of my entertainment for my foot company; but the said letters have been crossed for want of passage, so that yet they are not gone, and other means I have made none for furnishing my said son as yet, but to leave him to your Honour's care. I am now to signify to your Honour that, by means of the pursuit I made after the archtraitor James Fitz Thomas in the White Knight's country, the same hath been the cause of his apprehension, as my Lord President knoweth, wherein I refer myself to his Honour's report. I am likewise further to make known to your Honour (for that I have resolved, though to your Honour's trouble, to lean to your advice and direction) that some motions are made touching a marriage betwixt my Lord of Ormonde and my daughter. Whether that shall grow to any effect, I cannot tell, but I thought good to acquaint your Honour therewith, that if it happen so to fall out, your Honour may, as occasion shall require, grace my daughter with your honourable favour, or in the meantime, if there shall be stay thereof, that your honourable means may speed the same."—Cork, 1601, June 2.

[*Postscript.*] "I have appointed my man, who is there with my son, to follow my causes at Court, and do humbly pray that I may have that favour (by your honourable means) as others, who deserved less than myself, they being at less charges and pains than I have been, in reducing this province to the state wherein now it is. I pray your Honour to write me an answer of this motion concerning the Earl of Ormonde." *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

June 2.  
Derry.

5. Captain John Vaughan to Sir Robert Cecil. The day before his arrival at Derry with the supplies, the garrisons had good success against both Tyrone and O'Donnell. Would have written particularly thereof, but that the bearer, Captain Hart, can relate it better, for he was present. All things go very prosperously. Brought the supplies as strong as he received them at Chester. Prays Sir Robert to accept his service.—Derry, 1601, June 2. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

June 3.  
Cork.

6. Sir George Carew to Queen Elizabeth. His joy at receiving her letter. His exile in Ireland, deprived of the sight of her "divine person." Prays to be recalled. Her Majesty's undaunted behaviour at the time of the Earl of Essex's rebellion. The Earl "had made himself a sinner against all possibility of pardon, either by the rule of justice, regal dignity, or humane policy, the lives of his Sovereign and his own being incompatible. Moreover his life was the fuel of the war in Ireland, and the rebels do now commonly report that in him their greatest hope consisted, and by him they daily expected to be employed."

Has, by means of the White Knight, got into his hands the body of that archtraitor, James Fitz Thomas. Will send him by some trusty gentleman unto Her Majesty. Hopes that Munster is thereby made sure from any present defection. "And now that my task is ended, I do in all humility beseech that (in your princely commiseration) my exile may end, protesting the same to be a greater affliction

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to me than I can endure." Is not an importunate craver, and uses no other arguments than this, *Assai dimanda qui ben serve e tace*. These lines are unworthy of her "divine eyes," and he "kisses the shadows of her royal feet."—Cork, 1601, June 3. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—"S<sup>r</sup> G. Caro." *Signed. Seal. pp. 2½.*

June 3.  
Cork.

7. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. "The 29th of May, being the next day after the date of my last to your Lordships herewith, the White Knight, by me employed and earnestly spurred on to repair his former errors, did his best endeavours, which, I thank God, had the successes desired. For the day aforesaid, having notice by his espials where James Fitz Thomas (the usurping Earl of Desmond) lay hidden within his country, in the mountain of Slewgrott, in an obscure cave, many fathoms under the ground, upon [this] intelligence, with such company as then were in his house with him, not being of weaponed men above eight in number, repaired to the place discovered, and there took him, and one horseman more who attended him, and brought them to one of his own castles, from whence Sir George Thornton with a good guard conveyed them safe to my house, where in irons he remaineth, out of the which I dare not else trust him to be kept, being (as he is) a man the most generally beloved by all sorts (as well in this town as in the country) that in my life I have known.

"I cannot sufficiently commend unto your Lordships this dutiful act of the White Knight's, who performed the same more in respect of his duty to Her Majesty than for the benefit of the 400*l.* head-money proclaimed, and presently to be paid. For the doing whereof he was not ignorant to purchase to himself the general malice of the province, whereby his desert is made the greater; and (but by himself) I protest unto your Lordships I do not know any man in Munster, by whom I might have gotten him. Neither may I have unrecommended unto your Lordships the diligent and painful endeavours of Sir George Thornton, who, next unto the Knight himself hath best deserved, being the chiefest and most effectual instrument by me employed herein; and therefore (as well for their encouragements to persevere in doing Her Majesty service, as to move others to forward the same), I most humbly beseech your Lordships that in Her Majesty's name you would take particular notice of it, and by your letters to give them the thanks they deserve. For this traitor's hope (notwithstanding all the miseries which in this time of his distress he hath sustained) was nothing abated, every day expecting, either by Irish or Spanish aid (which aid from Spain, as he tells me, he was confident to receive before harvest), to be no less able to maintain the wars than in former times, assuring your Lordships that he was the most potent Geraldine that ever was of any the Earls of Desmond his ancestors, as may well appear by the numbers of provincials pardoned and cut short since my coming hither, as also by the numbers of the bonnaughts by me from hence banished. The manner of his apprehension (for your Lordships' more particular



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satisfaction) is expressed in a letter of the White Knight's unto me, which herewith I send your Lordships. [*Wanting, but see No. 99 of Vol. CCVIII. part 2.*]

"I once purposed to have sent the archtraitor by this passage into England, but, upon better consideration (whereof I hope your Lordships will give good allowance), I do stay him for a time, and by the same do hope to avoid all inconveniences that may happen. For, if he should die before he came to his trial (as the Judges here inform me) the Queen (but by Act of Parliament) cannot be interested in his lands, and also his brother John (by the same reason) is not by the law debarred from the title, which this pretender holds to be good, to the Earldom of Desmond. For these reasons (by their opinions), I have resolved to have him arraigned and adjudged here, and then do think it meet he be sent into England, and left as your Lordships shall please to dispose of him. And, because it is likewise by the lawyers told me that a man condemned in this realm cannot by the ordinary course of law upon the same indictment be executed in England, I purpose to send with him two or three indictments, ready drawn with sufficient matter, by the which he may be there at all times arraigned. The reasons that induceth me to send him living into England are grounded upon an apparent doubt conceived, that, as soon as this archtraitor shall be executed, his brother John will immediately assume the title he did, and perchance thereby prove no less powerful than this traitor hath been; whereas, whilst he lives, he cannot make any pretence to move the natural followers and dependents of the house of Desmond to assist him. Likewise, I hold it (under reformation of your grave judgments) to be very dangerous to continue him any long time prisoner in Ireland, being (as aforesaid) so exceedingly beloved as he is, not daring to commit him into any hands out of mine own.

"If this my proceeding and the reasons here alleged may have allowance in your Lordships' wisdoms, I shall be glad thereof; if otherwise, I humbly pray to be excused, since my errors shall appear rather to proceed of ignorance, than of want of desire to please you.

"The greatest defect that now remains toward the well settling of this province, is the want of a general pardon, which in all my letters of late I have solicited to your Lordships, and therefore need not to trouble you with the reasons thereof, my desire stretching no further than to the poor people with their wives and children, who never bare arms; the want whereof is no small impediment to the ending of this work, which it hath pleased God, in His goodness, so to bless."—Cork, 1601, June 3. *Endorsed*:—Received the 7th at Greenwich; and by Sir Robert Cecil, "Sr. G. Caro." *Signed*. *Seal.* pp. 2½.

*Encloses*:—

7. i. "The relation of me, James of Desmond, to the Right Honourable Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, most humbly beseeching your Honour to certify Her Majesty and the Lords of her most honourable Council of the same, hoping in the Almighty that Her Highness of her accustomed clemency and mercy, by your intercession, will take most gracious

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and merciful consideration thereof, to the end that Her Majesty's realm of Ireland shall be the better planted and maintained in good government by his release." [Sir George Carew has written in the margin:—"2 of June, 1601."]

"First, it may please your Honour to consider that this action at the beginning was never pretended, intended, nor drawn by me, nor by my consent, but by my brother John and Piers Lacy, having the oaths and promises of divers noblemen and gentlemen of this province to maintain the same; and not ever consented unto by me, until Sir Thomas Norreys left Kilmallock, and the Irish forces camped at Rekelie in Connello, where they stay[ed] five or six days, the most part of the country combining and adjoining to them, and undertook to hold with my brother John, if I had not come to them. The next Sessions (before these proceedings) at Cork, Sir Thomas Norreys arrested me in person there for my brother (he being then suspected by him), and intended to keep me in perpetual prison for him, until I made my escape. By this the intent of Sir Thomas Norreys being known, the fear and terrification thereof drew me unto this action; and had I been assured of my liberty, and not clapt up in prison for my brother's offences, I had never entered into this action.

"Farther, I was bordered with most English neighbours of the gentlemen of this province. I defy any English that can charge me with hindering of them, either in body or goods, but, as many as ever came in my presence, I conveyed them away from time to time.

"Also, it is to be expected that the Spanish forces are to come into Ireland this summer, and O'Neill will send up the strongest army of northern men into Munster with my brother John, the Lord of Lixnaw, and Piers Lacy. And when they are footed in Munster, the most part of the country will adjoin unto them. Preventing this and many other circumstances of service, the saving of my life is more beneficial for Her Majesty than my death. For if it may please Her Majesty to be gracious unto me, I will reclaim my brother, the Lord of Lixnaw, and Piers Lacy, if it please Her Majesty to be gracious unto them; or else so diligently work against them with Her Majesty's forces and your directions, that they shall not be able to make head, or stir at all, in Munster. For by the saving of my life Her Highness will win the hearts in general of all her subjects and people in Ireland, my own service, and continuance of my alliance in dutiful sort all the days of their lives.

"Farther, I most humbly beseech your Honour to foresee that there are three others of my sept and race alive: the one is in England, my uncle Garrett's son, James, set at liberty by Her Majesty, and in hope to extend Her Majesty's favour; my brother in Ulster; and my cousin, Maurice FitzJohn, in Spain; wherewith it may be respected that either of these, if I were gone, by Her Majesty's favour might be brought in credit and restored to the house. It may therefore please Her Majesty to be gracious unto me, assuring to God and the world that I will be true and faithful to Her Majesty during life; by which

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*means Her Majesty's government may be the better settled [and] myself and all other my alliance for ever bound to pray for Her Majesty's life long to continue."*

The first signature has been blotted out, and another one, "James Gyeralldde," put instead. Sir George Carew adds the following note:—

*"He first signed his name, James Desmond, which I sent back unto him, and then he blotted it out, and hath written his name in a hand not accustomed, nor yet with the orthography which, before he assumed the name of Earl, he wrote, which was 'Fitsgeralld'; whereby it appears how loath he is to leave the name of Desmond."*

*Endorsed by Sir George Carew:—James McThomas. pp. 2.*

June 4.  
Cork.

8. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "Yesterday, being the 3 of June, Patrick Crosby departed hence, with four packets from me directed unto you, and now this day, having received a letter from the Mayor of Youghal, I thought it requisite to send the copy of the same unto you with the best expedition I might, that you may not be ignorant of such intelligence as comes hither. What judgment to make of it I know not, but refer it to your wisdom, that can better judge of the truth than myself. The titular (*sic*) Earl, my prisoner, is very confident of their coming, which made him to lead the miserable poor life he did, in hope to be of greater ability to continue the war than at the first. Yet he is much reserved in his speech, and will hardly discover any thing that may advance Her Majesty's service, but after a few days I doubt not but to make him speak more freely. Sir, when I behold and look back into times past, and compare the strength which he was in, being able, as himself confesses, of the provincials and buonies to command 20,000 men, for so many he says he had at his pleasure, I do condemn my own indiscretion, to undertake so hard a task with the small forces I had, and therefore do wholly attribute my good successes to God's providence, and the least part to myself. For it is beyond reason that in so small a time the province should be reduced as it is. While I am well, I could be contented to leave off, and do still remain as in former letters a suitor for my return into England, from whence, while you and I live together, I do in my heart resolve never to be removed."—Cork, 1601, June 4. [*Postscript.*] States that he has written to Sir Robert on behalf of a certain Captain (*name omitted*). *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:—"S<sup>r</sup> G. Caro."* Holograph. Seal. p. 1.

*Encloses:—*

8. i. Melsher Collier, Mayor of Youghal, to Sir George Carew. "Here arrived this present day, about ten of the clock, one David Harris, of Dundee in Scotland, merchant, with a ship of salt laden by him at Cadiz; who, being examined by me touching the state of that country, have (*sic*) made it known that one Shiriago, a Governor or a principal man there, had a charge bestowed upon him by the King of eleven ships, royally appointed, in each of them 1,000 corslets, 1,000 muskets, and 1,000 pikes; some of them doth carry thirty pieces of brass,



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*some more, some less; all made ready at Cadiz, and bound towards Lisbon, or thereabouts, to take more men, and from thence bound for this country, as the report was amongst them. Which shipping came to sea at once with this merchant out of Cadiz, the 16th day of May last [in margin, "stilo novo"], and, according to my bounden duty, I thought meet to signify the same unto your Honour.*"—*Youghal*, 1601, June 4. Copy attested by Sir George Carew. p. 1.

June 5.  
Cork.

9. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. Captain Flower, in the time of the Earl of Essex's government, obtained from him a *custodiam* of the lands of James Fitz Thomas, the archtraitor of this province, but is now crossed in the benefit thereof by John Fitz Edmonds, who has lately procured from Dublin a *custodiam* of the same under the seal of the Exchequer. Commends highly the services of Captain Flower, and prays Sir Robert to favour his suit for the lands.—Cork, 1601, June 5. *Signed. Sir George Carew adds in his own hand a warm recommendation of Captain Flower.* p. 1.

June 6-16.  
Tournay.

10. Diploma by Michael Desne, Bishop of Tournay, stating that he has promoted Robert Nugent, sub-deacon of the seminary of Douai, to deacon's orders.—Tournay, 1601, June 16. *Seal. Latin. Parchment.*

June 10.  
Dublin.

11. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "The Spanish preparations intended against this realm are of late put on foot again, by a report of a merchant of this city arriving in the harbour yesterday. He saith at his departure from Cales [Cadiz], about ten days past, certain Spanish ships, to a number of eleven or twelve, after they had taken in there great quantities of arms and munitions, did put for Lisbon, to receive 4,000 soldiers in that place, and so to make for Ireland out of hand. This is the report of the merchant, maintained also by a Scottishman, master of the same bark, who addeth further, that a select company of ships of this realm, with choice mariners and pilots, are stayed in Spain, to attend this fleet, which in a sort giveth some credit to the report. I have this morning written to the Lord Deputy of this, being now at Dundalk, and have advised his Lordship to be careful of the safety of Galway, for that the Spaniards will sooner strike at that town than at any port-town in Ireland, both for the seat of the place, lying open upon Spain, and for other commodities and hopes in some of the inhabitants, of whom many have Spanish hearts. And, therefore, I wished his Lordship to strengthen that garrison with two or three companies more, and to send a man of countenance to command there, till it be seen what will become of these Spanish preparations.

"It were not amiss that some forces were put in readiness in the maritime parts of Wales and the west country, to be thrust suddenly over into Ireland, for defence of the port-towns, if these foreign forces should come on, of which I make bold to put your

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Honour in mind, humbly leaving the matter to your further consideration, not having leisure to write more at length at this present.”—Dublin, 1601, June 10. [*Postscript.*] “There are other ships of this country ready to return from Spain to Waterford, at whose arriving I shall be able to advertise your Honour further how this report is seconded. The ships are looked for by the next wind. [*Sir Geoffrey Fenton adds in his own hand.*] “I hope this great flourish of Spanish preparations will turn to a ship or two of advice, to be sent to Tyrone with some small bit of money and munitions, as at other times they have used. For I cannot gather how Spain can spare a force of men to invade Ireland at this time.”  
*Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

June 10.  
 Derry.

12. Sir Henry Dockwra to the Privy Council. “With what numbers of men Tyrone and O'Donnell were lately joined together, Sir John Bolles could inform your Lordships, for they were gathered before his departure. To resist them in open field, our force was not then sufficient, and to have attempted any other matter abroad, while such an army was on foot, and so near us, we were much less able. The only thing we had, therefore, to consider of was how to defend those parts of the country, which had already submitted themselves to the Queen, and especially Ennisowen, because it was of most importance, and the chief mark the rebels aimed at. To do this, were two ways only to be thought on, either to encamp upon the passages amongst our forts, and so withstand their first entrance, or else to retire the cattle to places of strength, whereby their coming in should nothing advantage them. Of these two, the first had without controversy been the better, had the place for encamping yielded matter convenient to lodge our soldiers, and those numbers of men we had been compounded of such as we might boldly have trusted unto, or at least had no cause of distrust against. But the terms of discontentment that Neale Garve stood in, together with his fashion of carriage at that time (for he had many secret messengers to and fro with O'Donnell, which he never acquainted me with, and received without my knowledge divers suspicious and dangerous persons into the Lifford, and conveyed them out again) gave me, in my opinion, no small nor unjust cause of jealousy against him. Against Cormack O'Neill I had some advertisements also, that might have bred jealousy, though in my conscience (as matters fall out since) I think the man is honest. But considering the inconstancy of these peoples' natures (even though their Lords and Masters were honestly affected), and weighing withal the opportunity they had of working any treachery by getting us once weak in the field, a strong enemy ahead [of] us, a dangerous and suspicious friend amongst us, and but a newly subdued people at our backs, I thought it in no measure answerable to reason or policy in that manner to adventure both ourselves and the whole state of the action, which in that case had apparently lain open to the hazard and fortune of one day. And therefore [I] resolved rather on the second, using what policy I could to secure myself on all hands from the Irish, of whom there was not

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any one I reposed trust in, though there appeared outwardly less causes of jealousy against some than others. First, therefore, I began with the country itself, from whom I took double pledges out of every sept, over that I had before, when Sir John Bolles went away. From Hugh Boy I took one of his brothers and the castle of Birt (which I kept wholly in mine own possession three weeks together). From Cormack O'Neill I took four pledges such as he had, and 1,000 cows, which his followers had brought in and kept at Strabane, which I drove into Ennisowen. From Neale Garve, also, I took three pledges (but merely by force and against his will, for he took it as the greatest injury of all other that ever I did him), and caused himself to come down and lie with me at the Derry, to the end he should have the less opportunity of practising with O'Donnell, his people being in one place, and himself in another. And thus being secured from secret conspiracies amongst ourselves, I sent down 200 English (under the leading of certain Lieutenants) to the bottom of the country, to intermingle with the inhabitants for guarding their cows; and so left the passages open, save only the forts, which I knew were not sufficient to withstand so great an army coming, provided of necessaries to make their way over the bog, as I knew they would. And thus all things being in readiness, O'Donnell came down, passed our forts without resistance (for he made his way with hurdles where they could not annoy him), and so presently made down to the bottom of the country, sent his messengers to sundry particular men, received answers nothing to his liking, and in a desperate case gave on upon one of the forts to which the cows were retired, entered within it with 100 men, and were all put back again, with the loss of five leaders, sixteen soldiers found dead within the fort, some twenty slain without, and by their confessions, as I have learned since, about forty more hurt, and scarcely carried away alive out of the country. In this fort was one of Hugh Boy's brothers, that was the first man that charged after they were entered, killed one of their leaders, received a wound in his hand with a sword, and by all men's confession was a principal instrument of driving them out, though the two Lieutenants, Captain Digges's and Captain Willis's, did also their parts exceedingly well. Upon this repulse he began presently to think of his going back; for, finding no meat in the country for his people to feed on (for all was driven away save what was left straying by chance), nor the disposition of the country answerable to his expectation, and hearing beside that I was gathering together (as in deed I was) all the forces I could possibly make, to impeach his return, he thought the time of his stay but too long; and, therefore, with a swifter course than he came in, got out again, having lost near 100 of his men, what slain, what wounded, and got nothing in the country but strayed cows and garrans, which only fed his men those two nights he was in, it being not above 100 at the most.

"In this time, O'Donnell being thus entered and engaged in the country, I dealt with Neale Garve to draw forth his people from Lifford, and make a wasting journey even to Donegal. Which I did in two respects; one, for the service I saw might be done; the other, to be rid both of himself and his people out of our forts, for



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that divers of his men were now already gone away and joined to O'Donnell, himself in a discontented passion (for that, as he said, I trusted him not), his disposition of nature apparently prone to evil, and the advertisements I had of his secret and underhand dealing being so frequent and from such several parts. But to give him his right, he accepted willingly of the charge I imposed upon him, and being come up, and putting his men in arms to have gone abroad according to my directions, he got intelligence that Tyrone (who had all this while lain in those parts to keep in that garrison, and to secure O'Donnell's retreat by meeting him, if need be) was that day to join with O'Cahan, but that first he was gone with his own men alone, being but 400, to fetch away a few cows that were feeding about Dunalong. Wherefore, having his men in a readiness, and taking with him Captain Winsor and near 100 English, which were all that were left at that time in the town, he made after, overtook him, charged them on the sudden, expecting nothing less, killed 100 in the place, took above 100 of their arms, 25 horses of service, and followed them six miles in chase, so near that oftentimes Tyrone himself was within a stave's length of being killed. And this was the whole issue of that great preparation which had been making for two months' space, and gathered together only upon hope and assurance that O'Donnell gave them of taking from us whatsoever we had gained; the like army whereof (this being thus disappointed) it is a general opinion they will be never able to assemble again.

“At O'Donnell's going back, which was over the strand by Colmackatreynne, I made after to impeach him with those men I had in Derry and the forts, which were not above 800 foot and 40 horse. We came to have a little skirmish, but so as he shewed himself willing to be gone, notwithstanding our few numbers, and we not of power to follow him beyond the very passage. And even as we parted, I had news of our supplies' arrival, whereupon I presently sent Captain Digges with 100 men to Ramollan, and the next day after 200 more, thinking (as in deed it proved) that O'Donnell, seeing himself thus disappointed in his main enterprise, would go into Fanat, and there spoil, or take what he could. For, as his men were upon their way going for that purpose, they heard of forces I had sent over to Ramollan, and, thinking them greater than indeed they were, they returned, and his whole camp dissolved, every man to his home, to defend and make good his own; and by this means left us all Fanat in better terms than ever it was before. For where I had yet but old McSwyne himself and one of his pledges only (for the Marshal had by mere negligence lost the rest), and his son Donnell Gorme, that drew a great part of the country, never yet come in, seeing himself preyed (for Captain Digges had by this time taken 200 of his cows, and 3[00] or 400 sheep), he presently came and submitted himself, upon condition he might have his prey restored, and that I would labour in his behalf that Her Majesty might be pleased to continue the Lordship of the country to his father first, and afterwards to himself and his heirs. And so hath he given in pledges for himself, restored his father's, which

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were escaped, and now fully settled the state of that country, one only sept (of no great force nor credit) being gone with O'Donnell. McSwyne Ne Doe also (though his pledges escaped me) hath promised to send them back again, and, in this time of O'Donnell's being busied here, hath taken from him a prey of near 1,000 cows; and in anything I send unto him for, hath shewed himself willing to obey me; so as I hold that country also sufficiently secured to Her Majesty. What service I take now next in hand, I know your Lordships will be desirous to understand, seeing our supplies are landed (all saving 150, which should come from Barnstaple), by whose help I ever held myself, and so do, able to march into any part of the country. The occasions that present themselves are divers; for Ballyshannon I hold myself sufficiently provided, if my Lord Deputy were on foot, the ordnance and other necessities ready shipped, and my directions come for undertaking the journey, without which (being a matter of that consequence, so long premeditated both by your Lordships and the state of this kingdom, and a thing utterly out of the bounds of my commission) I see not, with any excuse of my duty, how I should undertake it on mine own head. For O'Cahan, he is far retired from me, so that the fetching of his prey will require a long time, and good provisions to abide forth, whereof I stand not in want. But whether I should attempt his prey first, or the taking in of those castles I wrote unto your Lordships of before in my last letters, I stand somewhat doubtful. But all that controversy were taken away, if our shovels and spades were come, for I would leave them both, and go settle a garrison at the Bann, which without them is impossible to be done. In Tyrone I have a party that offer themselves to come to me, to bring me sixty foot and twelve horse, to meet me with a prey, and to put in good security for their loyalities. Beside all this, I have a singular desire to be doing with Tyrone himself and his brother Cormack, who I hear have gathered head and mean to stand me; for upon the beating of them depends the end of the whole war, so that whether of these I shall attempt first, I am not able in certainty to advertise your Lordships, but one or other of them (as I see best occasion) I will, God willing, assuredly undertake, having for that purpose my carriages and all other things in a readiness.

"But I may not leave your Lordships unadvertised of the general discontentment, and in truth the hard estate, of the army; which for these five months' space (as I think your Lordships are not ignorant) have been unpaid of any manner money. The want was long patiently endured, and no man I heard, either officer or soldier, that made complaint, till now that the paymasters, being lately arrived from Dublin, brought a proportion of the new coin, with an inhibition both of issuing it till the proclamation come, and an intimation of cutting of whatsoever should be found due upon account till that day. Your Lordships may be pleased to remember, I did humbly move you by Captain Vaughan that in respect the country was brought into reasonable estate for yielding us fresh meat enough for money, that you would be pleased to abate the provisions in victual (which I knew was a burthen and continual trouble to your Lordships to care for), and that only

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bread, and some other small quantity of meat, to make up half victual, and half money, might be sent, which it seemeth (by the provisions come) your Lordships were honourably disposed to grant, and provided accordingly from the first of May. By this means the money not coming, your Lordships may easily see into what estate we are fallen, that in victual have no other provision but bread, and to relieve ourselves by that the country affordeth are utterly destitute of means. The best course I could find to remedy it was to take up beeves upon the country, which will in some sort satisfy the poor soldier for the present; but for the Captains and officers whose estates I hold to be exceeding poor, there is no help but from your Lordships, who knowing their case I nothing doubt but will honourably provide for their satisfaction, and I humbly beseech your Lordships it may be done with some speed, lest the army grow into a dangerous state, which I protest in truth is mightily to be feared."—Derry, 1601, June 10. *Endorsed*:—Received the 22nd by Captain Hart. *Signed. Seal. pp. 6.*

June 10.  
Derry.

13. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. "Your Honour shall understand the state of this place, and what hath been done since Sir John Bolles' departure, as also what is next intended to be taken in hand, by my general letter to the Lords, wherein if I have failed of setting down any thing so perfectly and exactly as might be expected, I must excuse myself either by weakness of memory or want of leisure (for the time hath been exceeding troublesome), and refer your Honour for better satisfaction in many particulars to the bearer's report, who, partly by his own knowledge, and partly by my instructions, I hope will be able to answer either difficulty or question that shall arise in the business. There remaineth, therefore, none other argument to write on, but that of private duty, which I have usually taken heretofore, but not upon so good occasion as your honourable letter (testifying the acceptance of my service) doth minister at this present; which degree of happiness (I will not conceal) I have long laboured in my desires to attain unto, both with the zeal and duty of an honest man, as God (that knoweth the secret of my heart) doth bear me witness. If upon this first conceived ground of your good opinion, your Honour may be pleased to build a hope of my better deserts to come, and but favourably construe in my proceedings whatsoever may seem at first sight doubtful of a good interpretation, or be sinisterly reported, till my answer may be heard and my reasons considered of, it shall be the first and principal suit I will make unto your Honour, and the firmest bond of my service, which I do faithfully and sincerely dedicate unto you before any man living."—Derry, 1601, June 10. *Endorsed*:—Received the 22nd. *Holograph. p. 1.*

June 10.  
Derry.

14. Captain Humphrey Willis to [Sir Robert Cecil]. Acknowledges the receipt of Sir Robert's letter by Mr. Field. "This I am to advertise unto your Honour that, notwithstanding our forts made on the passages entering O'Dogherty's country, O'Donnell, Cormack [Mc] Baron, O'Rourke, O'Connor Sligo, McWilliam, with



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all their forces, entered into the country over a bog, making a way to pass their horse, 'with 100.20 hurdles,' which they brought with them ready made. After they had passed, our few men that lay in the next fort took up the hurdles, and burnt them at the place. The enemy entered down twenty miles in the country (where I was sent seven days before) with 200 foot to fortify and make strong some fit places to hold the cows of the country, which I did for containing of 12,000 cows. Some other places were made sure in the country by themselves for holding the rest of their cows. After he had made these places so sure, the Governor sent for me in haste, to draw away with my company, for that he had received intelligence from the Captains of the Lifford that O'Donnell was withdrawn, and had dispersed his forces. The same day I received my direction, I came with my company to the Derry, but then the former news of O'Donnell's intent for entering the country held current, so as there were 140 foot sent back to the fort I made presently, under the conduct of my Lieutenant and two other Lieutenants, with command to assist the country in driving all their cows into the forts. Our men marched from the Derry after the drums beat to the watch, and were at the places fortified by 8 in the morning, and put all the cows in. The same day [in the] afternoon, O'Donnell with his forces came there, and put to the fort, dividing his men by Hugh Mostyn's directions to enter four ways. This Mostyn did undertake with all the Connaught men to enter the gate, where he came with three colours displayed, but he was so well beaten with shot and stones as he was forced to run back speedily, with a couple of bullets in him. Captain Connor, who was Lieutenant to the late Lord Bourke, and ran to the enemy with his Lordship's colours, drum, and company, was slain at the gate, but carried off by his men, and buried by their camp. In the mean, one Captain Connell, having charge likewise under O'Donnell, did enter under a rock at low water, with 300 foot and some of O'Donnell's chief gentlemen, and as our men were defending Mostyn from the gate and the rest, these men came on their backs. Our men turned suddenly (being high time) and fell on them, put them to run out over the rocks, some the way they entered, other some the sea, with the loss of most of their arms. Captain Connell with twenty of O'Donnell's best men were slain in the place, and many others drowned. We left four English and six Irish. O'Donnell seeing this to prosper so evil with him, at the earnest request of O'Rourke and O'Connor Sligo, retired presently out of the country, and passing between Birt and Colmackatreyn on the strand at a low water, we had some light skirmish with him, but to no purpose. His force was 200 horse at least, and the name of 2,000 foot.

"The same day he was in O'Dogherty's country, Tyrone, with sixty horse and 400 foot came down near Strabane, with intent to second O'Donnell the next day. Neal Garve and Cormack O'Neill, being at the Lifford and having some spial on him, drew out their companies from thence, and some of the garrison for their second. They with thirty horse went before to discover and take the view of Tyrone's forces, where they found his horse all at pasture without any scout. They presently set on them, and killed thirty of his

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men there, and took twenty of their horses. Then their foot came and did skirmish, where Tyrone lost 100 of his men with their arms, [and] ran away himself most shamefully with nine horse to the top of a hill, where he did see the killing and running away of his men the space of six miles. Now all these forces of Connaught and Tyrone are gone from O'Donnell, and will hardly ever be able to join with him again (without the Spaniards do come), which they yet daily expect. My spial that was with him all this time doth assure me that O'Rourke nor O'Connor Sligo will come to him again with any forces, but make their own ways to the State the best they may. O'Rourke hath taken now a great prey from Conconaght Maguire, so as they are at a controversy, and so are divers others of the Irish of Ulster and Connaught. "I hope we shall shortly decide the matter between them."—Derry, 1601, June 10. *Signed.* pp. 2.

June 11.

Derry.

15. Jonathan Field to Sir Robert Cecil. Has, in accordance with his letter from Chester of May 25, made certificates of the state of the companies of horse and foot, and delivered the same to Sir Henry Dockwra for enclosure in his packet. Hopes the certificates will give satisfaction. Never did any supplies come in fuller number and better plight to this army. Desires Sir Robert to consider his poverty and the misery of the place, and to allot him some better means of living; or, if some other is to be employed upon Captain Covert's discharge, that he may have leave to attend Sir Robert, and may obtain some other employment. Has endured much misery by sickness heretofore, and since his last coming has hardly overcome a new fit of the ague, to which he finds his body very subject. Expresses his devotion to Sir Robert.—Derry, 1601, June 11. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 12.

Derry.

16. Captain Humphry Covert to Sir Robert Cecil. "Knowing that Captain Hart, who is employed to your Honour, is well informed by the Governor of all the proceedings at Lough Foyle, and there having no accident of worth presented itself since my last letter to your Honour of the third of June, I have according to my duty only enclosed herewith a brief collection of the musters, taken the 8th of this present, the Commissaries' certificates more at large being likewise sent (*wanting*).

"The soldiers that were shipped at Barnstaple are not yet come to Lough Foyle, which, together with the want of spades, pickaxes, and shovels, adding (with favour thereunto) the discontentment of the Captains and soldiers for want of money, renders no small impediments to the furtherance of the service."—"Derry, on the river of Lough Foyle," 1601, June 12. *Endorsed* :—"Received by Captain Hart the 22nd." *Signed.* *Seal.* p. ½.

*Encloses* :—

16. 1. "The state of Her Majesty's forces at Lough Foyle in Ireland, as they appeared at the general muster, taken the 8 of June, 1601." Total; foot, 3,000 in list, 2,135 effective; horse, 100. *Signed by Captain Humphrey Covert.* p. 1.

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June 14.  
Camp at the  
Moyerie.

17. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Council to the Privy Council. "Perceiving by your Lordships' letters of the 18th of May that the victuals we expected to answer our purpose of planting Ballyshannon by Connaught could not arrive in such quantity nor time as might enable us to proceed in that journey, and receiving some arguments of your Lordships' inclination to Sir Henry Dockwra's offer to plant that garrison from Lough Foyle, we grew into a new consultation, in what sort to make the war this summer. And first it was propounded with the army to march by Lecale and those parts into Coleraïne, the end whereof should have been to have brought in subjection all the woodmen, and utterly taken from Tyrone all that part of Ulster between Coleraïne and Lough Sidney to the Blackwater, and from whence heretofore the Traitor hath gathered his greatest strength. The passages being not very dangerous, and the commodity of the sea to supply us, we should have made the war that way to great purpose and with good conveniency, and perchance might have fallen over the Bann into Tyrone, all other ways being of extreme danger to enter into that country, except that and by Lough Foyle. The chief difficulty that did arise against this project was the danger wherein we should leave all things behind us, if the Spaniard should arrive in the country, we carrying the chief force of the kingdom into the uttermost corner thereof, neither being able to leave any great guard for the Pale, we should have left it naked to any attempt of Tyrone, and the new reclaimed rebels to the courtesy of him, or the Pale to the courtesy of them both. But in the end we grew to this resolution, in the interim between this and the appointment of the general hosting, by the which we should be supplied with carriages, and about which time we expect victuals and munition out of England; of the first whereof we are more sparingly provided than to engage ourselves into any great matter; of the second so utterly unfurnished, that we have scant powder to maintain one good day's fight, nor tools or other provisions to fortify, which must be our chief work, as we carry the rebels before us, to dwell by them. We determine (to assure the passage of the Moyerie) to plant a garrison at Lecale, and to convey some more men to Sir Arthur Chichester, who with that garrison and those supplies, helped with the advantage that our stirring in all other parts will give him, will go near to work little less effects than we with the whole army should have done.

"When our victuals and munition shall be arrived, which we hope will be much about the time we have appointed the general hosting, being the first of the next month, we do purpose (God willing), as near as we can, to employ Her Majesty's forces in this manner. First, to draw out of Munster into Connaught 1,000 foot and 50 horse, in which province of Connaught there are already in list 1,150 foot and 74 horse, beside Tibbott Ne Longe, the whole entertainment of whose company hath been long stayed from him, and yet we think it very convenient to hold him at this time in as good terms as we may, and resolve to threaten O'Connor Sligo, who hath oft shewed himself desirous to submit himself upon any appearance of his defence, that if he do not presently declare himself against O'Donnell, before the plantation of



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Ballyshannon, he shall despair for ever to be received to mercy, and the better to assure him or infest him, and to keep O'Rourke from joining with O'Donnell, we will lay about 1,000 foot and the greatest part of the horse of Connaught about the Abbey of Boyle, or where they may most divert the rebels of those parts; and the rest of the forces of that province, besides some to guard Galway and Athlone, in some convenient place of the Annaly, where they shall not only lie upon O'Rourke, but between any forces that may come out of the north into Leinster, and follow them, if they should chance to escape by them; yet being likely that, about harvest time or before, to divert us, if Tyrrell and the Connors can by any means gather any strength, they will return again out of the north, to gather the corn which they sowed this last year. Somewhat lower in Westmeath, we leave two companies more of the list of Leinster, because that way there are some places, by the which some troops may steal out of the north into Offally. At Kells, we leave one company of foot and fifty horse; at the new fort in the Brenny, 500 foot and 50 horse; from which place up to the Boyle in Connaught, we give direction to all the forces to correspond together, and the forces in the Annaly to correspond with Offally and Leix; and all do not only lie to divert some forces of the rebel, but as a pale to keep them out of Leinster. On the other side of Leinster, the Earl of Ormonde's own company of 150 foot and 50 horse, and Sir Henry Power with 400 foot and 32 horse, shall be directed for Leix; the Earl of Kildare, with 500 foot in list (although many of them be in wards) and 37 horse, to lie in Offally; and those forces of Leix and Offally to correspond together, and with them the subjects of the Irishry, as my Lord of Upper Ossory, Hugh Boy, Sir Terence O'Dempsey, O'Dun, O'Molloy, O'Carroll, and Sir John McCoghlan. In Ulster, leaving Dundalk, the Roche, and a fort we build in the Moyerie guarded, we intend to plant a garrison in Lecale of 500 foot and 50 horse, and to send 200 more to Sir Arthur Chichester, who, in respect of the use he may have at all times of the forces in Lecale, will be as much strengthened by them, or rather more, than if we had sent them all to Knockfergus. With the army (which will consist of about 2,800 foot and 300 horse in list, besides some 300 foot and 50 horse, which are to be left at the Newry and Mount-norris to guard those places) we purpose to draw to Armagh, to fortify there, and it may be at Blackwater, where, if we lie upon him most part of this summer, we shall not only give Sir Henry Dockwra good facility to plant Ballyshannon, but, it may be, fall ourselves into Tyrone. But howsoever, with making him keep his forces together all this summer, and leaving these garrisons well provided, for horse to live there in the winter, we shall, without all likelihood to the contrary, before the next year utterly ruin the Traitor, and clear and assure all the parts from Tyrone to the Pale.

"With the particularities of Sir Henry Dockwra's project by Captain Vaughan to your Lordships we are not acquainted, only told of such a proposition in general by Mr. Treasurer, but we doubt not but withal he hath propounded to your Lordships for such means to accomplish his work as must be supplied from

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thence. For from us he can receive little other assistance than this fashion of employing the whole forces, which in every part is done as much for his advantage as may be. Neither (which is worst) can we easily have any intelligence with him, or often hear from one another. But if we perceive that he find any impossibility at this time to plant Ballyshannon, we do yet think of nothing better to advise him than with the whole gross of his strength to fall into Tyrone, about such time as we shall be at Blackwater; whereby it may fall out that we may with the help of God meet at Dungannon, and utterly waste all the country of Tyrone. Unto the which course if we be driven, we must then resolve to make the war this winter (leaving the northern border in good strength) in Connaught, which we hope will reduce that country and ruin O'Donnell; which must be the effect of that garrison, for, if we keep him out of Connaught, he cannot long subsist; and then, for the continual assurance of that country, plant with facility the next year at Ballyshannon. But if the planting of so many garrisons do threaten by the continuance of great numbers to draw on too long Her Majesty's charge, we do first think that to recover this kingdom, and to preserve it from being hereafter so chargeable, it will be necessary that in the north, Ballyshannon, Lough Foyle, some garrison on the Bann, Lecale, Mountnorris, Armagh, Blackwater, and some other places be continually kept. All which places may be ever victualled by sea, or, being near together without any dangerous passage between them, by land from the sea, without any farther force than their own. And if there be in every fort but some little keep built of stone, as the wars shall decrease, or occasion shall serve, the places may be guarded with very few, and so continue bridles in the mean time, and convenient places to put in men to great purpose, where the rebellion shall again break out. Neither need these little castles be works of any great charge, for they may be easily made such as this people will hardly force them. To proceed in this project, it must please God that the victuals already contracted for must arrive in due time, and it must please your Lordships to supply us with good quantity hereafter, for our only way to ruin the rebels must be as much as may be to waste all the means for life, which if we do, and be not supplied out of England, we shall as well starve ourselves as them, but especially where we must make the war, which is far from the relief of any friend, and nothing to be gotten from the enemy but by chance. For what is in their countries lightly they will either hide, or spoil, or convey to inaccessible fastnesses. And, because the greatest service here is to be done by long and sudden journeys, which cannot be done without victual, and no victual well carried by the soldier without carriages but cheese, we most humbly desire your Lordships to send us some great quantity thereof, in the provision whereof whatsoever inconveniences your Lordships shall find, we dare assure you will be ten times countervailed in the service. Lastly, because the army is already weak of English, and this journey, without the extraordinary favour of God, must needs diminish it much, both by the sword and sickness, we must most humbly and earnestly desire your Lordships to send as soon as may be conveniently, but, if it be possible, before the end of August, a thousand shot, which we desire

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should be bastard muskets, and culivers for supplies, not in companies, but only to reinforce the old English companies unto Carlingford, that at our return we may both strengthen such English companies as we mean to leave behind us, and the rest we carry with us. The time will be exceeding fit for their arrival; for, besides the succour we may receive from them, if we grow very weak at our return, they will come over well clothed against the winter, and may have time to rest and to be seasoned till Christmas, till when in these wars it is the most inactive part of the year, and be employed from Christmas till the end of May, which is the only time to plague these country rebels. And when this summer is past, wherein these rogues revive and live like flies, our garrisons well planted, and the army strengthened with English, we may then begin to cast the Irish companies, and out of our companies, since they must continue good subjects, or starve if they go out, and yet have the sword hang over them wheresoever they go. In the meantime we think them necessarily entertained, for we take so many men from the rebels, and give unto ourselves by them facility to plant the foundation of their own ruin, and both with us and against us waste them by themselves. For if we should not entertain them they would lie upon some country of the subject, which, without the defence of as many as themselves, they would waste, and live upon it, so that in effect the very numbers entertained would grow all to one reckoning. And for a more particular instance of the benefit that ensueth by entertaining these Irish, we think we can give your Lordships an account of above 500 that have this year been killed, and most with the bullet[s] of our side, of such as were rebels sometimes, and questionless would have been so again, when they had been put out of entertainment, if they had lived. And thus having, upon the consideration of all things here as now they stand, concluded unto ourselves the best course that could appear unto our judgments, and resolving to execute it with all endeavour and sincerity, we humbly desire your Lordships to make a favourable construction both of the Council and success; since those grounds, whereupon we do now so justly build our resolutions, may by their alteration give us as just cause to alter our course, and the want of such means, either in matter or time, as we expect, utterly hinder it. But especially, if any foreign succours do arrive, the whole frame of this our project is broken; and out of England we must be presently relieved, or we with this kingdom suffer much hazard. And, because your Lordships in your last letters gave us some light that it might be, and leave to inform you what likelihood we should here receive that it would be, we have first these intelligences which we send your Lordships, with many other reports from divers places, and next a constant and of late an extraordinary conceived confidence thereof in these people; and lastly, to judge what a wise and powerful enemy will do by that which is best and easy for him to do, we have many reasons to think that Spain will send this year, and few to think otherwise, but that he hath so oft deceived that expectation. For if the malice of Spain continue to England, they have an easy and dangerous step thereto by Ireland; and if they do not embrace the



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occasion of this year, there is no doubt but the next will for ever lose it unto them. And because it must please your Lordships to proportion our succours to the force we are likely to be offended with, and that from us you will expect our own estates, it may please your Lordships to consider that the power of this kingdom consisteth of Her Majesty's English army, of such Irish as are therein in companies by themselves, or in English companies do serve as mercenaries; the nobility, towns, and inbred people of this nation which live as subjects; and lastly, of such mere Irish Lords and their people as were lately reclaimed, or such as still remain in rebellion. The mere English are few and far dispersed; the Irish that serve with us exceeding mercenary, and therefore like to follow the hopes of Spain; the nobility, towns, and people of so obstinate a contrariety in religion, that without question they are grown malicious to the government, and affect, under the protection of the power of Spain, to declare themselves. The Irish Lords with us have the same motives; and they against us, their last necessity to join with Spain; and all these, especially the towns stirred on by this new coin, which, though if (*sic*) the aid of Spain do not arrive, may securely be established, yet, if they do, it will breed many dangerous inconveniences. If, therefore, it may please Her Majesty to have in a readiness six thousand of the trained bands of such countries serving best for transporting into Ireland, to be sent over into Munster upon the first notice of any foreign power to be arrived there; and some part of her navy to be in a readiness with a greater part of munition and artillery for us than otherwise this war would require, we do hope to give Her Majesty a very good account of her kingdom and of ourselves, until we shall have cause to sue for relief, or return her the fruits of that. And if it must needs fall out that Spain will have war with England, we shall be glad that the war of England may be made in Ireland, and that we, her poor servants, shall have the happiness to strike the first blows for both her royal kingdoms, the which the eternal God preserve long unto her, and her unto them and us."—The camp at the Moyerie, 1601, June 14. [*Postscript.*] "Even now we hear from Dublin, that there is arrived there, three last and a half of powder, with match and lead accordingly." *Endorsed* :—Received the 22 June. *Signed.* pp. 7.

*Encloses* :—

17. i. "The examination of Thomas Allen, of Dublin, merchant, taken the 10th of June, 1601.

"Left the Bay of Cales [Cadiz] the 8th of May last. About the 12th of April, during his abode there, there was a great tumult regarding the coming of an English and Flemish fleet, and great musters were made. The King of Spain commanded that every man's plate, jewels, and chains, as well gold as silver, should be registered. Since the first of January last, there has been an embargo in Spain of all Flemish ships under the government of the States, Frenchmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen, and divers of them cruelly racked [*as to*] whether they had any goods belonging to Englishmen. At his being in Cadiz, the 8th of May, there were embarked '27 sails of ships,' and, as he after understood by the report of one David Harris, a Scotsman, of the same

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27 sails there came to the seas 12 sails about the 17th of May, and they had in them 6,000 pikes, 3,000 muskets, and some quantity of corslets. The said Scotsman came in their company, and was bound for Youghal; he reported to this examine that these twelve ships were bound for Lisbon, there to take in soldiers and more munition, and so to go for Ireland. One Walter Lei[gh], an Irishman, who is a pensioner to the King of Spain, and very private and inward with the Adelantado, constantly affirmed that this fleet with as many more were bound for Ireland, and that before Midsummer day he would see Dublin. By reason of contrary winds, this examine fell into the company of the aforesaid David Harris, who parted from the said twelve sails by extremity of weather. Thinks that this shipping from Spain (if any come) cannot be on this coast this three weeks. Raising by the King of Spain of the custom on wines and oils upon every stranger that shall go to Spain, 'which breedeth a great discontentment even among his own subjects'." Copy. p. 1.

June 14. 18. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "We  
Camp in the Moyerie. have written to you as much as we could conceive concerned us at this present, and even now the camp is rising to pass this night beyond the Moyerie, so that I do not think fit to trouble you with much more; neither can I well do it at this present, for our removes be busy days with us, and I have been this morning from four of the clock making despatches to several places of this kingdom. Therefore, although I have much whereof I would fain write unto you, yet for this time I do only recommend my service unto you."—The camp in the Moyerie, 14 June. *Endorsed*:—1601; and, Received 22 June. *Holograph*. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

June 14. 19. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. If Her  
Dublin Castle. Majesty be pleased to send an increase of force, for which they have formerly been suitors, recommends Sir Joceline Percy, "who as he liveth here at his own charge a voluntary, and therefore ought the rather to be respected, so is he very valiant, and of an excellent spirit fit for employment. He hath sent over his Lieutenant, one Roe, the bearer hereof, to whom I beseech you there may be order given to bring over a company of 150."—Dublin Castle, 1601, June 14. [*The scribe has erroneously put the year "1600."*] Signed. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

June 14. 20. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since my last  
Dublin. of the 10th of this month, a merchant of Tredagh, coming lately from Cadiz in Spain, touched in this harbour yesterday, and coming to me to make his report touching Spanish occurrents, he set down with his own hand this declaration enclosed, which I thought not amiss to send to your Honour, for that it confirmeth the former advertisements, which I sent about four days past, with some addition more than in the former. Besides, it is later than the first in time, by eight or ten days. And yet I hope all these Spanish

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formalities, touching sending of forces into Ireland, will turn to a mountain of smoke. At the most, it is like they will not exceed a ship or two, to bring the rebels fresh hopes, and some small comfort of money and munitions. Nevertheless, in the meanwhile, these bruits do put our traitors into great pride, and makes them think that now is the time that the Spaniards will not fail them. I have this morning sent a copy of this declaration to the Lord Deputy, who I think will this day pass to the Newry, and there consider how he may carry some part of the army to Lecale, or other parts of the north, to entangle Tyrone, whilst the time of the general hosting do come on; of whose proceedings his Lordship may advertise more confidently and speedily than any other in these parts. Yet your Honour shall have from me such as I can gather from time to time."—Dublin, 1601, June 14. *Signed.*  
*Seal.* p. 1.

*Encloses :—*

20. i. "Examination of one John Field, come out of Spain.

"I departed the bay of Cadiz in Spain the 16th day of June, 1601, and there came the very same day fifteen ships of Spaniards to sea, being bound to Lisbon, to accompany other ships in that port, and there to take in the number of ten thousand soldiers, and, as the chiefest of them do say, their meaning is to go for Ireland, naming Dublin or Waterford; and by reason of foul weather we departed from their sight, and, as far as I could see, they went into the bay back again by means of the tempest. Likewise, I heard the day before I came to sea, which was the 15th of June, that the Cardinal was slain in Flanders by some of the Flemings, whereupon there was great lamentation made. Also, there was a proclamation made in the King of Spain's name in St. Mary's Port, that whatsoever man would take upon him to serve him as a soldier, that they should have free liberty of any fact that ever they committed (treason excepted), and that no manner of person should molest nor trouble any soldier so entering into the King's pay for any debt or any other challenge during the space of ten years, and that every common soldier should have twelve pence sterling a day."—Dated by Sir Geoffrey Fenton:—"At Dublin, 14 Junii, 1601." *Copy.* p. 1.

June 17.  
 [London.]

21. Sir John Dowdall to Sir Robert Cecil. "Whereas I was a humble suitor unto Her Majesty three years past, I came then unto your Honours with letters of report and commendations from the Deputy and Council for the time for my services and disbursements, which I delivered unto your Honours. And upon the revolt of Munster, I was commanded for Duncannon, and there again was at a new charge, as I have made known. Upon my departure, your Honour and the rest of the Lords willed me to leave an agent to receive the remain due unto me, which I did to my great charges, the remain due being one thousand five hundred and fifty pounds, besides one hundred and fifty pound[s] due to be paid by Sir George Carey, as may appear by warrants and concordatums with reckonings, [and] one full year's pay in Sir William Russell's time and odd months for 150 men. If I had not



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used my credit and mine own ability in supporting the companies committed to my charge with victuals and money, they must have been forced to disband, and acquit the places I had in charge, which were Duncannon and Benniskillen.

“Tendering more Her Majesty’s service in all my lifetime than I did my own private wealth, [I] do hope, by your honourable means, there will a Christian consideration be had of me, whereby I may receive my due from Her Highness. Had not my losses been more than this my due, I should not have been constrained to be so earnest as now I am.

“If Her Majesty will be better pleased to give me a fee-farm, of five and forty pounds by the year in reversion, in Ireland (the rent reserved unto Her Highness), I will take it in recompense fully of this sum and forty years’ service, which I never received reward for, but my pay.”

May do Her Majesty better service in Ireland than “here.”—  
[London], 1601, June 17. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 18.  
Dublin.

22. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. “Sithence my Lord Deputy’s departure, there hath not fallen out any great occurrents. His Lordship, for the better freeing of that passage, hath built a fort at the Moyerie, and is now gone into Lecale to plant a garrison there, and purposeth to leave Sir Richard Morrison to command the same; and intendeth there to meet with Sir Arthur Chichester, and to enable him with more forces, as also to confer with him how he shall manage the wars, and answer his Lordship when he begins his journey. By direction from my Lord Deputy, I have sent boards and other materials, with all things necessary, to Sir Arthur Chichester, to make two or three boats. The Lord Deputy hath given the fifty horse, which were Captain Dawtrey’s, to Sir Francis Stafford, and he hath also bestowed on him the government of the Newry; and this I know he hath done in respect of your Honour. I humbly beseech your Honour to take notice hereof, and in your next give his Lordship thanks.

“The 13th of this present, Her Majesty’s proclamation touching this new coin was published, and in the utterance of the money I find no stop as yet. I utter it but sparely, only for growing charges to the army, until I hear that the exchanges in England be settled according to the agreement; and then, by God’s power, it will work a good service to Her Majesty.

“There was some good service done of late by our new O’Donnell and the garrison of Lough Foyle, whereof I think your Honour is advertised, and, now that their supplies are come all safe unto them, I hope they will apply the soldiers to do good service.

“The Traitor, as I hear, makes all the provision that he can, and builds and fortifies exceedingly beyond the Blackwater; yet would he, as I learn, be glad to accept of any conditions; but I am persuaded my Lord Deputy will not listen to any. His Lordship hath sent unto me to cause a great boat to be made of musket proof, and to be sent unto him in pieces; which shall be done. A small quantity of munition arrived here eight days past, which I sent presently to Carlingford to my Lord, because he was in great

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want. And in the store here there is not one barrel, which to my seeming is a very strange matter. The rest of the munition, being, as they say, forty-four cartloads, is at Chester. I would the conductor had sent some of it beforehand, for all the garrisons here complain of want.

"We have had much ado about a cause of the old Countess of Kildare. The Earl of Kildare broke open certain doors of her house at Maynooth, and took from thence all the evidences in the closet. The evidences were brought to this town, and conveyed from place to place very slyly; but the evidences are gotten again and sequestered, remaining in the Council's Chamber, until the matter be further heard."—Dublin, 1601, June 18. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2½.*

June 18.  
Dublin.

23. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This bearer, Mr. Traves, after a hard employment in Ulster, and specially at Lough Foyle, in the victualling affairs, is now repaired thither, to go through with his accounts, wherein, though he hath suffered here many perplexities by the death of his ministers, whom he was driven to use in chief trust of his charge, yet I hope he will prove himself, in the course of his accounts, a true officer to Her Majesty, notwithstanding sundry prejudices that have grown to him, and frauds used to Her Majesty, by some bad persons, upon the occasion of his men's death at Lough Foyle, he being at that time absent from thence to attend his charge in other places. The places where he served were more full of difficulties and dangers than any other part of the realm, for that he was driven oftentimes to pass to and fro between Lough Foyle, Knockfergus and Carlingford, to the hazarding of his life, both by sea and land; and yet he hath at no time failed to answer his charge, according the trust reposed in him, which I make bold to testify of him upon mine own knowledge."—Dublin, 1601, June 18. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

June 18.  
Cork.

24. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "Your Honour by Patrick Crosby was fully advertised of all the affairs of this province, until the date of the letters he carried, since which time, more than the restraining of Florence McCarthy, who is now Her Majesty's prisoner, nothing hath happened. The treasons which in his breast he hath of long time carried against Her Majesty and the State, was sufficiently discovered by his entering into action of rebellion, having lately before received extraordinary favours at his last being in England; and the continuance of his treasons doth evidently appear by his practising with Tyrone and Munster men, when he was upon protection; in all which time he never left soliciting, as well to bring northern aids to raise new tumults, as to stir and provoke the provincials to relapse, which may appear manifestly to be true by the copies of sundry letters and examinations, which I have sent unto you, and more fully by further proof, which I am able to produce against him. The reasons which persuaded me all this long time to smother his faults, was because he was upon protection, and yet still would have let them run on, if

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necessity had not urged me to lay hold of him. To win time upon me, he pretended to go into England, and to that end I did procure him large benevolences both in Carberry and Desmond, but I perceived no such intention in him. Also, whereas his pardon hath been under the Seal ever since the 7 of April last, by the which he was enjoined by a time prefixed to put in assurance for his future loyalty, at the time that I committed him there was but fourteen days to come unexpired, and that very day of his commitment he was taking his journey into Desmond, so as almost there was no possibility for him to return to put in his sureties by the limitation of the proviso in his pardon; which time being elapsed, then he must be newly protected, and so live unsecured. Upon this quarrel of not putting in of sureties according to the proviso, and proving unto him that the time must of necessity elapse, and making known unto him that he hath dealt falsely and traitorously since, and in the time of his protections, I did commit him; at the justness whereof himself hath nothing to reply, and all men are sufficiently satisfied with his restraint, having caused the generality of his treasons with Spain, Tyrone, and at home, to be divulged. The next day after his restraint, he was a petitioner unto me that he might have the benefit of Her Majesty's pardon; unto the which, because the time in the proviso was not fully expired, I did condescend, being in justice not to be denied unto him. His fault he acknowledges in not putting in sureties with more celerity, and patiently endures his restraint, because he finds his guiltiness of his offences to lie open unto me, and yet is not debarred from the safety of his life. With James McThomas I do purpose to send him into England, and then have I sent you two Earls of their own making, and the most powerful rebels that ever lived in Munster. By the taking of them I do think that Munster with a reasonable garrison will be assured from revolt within itself, and also freed from Ulster bonnaughts to molest it; and am also of opinion that when it shall be bruited in Spain that these grandees are Her Majesty's prisoners, that it will divert their purposes, if they had any, to invade Munster, for upon them two, and in especial upon Florence, the Spaniards did ground their hopes in the west of Ireland. Lest it may be thought that I did neglect part of my duty in not sooner apprehending Florence, having intelligence of his practices in the times of his protections, I beseech your Honour to call to mind that in my former letters I have acquainted you that his fashion was evermore, before he would come unto me, to send for a new protection, without any proviso inserted in it to be answerable for any breach of his former protection; so as every protection was a sufficient safeguard to free him from any offence of an older date. For except unto him only, I never renewed any man's protection since my coming into Munster, but that the party stood always answerable for all offences committed from the date of his first protection; a course never held in Ireland but by myself, and by that course I am sure one hundred rebels have been hanged within this six months, by taking the advantage of the breach of their protections. Unto some others it will be thought I have dealt too soon with him, because, until he hath pleaded his pardon, he is not subject to restraint, not having broken his last protection. I could have been content to have forborne him a little longer, but



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I was sure if he had gone out of the town, and the days of his putting in of sureties [had] expired, that he would by new protections trifle out the time until the coming of Spaniards; and if they came not, that then himself would go into Spain; so as I was enforced either to lose him, or else to take the advantage of the quarrel I did, which I am sure neither discontents nor dislikes any man here, the world being fully possessed that his traitorly practices in the time of his protections doth merit no favour, and therefore they hold my proceedings with him to be very just and favourable beyond his merit, in giving him the benefit of Her Majesty's pardon, whereby his life is secured. James McThomas is arraigned and adjudged. I would have sent him and Florence this passage, but I hope every day to hear out of England to know Her Majesty's pleasure; but if the wind do settle in the west, I will send them presently unto Her Majesty, being the best presents that Munster affords. James McThomas, to redeem his own life, promises by his brother John and Piers Lacy to get me Tyrone alive or dead. I have put him in confident hope that upon that service done, that the Queen will be gracious unto him; and that I may have the better ground to move them to perform the same, I do beseech you that I may have a letter from Her Majesty unto me, to assure them that upon accomplishing the service upon Tyrone, that James McThomas shall be sure to live, and be set at liberty, and that his brother John and Piers Lacy shall be likewise pardoned. I am promised for 100*l.* to get Bishop Cragh, and for the like sum the Knight of the Valley, ere it be long. I hope to send you the one or both. Likewise, I am proffered for money to have McWilliam's head in Connaught, but being out of my government, I know not how to deal in it.

"Here is no money. I beseech your Honour to mediate for it." —Cork, 1601, June 18. [*Postscript.*] "Now will be a good time for Nicholas Browne to come into Desmond, and he will be a good stay in that wild country, whether he have a charge or no, for those parts are very quiet. I have paid the White Knight 400*l.*, which upon my credit I procured." *Holograph.* pp. 4.

*Enclose:—*

24. i. *The Spanish Archbishop of Dublin to Florence McCarthy.* God is his witness how, after he arrived in Ireland, and took note of the person, valour, and endowments of his Lordship, he desired extremely to see him, and to confer with one of such rank and importance. Was prevented by the danger of the way, and is leaving for Spain with much regret at not having seen those parts. Hopes very shortly to return to that kingdom, in such a way as to content his Lordship, and assures him that he will act for him with the King as if he had sent his own brother into Spain. Cannot write more; will leave the rest till he sees him.—Donegal, 1601, January  $\frac{16}{16}$ . Sir George Carew attests the above with the note, "The name of the Archbishop of Dublin is so ill written, as I could not read it; the rest is a true copy." He endorses the paper, "From the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin to Florence McCarthy." *Spanish.* p. 1.

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24. ii. *Thomas Shelton to Florence McCarthy.* "By direction of the Archbishop of Dublin, and at [the] request of McDonogh, your agent here, I did write a letter addressed to the King of Spain, subscribed by him, in which he did signify how by your direction he made proffer of your service to His Majesty, the copy of which letter goeth here inclosed (wanting). What the news and hopes of Spain are, the bearer will fully inform you. This only rests, that as I have ever desired to serve your Lordship, so now, finding the opportunity of this bearer," he would not omit so fit an occasion to show his respect. "God preserve and assist you in all your designs, that we may live to see accomplished by you them (sic) things [of] which your noble beginnings give assured hope."—*Donegal, 1601, Tuesday, January 1<sup>st</sup>.* Copy attested by Sir George Carew. p. 1.
24. iii. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Florence McCarthy.* "Our commendations unto you, McCarthy More. I send unto you according our trust of you, that you will do a stout and hopeful thing against the Pagan beast. And thereupon our army is to go into Munster, and, with the will of God, we consent unto you not to believe any word from us for ever, before we write again unto you, that you shall see trouble enough upon Englishmen in England itself, so as there shall be easiness of suffering their wars at May next, in respect of that it is now. And since this course of Munster, under God, was left to yourself, let no weakness or imbecility be left in you, and the time of help is near you and all the rest."—*Dungannon, 1601, January 27*  
*February 5.* Signed, "O'Neill." Copy attested by Sir George Carew. p. 1.

June 18.  
Louth.

25. *Sir John Bolles to Sir Robert Cecil.* "Though many private respects do justly draw me to desire to leave the longer following of the Irish wars, yet nothing urgeth me more to shun, by all the means I may, any employment which should carry the least show of being derogatory to Sir Henry Dockwra, than the fear I have of the scandalising my poor credit, as though, under colour of negotiating for him, I had indeed supplanted him; which how apt his friends are to conceive and report will be very apparent if your Honour may please to peruse a letter which Mr. Lenton, your servant, hath to show, that was written to me by his agent here after my departure from your Honour. Wherefore I humbly and unfeignedly beseech your Honour (to whom my service at home and abroad is dedicated), that you would vouchsafe to be a means for my stay in England, and the bestowing of my company of foot upon Mr. Farmer, my Lieutenant, according to your honourable purpose the last year. He is a young gentleman of good sufficiency, and in that he is my brother-in-law, and hath served long, I must see that he want not; which maketh me become so bold a suitor in his behalf, and I do it the rather also because I might not seem to have left the wars in disgrace.

"Your Honour, I trust, will pardon me for presuming thus far, and either condescend to my humble request herein, or otherwise

1601.

defend my reputation from such unjust taxing, and give me some small time of respite here, after the signification of your Honour's purpose to continue my employment."—Louth, 1601, June 18. *Holograph.* p. 1.

June 18.  
Camp at  
Dunboy.

26. Sir Samuel Bagenall to Sir George Carey. "I have used all my diligence to come hither, and Sunday, being the 13 of June, I arrived at the Camp before Dunboy, where I found the Lord President making his approaches towards that castle, and one piece of battery mounted, by which means his Lordship was so far engaged, that, till the ending of that work, in reason he could depart with none of that army. But on the Thursday after, all fit things being done, the battery began about three of the clock in the morning, which continued till about that time in the afternoon. Then the assault was given, and very desperately maintained some two hours by that enemy; but then despair and want of knowledge to defend what they had first undertaken, bred such confusion, that they of the weakest resolution hopelessly leapt into the sea, where boats attended such expected accident, and there cut them in pieces. The nobler part of them, with a firm constancy, died in defending of that breach with pikes and swords. The wisest and best knowing men retired themselves into an inner seler, where from thence (*sic*) they hoped to make composition for life, which they that night demanded, but was refused by the President, unless they would yield to mercy, which they obstinately refused, making many vows there to burn themselves and ruin that remnant of castle with the exchange of our English blood, that then were masters of their best works. That night they so continued, but in the morning, being better advised, they simply submitted to that mercy, which before was required, and the Lord President that day caused sixty of them to be hanged. Some fifty were killed on the breach and in the sea, so that none of that ward are left to maintain one another. Before that time the Lord President had sent boats to the island of Dursesis, where they were fortifying for their retreat, if need should require them to it; but that place was taken, some killed, and twenty-nine men brought hither, which yesterday were hanged. They had their three pieces of ordnance, iron bullets, match, lead, and powder seven or eight barrels. This castle had ten pieces of ordnance, five brass and five iron; nine of them are shipped; the tenth was broken by our cannon. Here was ten or twelve barrels of powder. These spoils and ruins, in my opinion, hath directly near broken these present wars in Munster, which is a good introduction to our declining climate. The Lord President desires my dispatch with all conveniency, which when I get, I will lose no day till I come to the Naas, which beforehand you shall have warning of, that I may obey your directions there according my instructions. If it please you, you may impart this to the rest of the Council, to whom I would have writ, but the speedy and sudden dispatch of this bearer would not give me time, to whom I desire to be excused."—Camp at Dunboy, 1601, June 20. [*Postscript.*]  
"The Lord President desired me to write his excuse for not writing



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now, because his Lordship was busily employed in the shipping of all those things that must be shipped before his rising." *Holograph.* pp. 2.

June 20.

27. "The Preface to the repertory and debt-book for Her Majesty's debts in Ireland, brought over into England, xx<sup>mo</sup> Junii, 1601, Anno xliij<sup>tie</sup>." *Unsigned.* pp. 67.

June 21.  
Castle Lyons.

28. David Barry, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry, to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of the bearer, Thomas Power, brother to Lord Power. His steadfast and loyal service. The divers maims and hurts received by him have lessened his ability to maintain himself, and he is greatly decayed. Commends him to Sir Robert's good consideration.—Castle Lyons, 1601, June 21. *Signed.* Seal. p. 1.

June 22.

Camp by  
Carrickbane.

29. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir George Carew. "Because your Lordship should the better understand our purposes here, I have sent you the copy of a letter which we did write lately from these parts to my Lords in England, the which I desire you to reserve unto yourself, because there be some points therein unfit to be known to these country people. If the force of Spain do not aid them, I doubt not but God hath determined to overthrow this rebellion. If Spain do, I hope here in Ireland to make an end of the war of England both with Spain and Ireland. Whether they come or not, the chief things that, as I think, imports you is, to assure Cork and Limerick, till more force can come unto you; that you may do with the force we leave you, and more you cannot with all the rest of your list. Somewhat that may appear inconvenient we must hazard; or else, only with the expectation of the Spaniards, lose the Queen another year. For I persuade myself, if this project go forward, to end the war in effect before the next summer. If it do not, it may well cost us another year; and our companies are so weak, and other business in these parts so great that, without the assistance of some of your force, we cannot go through with our work. This morning with but a pretty army I am rising, with the help of God, to Armagh, to leave some men there, or to preserve the grass about it; for in those parts I intend to spend most of this summer. Therefore, my Lord, I pray pardon me, if I write not so largely of all things as willingly I would, but I hope very shortly at my return to have some more leisure, when you shall hear from me again."—The camp by Carrickbane, 1601, June 22. *Endorsed* :—"The copy of the Lord Deputy's letter for 1,000 men for Connaught. Received 29 July, 1601." *Copy.* p. 1.

June 22.

Camp by  
Carrickbane.

30. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Council to Sir George Carew. "Having entered into a very serious consideration how we might fitliest make the war this summer, to the greatest annoyance of the northern rebels, and in the end agreeing upon

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a project, which we have resolved speedily to put in execution, we have thought fit to acquaint your Lordship therewithal by this enclosed (*wanting*), which we send you, that you may be no stranger to our purposes, but give us that assistance that we know you will for the furtherance of so important a service. The 1,000 foot and the fifty horse, which we are to draw from you out of Munster, we make account you may very well spare, as things stand now in that province, and yet that the numbers there remaining, being 1,600 foot in list and 200 horse, will be very sufficient to serve your turn for all occasions that may happen, especially seeing we have so well provided to stop the Ulstermen from passing either through Leinster or Connaught towards you, as we are very well confident you cannot be disquieted that way, but may rather be able with some more of yours to assist the Earl of Ormonde's horse and foot lying next you on the borders of Kilkenny, if they should stand in need of any help from you, as his Lordship is directed both with them and the forces commanded by Sir Henry Power to give your Lordship all good furtherance, if the Mores should step into your government, when they shall be so chased and pursued, as they cannot longer continue in Leix and thereabout, as we hope in short time they will be. Wherefore we do very earnestly pray and require your Lordship that you will not fail to send away the 1,000 foot and the 50 horse so soon after the receipt of these our letters, that the foot may be at the town of Galway by the seventh of the next month at the furthest, where we have given commission to the Earl of Clanrickarde, if he be able, to take the charge of them, and to march to the Abbey of Boyle, there to lie in garrison according to our project, until we see cause otherwise to direct them. The horse (which we earnestly pray may be Sir Richard Greames his troop), to come hither speedily to the camp, for that we have very great need of good horse, our[s] being much worn out with the winter service, and we hear that troop is fair and good, and fittest for our present purpose; in whose stead we will send fifty others into Connaught for them; which we can do conveniently out of Leinster, and accordingly have given direction in confidence that your Lordship, by sending us those of his, will see our turn served as we expect, and the service no way disappointed. And where your Lordship happily might make some scruple to send those horse and foot out of that province of Munster, as doubting the arrival of some Spanish force, for that haply there are advertisements to that purpose, you may see by our last dispatch into England, the copy whereof we send you herewithal, that in that point we have not been unmindful to provide for you the best we may by desiring to have you supplied speedily from thence, if any such thing should happen, as it is like enough there will not. But howsoever we do not think it fit to lose the year in expectation of their coming, as we must by not using our forces this summer; and use them we cannot to any purpose, without we have these horse and foot from you, which indeed hath moved us to resolve upon the project which you see, hoping by stirring to do great good upon the rebels, as we find for the small time we have been abroad we have done; for we have already made a fort guardable

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at the Moyerie, to assure the passage in that place, where Tyrone the last year stopped us so long. We have been in Lecale, and planted a garrison, taken in all their castles, and all the inhabitants have submitted themselves. We have put more companies by land to Sir Arthur Chichester to Carrickfergus, and enabled him on that side to annoy them, inasmuch as Magennis, for all his nearness to Tyrone, hath made every great means likewise to be accepted to mercy, and this day we are ready to march toward Armagh, where we mean (God please) to encamp this night, and doubt not but before our return to leave that place also fortified very fitly. And if Sir Henry Dockwra be able to plant at Ballyshannon, as he giveth great hope he will, so as we can keep Tyrone busied on this side, and the garrison at the Boyle do their part, we shall soon pen the rebels up so straight, as the Spaniards' coming (unless speedily) will not help them. And yet, if their coming should be so speedy, your companies being no further off than Galway, they lie as well as you can wish to fall back to any place where you would have them; though we are of opinion, if that should happen, you can with the whole number do no more than keep Limerick and Cork till greater forces come to you out of England, and that you may do without these 1,000 foot and 50 horse; and therefore we rest assured that you will send them away as we desire, and as you see we have written to the Lords of the Council [what] we think fittest."—The camp at Carrickbane, 1601, June 22. *Endorsed*:—"The copy of my Lord Deputy's and Council's letter for sending forth of Munster 1,000 foot into Connaught"; also "Received 29 Junii, 1601." *Copy. pp. 2.*

June 22.  
Cork.

**31.** Ha[rold] Kynnesman to Sir Robert Cecil. In accordance with Sir Robert's instruction of the 6th of June, has sent to Thomas Watson, Sir George Carey's agent, a true reckoning of the money he has imprested to the Earl of Desmond since his Lordship's coming to Ireland; also, a copy of the Lord President's warrant as to the lending of 100 men (without officers) for the Earl. Will make no further payments to his Lordship, without further order from Sir Robert or notice from Watson.—Cork, 1601, June 22. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

June 23  
Dublin.

**32.** Sir John Brokett to Sir Robert Cecil. After extreme labour he has got the command of Duncannon fort in Wexford. Has diligently enquired into the news of Spain and other countries, and searched the estate of all occurrents in the harbour, and has certified the Lord Deputy thereof. Is now in Dublin, whence he intends presently to depart to his charge. Finds the new money is current there, and that order is taken to draw the silver out of Ireland into England. Imagines that Sir Robert will not think it fit that it should go into any other King's country. "In this twelve or thirteen weeks (for so long I have had the charge of the place), there hath passed out of the harbour of Waterford five thousand pounds in silver, the which hath been paid to Frenchmen for corn, and though I have let that pass, and many other things, for the which I do hope I have good



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warrant, yet, when the Estate doth think it fit, I will be ready with my best endeavours to perform your pleasures." His devotion to Sir Robert.—Dublin, 1601, June 23. *Holograph.* p. 1.

June 22.

**33.** Henry Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. Has received from sundry captains and other servitors their warrants of full pay, to the amount of 5,000*l.*, in payment of moneys lent to them by him out of his purse; also, some of those warrants, together with tickets defalked out of their entertainments, for victuals delivered to their companies. Has ever forborne to solicit the Privy Council for payment of the warrants. Has thought of a mean whereby he may be so satisfied without a penny cost to the Queen or any of her subjects. Three ounces of silver bullion is allowed for every 62*s.* of this base coin. Will deliver 1,250 pounds in bullion to the Warden of the Mint, and accept so much of the base coin as his debt amounts to, promising not to exchange the same in Ireland according to the new exchange set up there. Will find sufficient sureties to utter the said base money in Ireland among the common people, who are not like to bring it in to be exchanged. Craves Sir Robert's furtherance of his offer. "Besides, if this plot shall be liked, I dare presume I could satisfy if I were employed in it, yea of that your Honour and the Lords are most importuned for, 20,000*l.* of Her Majesty's debt in Ireland so, still delivering the bullion aforehand, and after uttering the base coin in Ireland among the commons."—1601, June 23. *Holograph.* p. 1.

June 24.  
Dublin.

**34.** Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "I perceive that my Lord Deputy having planted a garrison in Lecale, and spoken with Sir Arthur Chichester, his Lordship is returned, and is gone to Armagh, and there purposeth to plant his garrison, and from thence to the Blackwater. He hath written to my Lord President to spare 1,000 foot and 50 horse to come out of Munster and lie in Connaught; and how his Lordship disposeth of the forces to make this summer['s] wars, your Honour may perceive by the enclosed. I am greatly perplexed in my mind, because I have received no letters out of Munster of the arrival of the treasure there. It is said of a certainty that my Lord of Ormonde is married to my Lord Barry's daughter. This makes me not to despair to see him so venturous a knight, that is almost blind. God be his comfort, for I hope within these few days I shall hear news that Her Majesty shall save three pounds a day. I hear that my Lord Deputy hath of late given Tirlogh McHenry 150 foot and 50 horse at half pay. I send your Honour his Lordship's letter, because the messenger is hasty, and I can write no more."—Dublin, 1601, June 24. [*Postscript.*] "Magennis makes great means to come in, but my Lord will not receive him." *Holograph.* p. 1.

*Encloses:—*

**34. i.** *The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir George Carey.* "If I had reaped no other benefit of my journey into Lecale, but the speaking with Sir Arthur Chichester, I should not have repented neither the time nor the labour; for we do now perfectly understand one another, and I have taken a course to

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*do the like with Sir Henry Dockwra by him, without the which we might have much erred in all our several ways. But I can assure you the taking in of all the castles in Lecale and the garrison there is of no small importance, and that garrison I have appointed to join with Sir Arthur Chichester in all his business, and, if we have need of it, to use it in the One Mile, so that it lieth to good purpose in many respects. I would not have written to you at this time, being so full of business, and rising this morning towards Armagh, but that two especial things require haste to be performed. The first is for the way by the which we shall do service this winter, and unburthen the Pale. You must take better order for the safe preserving of it this year than there was the last. The second is to dispatch unto my Lord President, for from him we must expect such force as we write for to be ready in Connaught about the plantation of Ballyshannon, which I presume will be much about the tenth of the next month. I send you a copy of our last letters from these parts into England, because you should more thoroughly understand our purposes. There be some points in it that makes me desire you to use it somewhat reservedly, for the Irish would be out upon me, if they knew it. I pray take especial order that my letters be safely delivered to the Lord President, and God send us meat, and then I fear nothing. I pray God your money go as current with you as it doth with us, for we 'make no bones' of it. You must be somewhat liberal thereof to the captains, for they must provide themselves of many things against our long journey, and we must make amends for the quality with the quantity. Farewell, good Mr. Treasurer, and God send us a happy meeting."*—*The camp by Carrickbane, June 22. Endorsed:—1601. Holograph. p. 1.*

June 24  
Dublin.

**35.** Ga[rrett], Earl of Kildare, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Where, upon complaint exhibited against me to the Council here by the elder Countess Dowager of Kildare, for removing out of the house of Maynooth certain evidences belonging to the Earl of Kildare, there kept to mine use, as they had been from time to time for my predecessors, it seemeth unto me that they have used a severity more than ordinarily hath been accustomed in such cases, as may appear by the circumstances of their proceedings, which also I have sent by the bearer, not in way of complaint, but to the end that you and my good Lords there may thereby see how great the disadvantage is of him that hath to contend with a gracious adversary such as that good lady is, who, I must confess, for her years and calling deserveth all honourable regard. I am humbly to beseech their Lordships, forasmuch as my birth and education hath been in England, and that I have, ever since I was able to bear arms, served Her Majesty both there about her person, and here as it pleased her Governors in this realm to employ me, that my honourable good Lords will make me thus far forth worthy their favour, as to write unto the Lord Deputy and Council here, to afford me justice in

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that measure and degree that their Lordships think meet to be extended towards one of my sort and desert; which request I hope your Honour will not hold unworthy your own particular furtherance, as I shall always be gladly employed by you and for you, in all that I may serve or be good for."—Dublin, 1601, June 24. *Signed.* p. 1.

June 25.  
Galway.

36. Captain Henry Clare to the Privy Council. "Whereas your Lordships have been misinformed of me by a scandalous letter of Francis Martins, Mayor of Galway, and thereby my credit and desert in question and suspense before that most honourable table, may it please your Honours to give me leave to lay open before you the cause of his malice, to present you with the copies of two testimonials from this town, the originals remaining with my Lord Deputy, and for the truth and mine innocency with all dutiful respects to refer you to the letters of Her Majesty's Council here, having heard both sides.

"One Rory McTeig O'Flaherty of Iar Connaught, a notable rebel, and the principal man that rescued James Fitz Thomas, the counterfeit Earl of Desmond, when he was first taken for the Queen, was by the intercession of the Mayor (feigning cause for the good of some of the inhabitants) admitted to come into the town upon the 12th of January last, upon condition that he and all his, as well without as within, should be of dutiful behaviour toward Her Majesty and all her subjects during his being here. Which conditions being broken both by himself and his men, I requested he might be here kept until my Lord Deputy's pleasure were known, and alleged for the same my reasons before the Mayor and the Corporation, being assembled for that purpose in their Court House. Which reasons being scanned by the Recorder and all the rest, it was found that the said Rory might be detained without breach of word, and thereupon agreed that he should be kept as before, which the Mayor before the whole assembly did undertake to do. Notwithstanding, the next day the Mayor himself conveyed him away out at a postern, long before the opening of the gates, and without the consent of any of the brethren. Hereupon I, advising with the Recorder and some of the best Aldermen of the town, purposed to have entreated the Corporation to take some order for the more safe keeping of the keys, because that the rebels of Iar Connaught (whom I found the Mayor to favour) were able to bring five hundred men within three hours to any gate of the town, and that myself had but mine own company only to keep the same; standing also in doubt of the inhabitants, being in a manner all obstinate recusants, holding a dangerous position (as I was informed) that those were damned that died in the Queen her service, and all saved serving against her. But this my purpose the Mayor did frustrate, refusing to call an assembly, though in Her Majesty's name required by me, and also importuned by the Recorder. Then with the consent of some of the Aldermen and the Constable that was that night to lock the gates (to avoid the present danger) I did deliver the keys of the town before good witness (after the gates were



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locked by the officer) unto one Mr. Marcus Lynch, an Alderman, a Protestant, and one specially liked of by the State here, to be kept by him, for the behoof of Her Majesty, the safety of the town, and the use of the Corporation, until my Lord Deputy's pleasure were known; with whom they were only to remain in the night, and in the day to be used by the ordinary officers as before.

"This done, I forthwith advertised my Lord Deputy, and he imparted it to the Council. All this in effect is proved by deposition before Her Majesty's Council here; for which cause the Mayor, mortally hating me (joining with the recusants, his wife being chief of them, though he himself a Protestant in show), hath sought, both here and in England, by malicious and untrue objections to remove me, and discredit me, and followeth therein the direction of such known recusants as will not swear to the supremacy, who cannot endure the strict course I hold for the safe keeping of the town, and barring the rebels from having relief from hence, which hath been heretofore the increase and continuance of rebellion in these parts, and will be still (under correction be it spoken), if not prevented.

"Thus have I, upon my allegiance, delivered the truth of all, and was, when these things fell out, a mere stranger in the town, having been here but fourteen days before, and never any unkindness between the Mayor and me, but for my bounden duty and service done to my most dear and dread Sovereign, whose sworn servant I have been above fifteen years, and never served any other in my life, neither have I been a dependant upon such as heretofore swayed the wars, as doth appear by my rising in them, who am no way advanced or graced in command or otherwise, since my Lord Burgh died Deputy, having served in a manner here ever since, yet of the same rank at home and abroad as others that are now thrust before me. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Lordships that I may not undeservedly lose your honourable opinions, nor have that poor reputation stained which I brought with me, by any that hate me for doing my duty to Her Majesty."

—Galway, 1601, June 25. Signed. pp. 2.

Enclose:—

36. i. *The true copy of a certificate from Aldermen and inhabitants of the town of Galway in favour of Captain Henry Clare.*

*Testifying that with his company only he has banished the rebels of Iar Connaught from those parts, and taken from them a strong castle called Muckullen. Before his coming, those rebels were wont daily to spoil them at their very gates, to stay their fuel, and to take their lives, goods and prey at pleasure. Although there had been a garrison of five hundred men in the town for months together, there had never been such relief since the beginning of the war. The well and civil governing of his soldiers by Captain Clare.—Galway, 1600[-1], February 13.*

*Signed by the Bishop of Kilmacduagh, William Danyell, preacher, five Aldermen of Galway, and eight other inhabitants.*  
p. 1. [See pp. 207-8.]

36. ii. *The true copy of a certificate from the town of Galway in favour of Captain Henry Clare. To the same effect as the foregoing.—Galway, 1601, June 3.*

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*Signed by Nehemiah, Archbishop of Tuam, Rowland, Bishop of Kilmacduagh, two Aldermen of Galway, and twenty other inhabitants. p. 1.*

June 26.  
Camp at  
Donanuray.

37. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since our last letters from the Moyerie, I have finished a fort there, been in Lecale, taken in all the castles held there by Magennis, delivered some more men to Sir Arthur Chichester, left a garrison in Lecale, planted another at Armagh, and do now encamp myself between Mountnorris and the Newry, attending the men, provisions, and carriages of the general hosting, to expedite the which the Marshal is gone to Dublin. When I was in Lecale I had full conference with Sir Arthur Chichester, and took the best course I might that Sir Henry Dockwra, Sir Arthur Chichester, and myself might understand each other. The garrison I left in Lecale doth not only banish Magennis, strengthen Sir Arthur Chichester, whensoever he shall have occasion to use it, as much as if it were part of his own, but lieth so as we may make use of it, if we grow weak, or the enemy strong. I did venture the sooner to Armagh, to preserve the grass, the loss whereof was the chief cause we did not plant it the last year. When I was there I went beyond all the pastures between that and Blackwater, whereon I hope we shall find no great opposition; for, although the Marshal was there overthrown, yet I never fought on so good ground, since I came into Ireland. If the Spaniard will let us alone, I hope in God we shall give you a good account of this year's work. You must conceive, Sir, that since my coming from Dublin, and long before, I found no other occasion to stay me to make the war near, if not in, Tyrone itself, but want of victuals, munition, and other means. For six weeks since, it had been easy to have done anything against him, even in his own country. Now he is somewhat stronger, and all this summer his strength will increase, except we diminish it with blows. If such as I have left in the Pale do their duties, there cannot one rebel stir; but if they do, it is no great matter, for they shall fall with these, and there be none out but such as we will not take in. And if you had not been so sensible of the clamours from hence of taking some few cows, or burning some worthless houses, I could to as great purpose have made the war with fewer men; neither can all this army keep the rebel from stealing, and the subject from some loss, if it were only employed to that purpose. And yet I think that scant in any time of peace the subject ever received so little harm as of late; and this I do the rather write because it may be, while I am bending my endeavours toward the main of the rebellion, some petty spoils elsewhere may be made, the report whereof I know will come very loud into England. But if you will have patience to expect the issue of all things, according to the difficulty of such a war, I am confident you shall find little omitted and less time lost, that could by any ways be done or employed by us for the good of the service. Thus, Sir, desiring God to send us fair wind for our victuals, because I hope, if we be provided of such means, to make a happy return to Her

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Majesty of her charge, I wish you all happiness.”—The Camp at Donanuray, 1601, June 26. *Endorsed*:—Received 4 July, 1601. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 1½.*

June 26.  
Dublin.

**38.** Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. “This day, being the 26 of this present, by letters from my Lord President I am advertised that the treasure is landed in Munster, and I am exceedingly glad thereof. God bless us, for I am in some good hope we shall do well in this action, so as at the first in any case we answer the exchange in some reasonable sort, according to the contract.

“It is very true my Lord of Ormonde is married, according as I have written.

“I humbly beseech your Honour, let the exchange be settled, that there may be a conceit that all things are plainly meant, of the which there is great doubt.”

Sends a copy of an examination received from the Mayor of Waterford.—Dublin, 1601, June 26. *Endorsed*:—Received at London the first of July. *Holograph. p. 1.*

*Encloses*:—

**38. i.** “The examination of the undernamed persons, taken by me, Edward Gough, Mayor of Waterford, the 23 of June, 1601.

“Nicholas Meighan, of Waterford, sailor, being duly examined and sworn upon the holy evangelists, deposeth and saith that, being at the Groyne above a month past, he was pressed to serve the King in a fly-boat of 200 tons, laden with bread to go to Lisbon, where there was an army of 3,000 men, to be shipped with victuals and munition to come for Ireland (as he was secretly informed by Patrick Synnott, priest, chaplain to the Conde, Governor of that place, and the common report there confirming the same), who were to be in a readiness and to set sail by the ‘fyne’ of June, and that Tyrone’s agent was at Court, who laboured for aid to be sent unto him, affirming that, without speedy help, he was not able any longer to resist the English forces. He also saith that, being pressed, he was brought before the said Conde, who asked this examine whether he was a pilot for the west coast of Ireland; and he answered he was not, and that he knew no part of the coast of Ireland, further than Youghal and Dungarvan; and thereby understanding for what purpose they would have employed him, he stole and got away with the undernamed deponents in a ship of St. Martens for France, and from thence came to Waterford.

“Peter Rosseter and John Furlong, of Waterford, sailors, severally examined and sworn, do agree in matter and substance. Peter (sic) Gough, Mayor of Waterford.” *Copy in Sir George Carey’s handwriting. p. 1.*

June 26.  
Shandon.

**39.** Sir George Carew and the Council of Munster to the Privy Council. “This present day we received some advertisements from the Mayor of Waterford, grounded upon the examinations of



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certain mariners of that city, which lately arrived there out of Spain, the substance whereof the depositions we received under the Mayor's hand (which for your Honours' satisfaction we send you a true copy of) will manifest. And withal we presume to offer to your Lordships' knowledge that James Fitz Thomas hath since his restraint affirmed, and yet continueth that opinion, that some aids of men out of Spain will arrive in these western parts of Ireland, which in discharge of our duties we held very meet with all convenient speed to give your Lordships timely notice of, tendering the same to your most honourable considerations."—Shandon, 1601, June 26. *Signed.* p. 1.

*Encloses:—*

39. i. *Copy of No. 38. i., dated 13[-23] June, 1601.* p. 1.

June 27.  
Dublin.

40. The Council of Ireland to the Privy Council. "Yesterday we received advertisement from the Lord President of Munster of the arriving of the new monies in the harbour of Cork, of the which a portion is to be sent to Galway. And albeit we had before given order to the President, both for distribution of those monies, when they should arrive, and publishing the proclamations authorising the same, yet we have now again sent new directions to him therein, and particularly not to defer the time to issue the monies, now that they are come, to the end there may be an universal currency thereof in all parts of the realm, having likewise given him advice for conveying of the proportion allotted for Galway, under the convoy of 1,000 soldiers, appointed by the Lord Deputy to be sent out of Munster to the Abbey of Boyle in Connaught, where it is supposed they may serve to countenance the plantation of Ballyshannon, besides answering of other services in that province.

"This morning also we received from the Mayor of Waterford the examination of two sailors of that city, lately come from Spain, which we thought not amiss to transmit to your Lordships in sort as they were sent to us, forbearing to make any judgment of the truth or falsehood of the declarations, but do leave them to be measured and discerned according your Lordships' grave wisdoms."

The Lord Deputy has, they hear, lately returned near the Newry, from Armagh, where he has begun to plant a garrison.—Dublin, 1601, June 27. *Signed.* p. 1.

*Encloses:—*

40. i. "*The examinations of the undernamed persons taken by me, Edward Gough, Mayor of Waterford, the 23rd day of June, 1601.*" *This is the original of Nos. 38. i. and 39. i.*  
*Signed.* p. 1.

June 30.  
Camp at  
Carriekbane.

41. Sir Edward Wingfield to Sir Robert Cecil. Complains of the loss of Sir Robert's favour. Knows no cause thereof. He must have been falsely informed of the writer. Declares his innocence. "I have served her sacred Majesty more than twenty years in her wars, and at home justly and with a loyal heart. I have wasted most part of my estate, lost my limbs, and spilt my blood for her

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gracious sake in her service. I have never been basely dishonest to any, nor have committed any gross dishonourable faults against any." Begs to be received into Sir Robert's favour again, and that he would be a mean for him to Her Majesty. Also that his slanderers may be brought to justify themselves, "then should your Honour see them blush for shame," and he would be made happy by Sir Robert's favour. Serves now as a private man without any entertainment. Prays Sir Robert to become his honourable protector.—The camp at Carrickbane, June 30. *Endorsed*:—1601. *Holograph. Seals. p. 1.*

June 30.  
Camp at  
Carrickbane.

42. Sir Edward Wingfield to Sir George Carew. "I did in my last letters make suit unto you to write unto Mr. Secretary in my behalf. I know no cause why I lost his favour. I have made all the means I can to be restored to his good opinion, both by myself and others; but my chiefest hope is in you, whom (*sic*) I do assure myself will deal so effectually for me, as I do not doubt of the obtaining my suit. Sir John Brockett is now going over, my kind friend, by whom I pray you write. Let me not in my old days follow the wars like a scholar, since none of my rank can teach me my lesson. I have written to my Lord Admiral and Sir John Stanhope ('Stand-upp') to the same purpose, and have sent you my letter unsealed to Mr. Secretary, which I pray you read and seal up, and send with yours by Sir John Brockett. My Lord Deputy doth use me exceeding kindly, but doth nothing for me, I think because I am an ill suitor for myself. If it would please your Lordship in some of your letters to remember me as you think fit, I do believe it would stand me in much stead. I have no time to write at large, and therefore pardon me. My Lord hath been a month in the field, hath placed a garrison at Lecale, and another at Armagh, without ever a blow given; Sir Richard Morrison, commander [at] Lecale, and Sir Henry Danvers [at] Armagh. We are now preparing for our northern journey. If I do live to return, I will at large advertise you of our proceedings." Prays to be remembered to Lady Carew.—The camp at Carrickbane, June 30. *Endorsed*:—1601. *Holograph. Seals. p. 1.*

June 30.

43. "Abstract of the check of the garrisons of Lough Foyle in Ireland, for their summer suits, delivered the 6 of May, and for lendings for the space of 3 months 7 days, beginning the 1 of April and ending the last of June, 1601." *pp. 6.*

June 30.  
Dublin.

44. The Council of Ireland to Captain Henry Clare. "Your several letters we have received, and touching those matters between the Mayor and you, we have heard sundry accusations and examinations of your part against him, and of his likewise against you. And for the capital matters, wherewith the Mayor is charged, we have ordered that he shall answer them at the next general Sessions that shall be holden at Galway before the Justices of Assize; and for the matters of misdemeanours, that he shall

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answer them before this Board. And where you mistrust that your reputation is impaired, and that we conceive hardly of you, we assure you, and so wish you to believe, that your reputation is no way impaired here, and that we hold as firm an opinion of you now as ever we did, howsoever you have conceived the contrary. And as we have now upon the dispatch of the Mayor, after many sharp reprehensions for his former intemperate courses, admonished him henceforth to carry himself in more mild courses, both towards yourself and otherwise, so likewise we wish and pray you that there may be good correspondency between you in all matters tending to the furtherance of Her Majesty's service, and the good and quiet of that town.

"We perceive by one of your letters that you have intercepted some wine and other victuals that was going to the rebels. We like well of your service in that behalf, and do pray you to examine who they were that sent those victuals, and for whom they were sent, and thereof to advertise us, keeping the victuals in the meanwhile very safe, and sending unto us a true inventory of them." —Dublin, 1601, June 30. *Certified copy. Seal. p. 1.*

[June.]

45. "Sir Henry Dockwra's demands for planting at Ballyshannon, over and above those things that are sent already."

These have in several cases answers attached to them, and include reinforcements of men (soldiers and artisans), payment for churls, spades, houses ready framed, deal, oak, masts, munition, two or three small boats, a ship to attend the coast, a culverin and a demi-cannon, nails, pitch, tar, fishing nets, scales, hinges, locks, sea-coal, and victual ("most in bread, much in meal, cheese, butter, peas, pork or bacon, but in any wise no fish").

"He desireth that my Lord Deputy may make a journey at the same time to the Blackwater, but until his return not to attempt further than only to make a countenance, thereby to divert the enemy from following, unless great opportunity be offered. Further, he desireth your Lordships to give order to the victuallers to deliver the victuals as they were wont, and not at the Derry only, which is very inconvenient. Also, that some order may be taken for the abuse in the munition, the barrels of powder lacking for the most part 20*li.* a piece, and some of them 30 or 40." ["Letters are written to the Lord Deputy to examine and reform this abuse."] [1601, June.] *Unsigned. pp. 1½.*

[June.]

46. Sir John Bolles' demands for the journey to Ballyshannon, if he is to be employed thereon.

"First that the county of Sligo may be annexed to that Government, without which it will be hard to live at Ballyshannon, and in this time of the vacancy of the government of Connaught, it may be granted without derogating from any.

"To have 100 horse and 2,000 foot as near as may be full supplied, beside two companies which I moved your Honour might be newly erected of 150 a piece, whereof 200 to be pioneers, 50



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watermen, 40 carpenters, and 10 masons. These to have pay as soldiers, and out of the check of them and the pay of those officers which appertain to companies of that strength, the master workmen or overseers, and such other officers as will be necessary, may be paid.

“That those men which are to come from my Lord Deputy may be all English, and both they and all the others to have mantles.

“That it will please your Lordships to write unto Sir Henry Dockwra to go in hand presently with Ballikip, and to spare my troop of horse all he may.

“That I may from time to time send all the unserviceable and extremely weak men away to Galway (if I cannot send them for England), and that some order may be taken for them there, without further charge to the captain than 14 days’ means, which he shall give them at their going aboard. Hereby shall your Honours be more certainly informed of the strength of the troops in able men than otherwise you can be; and, though Her Majesty pay for the time after by concordatum or otherwise, yet is it no increase of her charge, for the Captain is checked for him from that time.

“That forasmuch as in that remote place I can neither by sea nor land send or hear from my Lord Deputy in any short time, and that if companies should stand long void they would break, and the service be prejudiced; so likewise, if they should fall very weak, the casting of some of them might be beneficial for Her Majesty, I would therefore pray that my Lord Deputy might be moved to give me leave to dispose of the companies with me, as the cause shall require.

“That it will please your Lordships to raise all the companies that are to go in this journey to 200 a piece, allowing ten dead pays in every hundred, as they have in all places but Ireland, or else to give me leave so to moderate the checks that the Captain may have 20s. *per diem*, and then I dare undertake Her Majesty shall not be deceived of one man more. Of (*sic*) less means I know they cannot live, and therefore, if neither of these be granted, I cannot but either incur Her Majesty’s displeasure for the falsehood in the musters, or make myself so odious to the Captains, that I shall neither take comfort to live among them, nor have hope to do any service by them.

“That there may be a paymaster and factor for exchange always resident there, and we be put to seek no further for our accounts than there, and that such Captains as shall be absent may take up no money at Dublin to be defalked upon their companies, but upon their own entertainment and dead pays only, and this at Mr. Treasurer’s peril, for the inconveniences of the contrary hath been too apparent this last year at Lough Foyle.

“That the paymaster may disburse upon my warrant any sums not exceeding the checks of that place, to reward spies or other that shall be employed upon service, or upon any other extraordinary just occasion that I shall think fit.

“That the two private pays and the surgeon’s pay out of every 100 may be bestowed upon such only as serve there, and therewith a good surgeon and a good preacher provided, whereof we have had want.

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“That there may be victual sent before winter for full six months, and six weeks’ beer after our arrival, and that the victuallers may not be without scales or weights to deliver victuals by.

“That the victuals appointed for that place may not unload in any place out of that Government.

“That for the first half year, the biscuit bags be not charged upon the Captains, but allowed to the soldier to make straw beds.

“That those Captains and officers, which have built their houses at Lough Foyle, may not be forbidden to take them with them, and that the paymaster may reckon with them till their departure and pay them.

“That your Honours will determine how the clergymen shall be used, what they shall be promised, and how far I shall proceed in seeming to assure them that they shall for ever enjoy freedom in the exercise of their religion, and that this toleration is not only till the country be reduced to obedience, but shall continue so for ever.

“That I may know your Honours’ pleasure how such Irish as will be willing to come in shall be received, and whether any of them shall be entertained into pay or no.

“If Neale Garve’s discontent be so great as that he desire to come with his Irish to live with me rather than where he is, that your Honours will determine what is to be done, because Mr. Treasurer useth to give precise instructions to the paymasters whom to pay and none other.

“That neither he nor any other Irish may protect or give word to any there, without my consent to every particular.

“That a corporal for the field, an engineer, and a provost-marshal, may be allowed with entertainment as at Lough Foyle.

“That two cannoneers may be presently appointed that they may make demand of all things pertaining to the ordnance, and see them put in readiness.

“That there may be one appointed to take charge of the boats, and that may be presently in pay to oversee the making, furnishing, and conveying of them; also an overseer of the pioneers.

“That likewise an overseer of the artificers may be appointed, and sent presently away to Bristol, to see the building of the houses, stables, and such like.

“Now for myself, if it be your Lordships’ pleasure to put me into this new journey to so remote a place, where I cannot live but at a great charge, and whither I cannot go but without a great deal of preparation, I humbly beseech your Honours that I may know of what continuance the place is like to be of unto me, and what entertainment I shall have for it, likewise that your Honour would vouchsafe to be a means unto Her Majesty to forgive me my check in horse and foot for this last six months toward my charges in this preparation.

“Of these demands howsoever it may be your Honours’ pleasure to deny part, yet I humbly beseech you to give me leave to refuse all employment, if I be not furnished with means first to perform that which I am to undertake, then to provide that the soldier starve not, next to content the Captains without suffering them to use the fraud they do, and lastly, to live myself as undivorced from

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my wife, undeprived of my children, from whom (under pardon) I can neither in affection nor in conscience live perpetually severed.” —[1601, June.] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*, “Ordnance out of Captain Fleming’s” [ship]. *Holograph. Unsigned. pp. 3.*

June.

**47.** “Utensils and other necessities provided for Lough Foyle,” viz., 1,500 shovels, 500 spades, 1,000 pickaxes, and two salmon nets; with note that provisions had been sent for 1,000 men for Ballyshannon for three months, for 2,000 at Lough Foyle for five months, and for 2,000 men for Galway for three months. *Endorsed:—1601, June. Unsigned. p. ½.*

[June.]

**48.** “A description of Lough Eaugh or Sydney, pointing out the forts lately erected by Tyrone.”—[1601, June.] *This plan is of interest, as showing how much the contour of Lough Neagh has changed. The name of the author is not given. One parchment sheet.*

[June.]

**49.** “The disposal of the Queen’s forces for the summer service,” in Connaught, Ulster and Leinster. “All this being well performed, and the plantation made at Ballyshannon by Sir Henry Dockwra, who hath under his command 3,000 foot and 100 horse of English in list, besides 500 Irish foot and 100 Irish horse with the help of Neale Garve, Cormack O’Neill, and the now O’Dogherty, Tyrone can in likelihood neither be able to break out of his country with any great force, nor long hold up head there.”—[1601, June.] *Unsigned. pp. 3.*

[June.]

**50.** Duplicate of a portion of the preceding.—[1601, June.] *Unsigned. pp. 1½.*

[June.]

**51.** ——— to Sir Robert Cecil. Desires to set down his opinion as to the course to be held for suppressing the rebellion in Ireland. His long experience of Irish service.

“To pull down the rebellion in Ireland, Her Majesty in my conceit is to begin with Connaught, which having a sufficient force will give a ready entrance to resettle the troubles of that kingdom.

“My reasons are these. First, because Connaught having been heretofore under a civil government, as it did then bridle and restrain the seditious hopes of ill-affected subjects in other provinces, so now, being in a manner left to rebels, it greatly animateth them to continue in action, imagining that Her Majesty is not able to hold it any longer, and that to raise rebellion is the means to shake off the English government.

“Secondly, the situation of Connaught is fitter for service than any other part of that kingdom; inasmuch as lying in the midst of the rebellious countries, it breaketh them asunder, and, being under an English government, would give safe intercourse of traffic from sea to sea, and cut off practice and intelligence betwixt Munster and Ulster, which at this present cannot be done, the rebels having



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all the ways and passages in their hands. And with a competent garrison it would give great assistance to depress any rebel lifting up his head in any other part of Ireland, it touching Munster on the south, O'Donnell's and Maguire's countries on the north, and on the East the borders on this side the Shannon. Whereas neither Munster nor Ulster, being the outmost parts of the kingdom, can minister succour to any, but each of them severally to their next neighbours.

"Thirdly, if Connaught run to Irish Government (as it doth now in effect), it is to be feared that O'Donnell in short time will grow as great as Tyrone. For, being of himself not much inferior in territory and number of people, he will be able by his factions in Connaught also to command the counties of Roscommon, Mayo, Leitrim, and Sligo, which counties are as fast and strong for wood and bog as any part of that kingdom, and well replenished with people.

"Fourthly, admit you expel Tyrone and his complices out of Ulster, yet leaving Connaught possessed by traitors, you leave withal to Tyrone a refuge and retreat of no less strength and fastness than Ulster is, besides the hope, in standing out, to recover at the last Ulster itself by the example of Connaught.

"And where some think it sufficient for the bringing in of Connaught and O'Donnell, that a garrison be conveyed to Ballyshannon by sea, if that opinion be followed you will fall into the same inconvenience which now you do at Lough Foyle, viz., still to be victualling and sending supplies, without effecting other service to the purpose. For O'Donnell on the one side, and the inhabitants of Connaught on the other, will so curb in your garrison, that they shall not be able to look out; where, if Connaught be first subdued, and then Ballyshannon taken, you may with assurance proceed against O'Donnell and Maguire, in breaking whom you overthrow the two principal pillars that uphold Tyrone."—[1601, June.] *Unsigned.* p. 1.

July 1.  
Camp by the  
Newry.

52. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. "As formerly my Lord Deputy did acquaint your Honour and the rest with his determination, so it may now please you to understand that his Lordship hath planted a garrison in Lecale, taken in all the castles, and there hath left Sir Richard Morrison to command both the country and 500 foot. And presently, upon his return from Lecale, he likewise planted a garrison at Armagh of 500 foot and 100 horse, under the command of Sir Henry Davers. His Honour is purposed also, so soon as a proportion of victuals shall arrive from England, answerable for the service, to build a new fort at the Blackwater, both to give him an entrance into Tyrone, and to secure his retreat, if any way thereunto his Honour should be enforced, with a garrison resident there of 500 foot, which will always yield a great countenance to the service at Lough Foyle, and be a means that Tyrone and O'Donnell shall not unite their forces together; whereby Sir Henry Dockwra shall have a fit opportunity for the planting of Ballyshannon, which is of great consequence, and very much importing the good and honour of

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the service, for the banishing of O'Donnell and Tyrone. My Lord Deputy remaineth in camp, not far from the Newry, until the rising out for the general hosting draw unto his Honour. This his encamping and fronting Tyrone doth cause him [*i.e.* Tyrone] to lie in camp, with what force he is able to gather, not knowing which way to dispose of himself and his forces, because both he feared the danger of the garrison of Lough Foyle, and also the attempt which he judgeth my Lord will give over the Blackwater. In this time of my Lord's encamping, many have made their submission, and Magennis, Tyrone's son-in-law, doth make great means to be received into Her Majesty's favour, with the offer of a great and most penitent submission.

"It hath pleased my Lord Deputy to give me the command of the Newry according your Honour's motion." Prays that he may be continued therein by Sir Robert's favour.—The Camp by the Newry, 1601, July 1. *Signed. Seals. pp. 12.*

July 2.  
Derry.

53. Sir Henry Dockwra to the Privy Council. "Having at Captain Hart's departure my provisions in readiness for a journey, though uncertain which way to direct it, but according to the occurrences of time, I drew up the forces to Lifford, and thence addressed my course to Newtown in Tyrone, moved by sundry reasons to attempt that enterprise. First and especially for that I was not ready for the Ballyshannon journey for want of tools and many other necessaries, nor had direction nor authority to proceed therein. The scope and drift of this journey was to have taken the town, to receive in one Art McHugh Mergoh, that promised to bring me a prey, and to declare himself in the Queen's service, and that done, to have marched directly down into O'Cahan's country, and either have fallen upon his prey or his castle of Aynogh. But by reason of sickness which I was taken withal, even at my very setting forth, I found myself unable to endure travail further than to that place only, where our first design was to be executed. So that coming thither with one piece of artillery (through a most vile and troublesome way), I had no sooner planted it but the castle was yielded, wherein I left only the company of Captain Atkinson, with a few Irish for guides, and so returned to get means for recovery of my health. This place is strong, capable of 500 men, and lying fitly to annoy and waste the whole country up to Dungannon, from whence it is little above twenty miles distant. The same day as I dispersed the forces, I sent five companies with Neale Garve, who likewise took in Castle Derg, a place as commodious for infesting Tyrconnell, even to Donegal. For these three places, Newtown, Castle Derg, and Lifford, stand just in a triangle about eight miles distant each from other, one looking directly toward Dungannon, the other to Ballyshannon, and the third to all the lower part of Tyrconnell, where the two McSwynes' countries lie. And to add a little more to the benefit of that journey, the foresaid Art McHugh Mergoh repaired unto me according to promise, but without a prey, for that I came no higher up into the country. This man is of the Sleught Arts, and pretends to be chief of his sept, but in controversy and opposition of others,

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whom Tyrone would prefer before him. The country they are possessed of amongst them reacheth twenty miles in length, and for the most part three or four miles broad, and is a chief uriaight sometime accustomed to depend upon the O'Neills, sometime upon the O'Donnells, as either of their strengths were able to sway him. With this man I have agreed in this manner. I have promised to do my uttermost that Her Majesty may be pleased to maintain him chief of his house, to exempt him from all subjection both of O'Neill and O'Donnell, and to have his dependency only upon the Crown; to give him ten men's victuals for one month only, and to aid him with the Queen's forces at all times, as I may with convenience. And upon these conditions he hath undertaken to hold an island (already in his possession), lying twelve miles from Newtown towards Maguire's country, to Her Majesty's use, to lay waste twelve miles' compass about it, to serve the Queen with sixty foot and ten horse at his own charge, and to subdue the rest of his house by his own strength, being only countenanced by Her Majesty's forces; and for assurance hereof hath taken his oath of obedience, delivered me his brother's son as pledge, and is to bring in his own son with all speed convenient, for he is yet in the said island, to which the passages are not thoroughly cleared.

"After I was thus returned and rested myself one week for recovery of my health, I drew up again to the Lifford, with intent to lie there continually, attending all opportunities of service, as they should be offered. At my coming, two pieces of service were presented, the assault of O'Donnell's camp, that then lay (and still doth) at Ballinakip, twelve miles off, and the fetching of a prey which I had intelligence of, lying between and beyond the two camps of O'Donnell and Cormack McBaron. Neale Garve was the only dealer for falling upon O'Donnell, and I seemed willing to satisfy his desire. But knowing indeed how strong he lay (for he had at least 800 men lodged under a fort in a strong fastness of wood and bog, where our horses could not come to fight), and our army being at that time almost in distress, and beginning to mutiny for want of pay (though I had relieved them with 100 beeves taken up in the country of Ennisowen), I determined with myself to take the other way, laying out spies of mine own for the purpose, which Neale Garve was not acquainted withal. So I drew forth and marched directly toward O'Donnell, even till the closing of evening that I came within five miles of his camp; and then suddenly, having the way fitly serving for both my designs, I turned my course and marched all night aside of between (*sic*) both the camps, entered past them even to the banks of Lough Erne, and swept away the prey, neither one nor other of the rebels appearing in sight nearer than two or three miles off upon the top of a hill. The number of cows I divided at Lifford were but 500 and a few odd; but I assure your Lordships on my faith, there was not less than 1,200 at least brought away, which the Irish so scattered and purloined into the woods, as by all the means I could possibly use, I could not get a better account of them. Yet the truth of their dealings appeared in this, that within four days after the division, the two chief (Neale Garve and Cormack O'Neill) fell out between themselves, and 'appeached' each other, by whose



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mutual informations we got above 100 more, from either of them. This prey in a happy time relieving our army in a plentiful measure, I drew down from Lifford to Aynogh, O'Cahan's castle, where, planting the cannon (not without much difficulty for want of shovels and spades), I beat it all one whole day, without effect of taking it; but, the night drawing on, by the advantage whereof I drew nearer with my artillery, the ward stole out about midnight, some in a boat and some swimming (which they might easily do, the Lough being exceedingly large), and so left me the castle void. The taking whereof hath much abated the pride of O'Cahan, who foolishly thought it invincible, but since is grown to a lower and more 'submisse' carriage of himself, offering some terms of agreement (as I verily think) in better earnest than ever heretofore, though we have not proceeded therein as yet to any effect, by reason he is gone far off, and his messenger not returned, whom I look for every day. Being thus returned to our garrisons, partly by reason of foul weather, and partly to look to O'Donnell, who all this while of my absence abroad threatened to prey Ennisowen, I instantly met with letters from my Lord Deputy, together with the proclamations for issuing the money (being the first I received since Candlemas day), by which I understand of his Lordship's good success in Lecale, and the purpose he hath of disposing this summer service, if he go on in the course intended, drawing an army upon Tyrone, and giving an alarm in Connaught by drawing down those forces, which it seemeth he intends. I assure myself Ballyshannon will be easily planted, and the wars soon finished (the Spaniards not interrupting us), although the army under my charge be much diminished since the first arrival of our supplies, what by runaways, sick, and hurt men, and especially by the weakness of our new horses, which prosper nothing so well as I expected, with their new alteration of food, though the grass be plenty and good as I think any place in the world affordeth. I have caused Mr. Reynolds to take a new muster, that your Lordships may understand our perfect and exact state; but, because he holdeth another course than those that went before him, going from place to place through the whole army, and not mustering all in one day, it will be long before I can have his certificate, and howsoever he may disclose more hereafter, yet for this present time I assure myself he will be more abused than any other that went before him. But this I dare affirm on my credit, whatsoever be found by musters, we have not in all above 1,700 able men by poll, nor are able to draw out 1,000 whensoever I go to the field, and though their defects may be thought to be supplied by the Irish, yet I assure your Honours their perfidiousness, discontentment, and secret affection to their own country, is such as a thousand times I wish they had never been entertained; though now at last I be put in some hope of amendment by a composition newly made with Neale Garve and Cormack, who have promised to deliver in a pledge that shall answer for the fidelities of every several sept that serves them, and that hereafter it shall be death without contradiction to whosoever shall break his rank, or dissipate the prey once taken, till we come home, and divide it by order, as also to whosoever shall have speech or message with the rebels

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upon any pretence whatsoever without my knowledge or the captains of the garrison where they lie, which unrestrainable liberty hath hitherto been the occasion both of continual jealousies and daily disorders.

"I understand your Lordships had long since taken order for a supply of shovels and spades, and once appointed them to have come with Captain Vaughan, but at the earnest suit of one Allen, a minister of the Ordnance, it was referred to him to see them conveyed. I have long expected them with patience, attending their coming in every ship that arrived, but seeing divers ships are come, and yet nothing to be heard of them, I cannot any longer forbear to acquaint your Lordships how much Her Majesty's service is disadvantaged by their want. For had they come in season, Ennisowen had by this time been fully secured (go whither I would), which cannot now be done but with an army at hand to defend it. Our forts in all places had been made up much more tenable than they are, and thereby should have needed less numbers of men to keep them. And O'Cahan's country had assuredly been wasted or brought in by a new garrison, which I would have lodged in the very heart of it, and perhaps upon the very Bann side, and our attempts upon those castles we have taken been much facilitated, and some men's lives saved, that have been slain and hurt only for want of them. And beside, till they come, it is in vain to think of any journey to Ballyshannon-ward.

"I must also acquaint your Lordships that we had only two axle-trees to our cannon, whereof one was clean broken at the siege of Aynogh, and the other cracked and only holding by the bands we have given it for the present, which cannot continue. A supply thereof must be had, or the use of that piece (which is the whole force of a battery) will be utterly taken away.

"For a supply of munition I would not trouble your Lordships, but that I perceive by my Lord Deputy's letters he is as ill or worse stored than we. And therefore seeing it is all to come from England, and a labour saved by making two divisions, I beseech your Honours our part may be directly assigned hither, and especially that some better order be taken for the match, which for the most part hath ever been rotten, and utterly unserviceable, and so was our supply, which we had thereof lately, from my Lord Deputy.

"I must also entreat your Lordships, in behalf of our garrison, that we be not put over to Knockfergus for exchange of our money; the inconveniences whereof may easily be conceived, that at every passage we must be forced to put in there, perhaps to the loss of our journey; and beside that, having occasion to send any man into England about business, must for a twenty shillings' matter, or some such small sum, be forced to fetch so large a compass about. Wherein I doubt not but your Lordships will be pleased to have an honourable and favourable respect, as we on our parts will endeavour the uttermost performance of our duties, to the hazard of our lives."—1601, July 2. *Signed.* pp. 54.

July 3.

54. Conditions to be attached to the acceptance of Mr. Dillon's offer to deliver into Her Majesty's Mint in sterling silver the sum

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of 1,250*l.* to be coined into Irish monies to his use. The latter so coined will amount to the sum of 5,000*l.*—1601, July 3. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

July 5.  
Derry.

55. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. "As I had written my letter to the Lords of the Council, and delivered it to the bearer to be conveyed, I was preparing myself to a journey intended upon O'Donnell's camp by a secret plat I had in hand to be drawn even into his own lodging without discovery, but, as the troops were ready assembled for the purpose, I had certain news of his quitting that place and departure toward Killibeggs, the reason whereof is generally and confidently given out to be to none other end but to meet the Spaniards, who with five ships are already arrived in that harbour. To be assured of the truth hereof, till within two or three days hence I have not any means possible, nor by the Queen's ship, which hath long attended those coasts, am advertised any thing, which makes me conceive them rather to be of some other nation, although again both the observance of the winds, which have fitly served their purpose and the place of their resort, joined to the general bruit of all the Irish, move me not a little to think they cannot be other but some part of the vanguard of their fleet. If it prove to be true, and that they be drawn to assault this river (which I am assured the archrebels will persuade him unto all they can), the want of our shovels and spades will be an irrecoverable damage, and many other helps would be necessary, which now are too late to be spoken of, but especially shipping, which I was not improvident to move the Lords for, at my last despatch by Captain Hart. The sum of all is this, howsoever our defects are of necessities, our endeavours to give a good account of ourselves shall not be faulty, beseeching your Honour both so to conceive of us, and so to provide according to your wisdom and the more particular and certain knowledge your Honour hath of the true state of the business, which I thought good to write, as an addition to my former letter, hearing the bark that carried it was not yet departed the river."—Derry, 1601, July 5. *Holograph.* pp. 1½.

July 6.  
Cork.

56. Sir George Carew to the Privy Council. "Albeit I doubt not but by the way of Dublin you have already been advertised of such intelligences as have of late come from Spain of the preparation intended there for the invasion of this kingdom, yet I may not (without omission of my duty) but in like manner to (*sic*) advertise your Lordships, the third of this month one Patrick Roche of Cork, merchant, [arrived] bringing with him from Bordeaux a letter from Richard Golborne of Dublin, merchant, directed to the Lord Chancellor of this realm, the copy whereof being sent by the said Golborne to Harold Kynnesman, paymaster here, I do send your Lordships herewith, humbly beseeching your Lordships to have consideration of our present relief, if we be invaded. For I have not in this province at this instant more than 1,350 foot and 200 horse in list; the rest (being 1,000 foot and 50 horse) are, by the Lord Deputy's express commandment, sent into Connaught to divert



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the rebels of that province from giving of aid to O'Donnell against Sir Henry Dockwra in his attempt upon Ballyshannon, which (as his Lordship writes unto me) is already made known unto you. The places which the Lord Deputy doth most suspect to be attempted are the cities of Cork and Limerick. In which opinion I do likewise concur, and therefore have drawn (the particular wards in castles excepted, which may not be left unguarded), all the force now remaining into those two towns, meaning (with God's assistance) to make good those places, until I be relieved, either by the Lord Deputy or out of England. In the meantime, I look for no other than a general revolt throughout the province, and the country for the present must run at large, of whose future obedience I had good hope, and thereof do yet make no doubt (except upon the invasion aforesaid), which in all my letters to your Lordships I have ever cautioned.

"By Golborne's letter it appears that Cork is the place they first mean to attempt, the which is very probable, because Limerick is so far within the land, as they have no reason to engage their shipping so high in the river; and Cork by reason of the hills, which within a butt length on either side do overlook it, is in nature exceeding weak, and the people thereof no less affectioned to the Spaniard than the rest of the cities in this kingdom. Notwithstanding, for the better assurance of the place, I purpose (with God's favour), if the province wholly revolt, to put myself into it, and to yield your Lordships a good account of the same; otherwise, I shall be more able to do service abroad by giving relief and helps to a Commander thereof, for which I have made choice of Sir Charles Wilmot, whose valour, discretion, faith, and sufficiency, doth equal (if not exceed) any other Colonel in Munster; and do humbly crave (as the Lord Deputy hath formerly written) that you will be pleased to send into this province, as soon as your Lordships shall hear that the enemy is arrived, the 6,000 foot he wrote for, whereof there will be apparent need, for that in these parts the war is like to be made, and with them, or speedily after them, some supplies of munition and victuals, for in this town the store will be but answerable for the garrison, as now they are, there being of munitions not above three lasts of powder, with lead and match; the five lasts of powder with other munitions, sent by Captain Gawen Harvy, were before this late intelligence gone to Limerick, in the which there was no munition remaining, and where, for the service as well of Connaught as Munster, it is most fitly placed; whereof if in this town we be besieged, we can expect no supply, either by sea or land."—Cork, 1601, July 6. [*Postscript.*] Begs that part of Her Majesty's fleet be sent to the coast, as well to distress the enemy's fleet, as to keep their army on land from relief and supplies. *Endorsed*:—Received at London the 17th by Wilson, the Treasurer's man. *Signed.* pp. 2.

*Encloses*:—

56. i. Richard Golborne to the Lord Chancellor Loftus. "At my coming to Bordeaux the 16th of this present, I met there two Scottish gentlemen then come from the Court of Spain, the one a friar, called Father Browne, who the same night went to Tollosa, the other, one Captain Carpentyne, who hath long

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served the Spaniard, and the next day went for Flanders. Having conference with them, I spake broad Scottish, thinking thereby to have known some news out of Spain, for that they deemed me to have been their countryman. But Mr. William Downey, the host of the house, told them I was an Irishman, and then come from Dublin. And then we grew into greater familiarity, for that they judge all their own countrymen to be heretics, and all the Irish Catholics. Whereupon the Friar replied and said, 'Now you Irishmen, comfort yourselves, for ye shall be relieved and released from all the oppressions and tyrannies that the English do daily persecute you with.' I enquired which way we should be delivered. He answered, a Spaniard, whom the Pope's holiness made Bishop of Dublin, had been in Ireland, and was returned to Spain; and the King had granted to him, and to two other Bishops of Ireland, six thousand soldiers to go with them for the relief of the Irish, and for the better subversion of the English there; which soldiers are in arms at Lisbon, with fifty sail of ships, but to what places they are bound he did not know. But the Friar said, 'You of Dublin, look well to yourselves.' Also, your Lordship shall wete, he said Tyrone's son is gone into a monastery of Grey Friars, and hath taken habit. Wherefore the King is highly displeased, and saith he will have him thence to go into Ireland with the fleet. But the friars say he is vowed to God, and as yet refuse to deliver him.

"Upon these advertisements I repaired to Bloye to certify thereof unto your good Lordship by merchants of Cork there in a readiness to go home. Where I did meet men of Bilbao, come thence nine days before, whereof there was one, Andrew Dolciso, 'pillot maior de Ria,' with whom being partly acquainted, I told him what the friar had said, and asked him what he thought thereof. He answered it was true, and that Bortondona was general by sea, accompanied with Peter Seber, and were in readiness with fifty ships at Lisbon to receive the soldiers, and were from thence to go to Cape Clear, where they were to open their directions. And he said it was thought Bortondona should come to Cork, but whether Seber should go thither, or to some other place, he did not know. They (sic) are four thousand muskets and two thousand pikes, well furnished with munition and victuals, and ready with the first wind to come to sea. I thought it my bounden duty to advertise your good Lordship of these occurrents."—Bloye, 1601, June 21 ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ). Copy certified by Sir George Carew. pp. 2.

July 7:  
Cork.

57. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "Although I have in my letters in the packet sufficiently discoursed unto you the estate of this province, and in what sort I do purpose to dispose of myself and the forces until supplies do come unto me; yet, where I do beseech the Lords that, upon the arrival of the Spaniards, the supplies may be speedily sent, upon better consideration (under reformation of graver censures), I do hold it meet that they may be forthwith sent. The which, albeit it will be troublesome and

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chargeable to Her Majesty and the country, yet, if the coming of Spaniards shall in the Lords' judgments seem probable, I do think in a matter of so great weight, concerning the hazarding of a kingdom, trouble and charges is not to be respected. For, if the enemy do invade us, we are then able with those forces to keep the towns and confront him in the field, and the State will be glad that they are so timely prevented. If they do not come, some of those may supply the weak companies in Leinster and the north, and the rest may be returned. And although victuals cannot be readily sent with them, yet if we have lendings until victuals do come, we will make a shift for the present. The packet is made up and ready to depart, or else I would have written as much unto their Lordships.

"The new coin throughout the province runs current without contradiction, and, if the Spaniards do not trouble us, I doubt not but to hold the towns and country in better obedience than accustomed."—Cork, 1601, July 7. [*Postscript.*] "This day I have taken order to send a small bark to the southward to discover the fleet, when they shall come near the coast." *Endorsed*:—Received the 17th. *Holograph.* p. 1.

July 7.  
Carrickfergus.

58. Captain Thomas Phillips to Sir Robert Cecil. "In my last I wrote your Honour of the cashiering of the companies, at which time it was given out I was one of the number. But to be resolved, I went to my Lord Deputy to know; who most honourably told me, in regard I was recommended by your Honour, my company should stand; and since his Lordship hath done me a great favour to send me to this place, under so worthy a man as Sir Arthur Chichester, whose true affection I find to be great towards your Honour. Your Honour shall understand that yesterday morning he went and besieged Castle Rea, a place of great importance for this country, and [which] stands some eleven miles from this town. He took it with the loss of very few men, and came home the same night, which was against the expectation of the enemy. For at midnight Brian McCarthy [? McArt] had promised to relieve them with all his forces and the help of Tyrone. I assure your Honour, to perform such enterprises as he doth, he is slenderly provided; for to take in this castle he had not any tools but what he commanded to be made himself. He is now upon departure to the Loathe, where he makes provision of boats to pass over into Tyrone. I know he hath written to your Honour the particulars of all things."—Carrickfergus, 1601, July 7. *Holograph.* p. 1.

July 8.  
Carrickfergus.

59. Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council. "I have been backward since my coming from you in giving advertisements for two causes. First, for that being lodged in so private a place, under the command of so noble a general as the Lord Deputy, I thought your Honours expected not any advertisements of my doings, but such as should come from his Lordship, after I had imparted them unto him. The second proceeded from distrust,



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lest your Honours would judge me idle in writing so private proceedings to so great a Council. But having now run through much of the business of this government, I hope to be pardoned in yielding an account of my travels.

“At my return to this place I found all the people more violent traitors than I had formerly known them; such as served with me at my departure were now against me; all the castles and strengths of the country (but the castle of Belfast) in their possessions; the Queen’s forces lessened by exchange of companies, and more weakened by the exchange, so that I was diversly distracted, and had often in thought to sue for more assistance (which I did) and that not afforded me, by reason of the many troubles and employments in other parts of the kingdom. I should have used all means to have withdrawn myself from so dangerous a war both for life and reputation, had not the general and particular favours received both from Her Majesty and your Honours at my being in England commanded me to adventure with the force I had, hoping that whatsoever should follow (endeavouring my best) I should have your Honours’ favourable censure, and assistance from that noble Lord, when he could spare them. So calling ourselves together, then in list 600 foot and 125 horse (of which numbers your Lordships know us to be far short in strength and abilities for service), with the assistance of Sir Fulke Conway and Captain John Jephson, two very gallant and worthy Captains, I endeavoured upon the enemy by often painful and busy journeys; and, albeit they were at that time three times our numbers, diversly dispersed into several parts of the government, we did so vex and trouble them, that most of the natural inhabitants began to be weary of such dangers. This emboldened me to adventure some plantations in the countries, one at Hollywood in the Upper Clandeboy, the other at Massereene in the Lower. That of the Upper (with some farther adventure) brought into subjection itself, the Ardes, Duffren, and most of the woodmen, and to death many of the principal causers of the devastation and troubles thereof, banished Brian McArt (Tyrone’s nephew) into the woods, causing him to quit a great profit which he made upon those countries towards the maintenance of these wars. The other brought in Shane McBrian and Neill McHugh, chief Lords thereof, with the castle of Edenduffcarrick, and gave us means to be doing upon Tyrone with the boats which we likewise regained. Beside this, it made the Scot to bethink himself, who, not liking our lodging so near him, sought for his pardon. Sir James, the eldest brother, died before it was granted, and it is now confirmed to Randall and the rest, who carry themselves not so violently for the Queen’s service as is required of subjects, but rather temporise of both sides, and keep quietly that country of the Route and Glus, part of which doth more properly belong to the McQuillins, who have served honestly among us all these troubles; and, before the lands be confirmed by grant, I hope they shall be thought upon by your Honours. I know your Lordships desire not to be particularly informed of every service and accident. It sufficeth that I advertise the country is much bettered, and would soon be brought to quiet, if Tyrone were well beaten, or could I free it from the incursions

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which are sometime made upon it by Brian McArt, who, keeping himself within the safety of one of the strongest fastnages of the north, and many times assisted with forces from his uncle, kills and spoils such as lie with careless watch, we being far off, and our assistance not coming in season. For prevention of this mischief, I caused the country to bear the charge of 300 men of their own nations for their defence and the Queen's service; in doing whereof I hope to be excused, and I make my humble protestation before your Honours, that I get not one penny by it, nor by anything the government hath afforded unto me, but the Queen's entertainment and the fortune of the wars, which yields small increase to our pays in this country. I write thus, for that it may well be thought I make profit by this taxing the country. If I had respected my particular gain, I could not have brought the country to the state it is now in. My greatest hope is, your Honours will think me an honest man, whose greatest ambition is to do the Queen service.

"At my Lord Deputy's late being in Lecale, it pleased him to strengthen me with 200 foot, commanded by Captain[s] Byllyns (Billings) and Phillips, and to leave order with Sir Richard Morrison (who commands in Lecale) to draw to me, if his Lordship would have us to unite for any especial service, which may well be done within two days. But in his absence that country is soon to be overrun, and nothing to be kept but the castles; yet we intend rather to adventure the loss of their goods than neglect of the service. The Lord Deputy having, as we hear, lately seated a garrison at Armagh, minds put for Tyrone, and I would presently plant at Toom, but wanting all manner of tools (a few old shovels excepted) I have been and yet am driven to defer that business, to the hindrance of much service; for from thence I shall be able very conveniently to make daily roads into that country, and to give some assistance unto me (*sic*), if I should be hardly set unto, when I attempt with my boats; against which, after many harms received by them, he the traitor works many defences, besides the continual attendance of 300 men. I have lately received materials (sent by my Lord Deputy's appointment) for two more, which are now a building, and in them I will adventure to do the Traitor all the annoyance I can, for which purpose I am now resorting to that part, being yesterday returned from taking in of Castle Rewgh, afore which we had many blows and much labour, the possession of which castle will free the country from many dangers they were subject unto whilst it was in the possession of rebels.

"I am now a humble suitor to your Honours for some 150 good foot to supply our companies, we being now pestered with Irish, and some twenty English horse, if it shall please you. I likewise desire we may be no more victualled with fish, and that I may be excused for not sending that provision to the remote garrisons, where our men have no means to seethe them, neither is there any one that comes good thither, which must needs starve the soldier. There are here great plenty, and I may be blamed for not issuing of them, but I have given your Lordships my reasons. I must be driven to victual those garrisons full with victuals this winter, for the country affords nothing but a few beeves, and to those

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remote places none will have access. Besides this, the country of itself is so miserably wasted that great famine must needs follow. The order that is taken by your Honours is most commodious for the soldier lying in good towns or near the sea coasts, but such as lie upon the enemy's borders must trust to their own store; and for bread, this country affords none, nor grain to make it. I know my Lord Deputy and others give your Honours daily notice of the strength of the enemy, his declining, and of their hopes of their speedy overthrowing and beating of him. But the summer's wars work not so great effects as the winter and spring in this country; before which time, if he be well set unto of all sides, I think he will be utterly ruined with all his confederates. He is at this instant straitened up with many garrisons, which in longer nights will continually serve upon him.

"I humbly beseech your Honours to give order that our tools may be of better making, and that they may come unto us directly out of England. It is long passage betwixt this and Dublin, and those we have from them we new make before we work with them, whereby the Queen is doubly charged."—Knockfergus, 1601, July 8. *Endorsed*:—Received 18 July. *Holograph.* pp. 3½.

July 9.  
Carriekfergus.

60. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir Robert Cecil. "Having in my general letters to the Council written the discourse of my proceedings in these parts (a matter in which I am a novice), I write these, to give your Honour notice of such intelligence as I have received since those were sealed, and chiefly to make known that I hold myself more particularly bound unto you than others. For I do confess I have nothing so much to rejoice of as your Honour's favour, nor no hope of any good or advancement but what shall come from the grace you do me.

"Since the finishing of the former to the Council, I received an intelligence from Sir Henry Dockwra written in 'carrecter' [cipher] overland, that five ships (of whence he knows not) are come into Killibeggs. O'Donnell is gone towards them with all his men. These be the words of the 'carrecter.' Your Honour may judge what they are, and I can give you no further intelligence. Some men that I lately sent forth are returned from Tyrone, where they killed some men, brought cows and a prisoner of good birth with them. I am very thankful to my Lord Deputy for sending me the company of Captain Phillips, who hath won me to love him by the noble testimony he hath given since his late coming both of judgment and valour. I humbly beseech you to favour him, that he may be increased in list, and enabled to do the Queen service according to his worth. I have motioned my Lord Deputy therein, and I hope he will hear me. If not, your Honour can do it.

"My Lord Deputy will attempt upon Tyrone within five days, as I hear, and I doubt not but he shall 'fende' an easy entrance. I am drawing towards the place, where I can give him best assistance.

"I have sent you a cast of such hawks as this country affords. One (which is the fairest), for that she is reported to be the best of



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these parts; the other for the strangeness, in that it is averred she is a falcon, albeit her smallness makes me not to believe it. The tarsel of the same eyrie gave some testimony thereto, being no bigger than a hobby. If I knew this country bred any that your Honour took delight in, I should be more careful to provide them." The bearer is a man of Captain Jephson's, sent upon business of his master, and to return to this garrison.—Knockfergus, 1601, July 9. *Holograph.* p. 1.

July 9.  
Abbey of  
Shuer.

61. Sir Theobald Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. Sir John Barkley and himself have been here in camp in the county of Longford for these twenty days, attending the coming of the traitor Tyrrell, who is bound from the north for Leinster, to keep a new stir, as formerly he did. Lord Delvin's and other companies are in other places for the same purpose. Thinking to bring Tyrrell to fight, they went fourteen days ago to O'Reilly's country, and to the borders of McMahon's country, brought thence 1,000 cows and garrans, which victualled the said Tyrrell and his company, and had the killing of six knaves. The villain himself came not at them. The province of Connaught is for the most part possessed by rebels only, for want of a stirring, settled Governor. The service being well followed, the province might be settled in forty days. The Queen has sufficient forces in Ireland to overrun all the rebels and their well-willers; money, victuals, munition, and all other necessities are "plenty." Hears that Sir Robert is going into Scotland. Wishes the contrary, "considering how ill the people are given." If anything happened to Sir Robert "otherwise than well, you may foresee what hurt might follow; and therefore I humbly beseech your Honour, for God's love, be not absent from Her Majesty in such a time as this is, and let some other trusty to Her Highness go thither fully and well instructed." Desires to see Sir Robert, but the Lord Deputy says he cannot spare him. Has no other charge than the meanest Captain in the kingdom, though continually employed.

"I humbly beseech your Honour to write unto his Lordship to license my going to see you, and, God willing, I will be back within twenty days. My business is to see Her sacred Majesty and your Honour." Would have written more, but hopes shortly to obtain the said license. Sends the bearer, his foot-boy, by whom he expects to hear Sir Robert's pleasure.—The camp in the Abbey of Shuer, 1601, July 9. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*:—Sir Theobald Dillon to me. *Signed.* p. 1.

July 10.  
Fercall.

62. Sir Edward Herbert to Sir Robert Cecil. "According my duty, I think it convenient to acquaint your Honour with the estate of this most miserable country. God be thanked the enemy are exceedingly well beaten down, and the traitorly Tyrone of very small force to that he has been. His only hope at this instant is to be relieved by the malicious Spaniards, whom I pray God to confound, and as many more as intend to take such an Arch-traitor's part; who hath by his villanous practices and most

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detestable devices undone and beggared this miserable poor country, and especially as many as are Her Majesty's good subjects. For mine own part, if it shall please your Honour, I have lost all that ever I had, my house razed down to the ground, my brothers and chief followers all slain; and all this done to me for being a faithful poor subject and servitor to Her Highness, which, God willing, I will ever be during my life.

"My Lord Deputy is at this instant in the borders of the north, ready to go into that traitorly Earl's country. Many of his men are daily proffering to come in to his Lordship. My Lord Deputy hath left myself with that command I have betwixt the river of the Inne and Offally, expecting every day when the traitor Tyrrell and the Connors will come from the north, who was beaten down by my Lord Deputy this last Lent out of all Offally down to Tyrone. Offally, God be thanked, are (*sic*) all void of rebels at this instant, but all them (*sic*) rebels are now in the north, ever expecting a time and opportunity to come again to Offally. I assure your Honour my Lord Deputy is a very honourable gentleman, and a nobleman who hath behaved himself as honourably in Her Majesty's service all these wars as any that ever I saw in his Lordship's place; and as good fortune he hath, God be thanked, to do Her Highness service as any that ever I knew. For mine own part, I protest I never got by his Lordship the value of a horse, yet according the honourable good service I see him daily do, I cannot but make bold with your Honour to declare of him my good opinion."

Prays that he may get such entertainment as has been due to him of long time. Deserves it after the losses he has sustained. Knows no man in Ireland who has lost so much. Could as well have saved himself as many others have done, if he would in any way have shewn himself as others. Protests he would rather lose all the world than once be spotted with disloyalty to Her Highness. Prays that when there is a discharge of some of Her Majesty's army, his company may be saved, that he may be of the old-standing garrison. He is one of the eldest Captains Her Majesty has in Ireland; "and if ever a Captain hath gone beyond me in drawing of blood in Her Majesty's service, let me never have my request."—Fercall, 1601, July 19. *Endorsed*:—Received 10 of November. *Holograph*. p. 1.

July 10.  
Newry.

**63.** Sir Francis Stafford to Sir George Carew. "I know the honourable success which my Lord Deputy hath had in this journey into the north, his taking in all the castle in Lecale, and re-establishing that country, his passing over the Blackwater and forcing Tyrone to quit his strange trenches and barricadoes, the humble submission of Arthur Roe Magennis, Tyrone's son-in-law; all these I think my Lord in his letters hath imparted unto your Lordship, therefore I will forbear in the particularities to use any discourse.

"It may please you to understand that by means of a letter sent by Master (*sic*) Secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, unto my Lord Deputy concerning myself, Sir Samuel Bagenall is displaced of his government of the Newry, and my Lord Deputy hath appointed me

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Commander of the Newry and of all the new-erected forts and garrisons between Dundalk and the Blackwater, and hath added unto my entertainment the command of 'Daughteryes' [O'Dogherty's] 50 horse, besides an increase of pay for my government. I am so much bound unto Mr. Secretary that less than the sacrifice of my life in his service cannot make testimony of my thankfulness. But I beseech you, my good Lord, so much favour me, as by your next letter unto Mr. Secretary that you will take notice that I confess that what I am and what I have proceedeth from the favour of his honourable countenance, for the which I must and will ever acknowledge that you were my only and greatest means. I will ever crave the continuance of your good opinion, which your Honour shall ever find [me] most willing to merit and deserve."—Newry, 1601, July 10. *Endorsed by Sir George Carew*:—"From Sir Francis Stafford and Sir Edward Wingfield." *Holograph. Seal. pp. 1½.*

July 11.  
Camp at  
Lattnehure.

64. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council. "At my first coming hither, I granted unto Sir Samuel Bagenall the *custodiam* of a castle and lands called the Narrow Water, which belonged unto Magennis before his entrance into rebellion. Since which time he hath carefully kept the same, no doubt with some charge unto himself, and the rather in hope of a better estate therein, or to enjoy it when it should become more profitable, being a course very usual in this country. If now it should be passed to another, that haply may be a suitor for it there, it cannot but greatly discourage him, and besides make such as serve here the more careless." Begs that Sir Samuel Bagenall may have a further estate in the said castle and lands, or at least be continued in his present estate therein. This he has deserved, "if it were much better than it is."—The Camp at Lattnehure, 1601, July 11. *Endorsed*:—Received the 30th by Mr. May. *Signed. p. 1.*

July  $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
Lisbon.

65. License given by Dom Miguel de Castro, Archbishop of Lisbon, to Francis Tilleson, to say mass in his Archbishopric.—Lisbon, 1601, July 22 [*i.e.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ ]. *Portuguese. Signed. p. 1.*

July 13.  
Cork.

66. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "Your Honour's letter of the last of June I have received, before which time I wrote two despatches unto you of the advertisements I received of the Spaniard's intention to come presently into Ireland, all which ere this I hope you have. Wilson was my last messenger, and since I have had many confirmations to approve the likelihood of their invasion. But, because they be but rumours, I pass them over, and do only send you this enclosed, sent unto me by the Mayor of Waterford, which I leave to be censured by your graver judgment. But, in my opinion, I do believe that within a few days we shall see them.

"By your letters I find that your intelligence reports that 4,000 are said to be ready to come for this kingdom, and according to



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your conceit, I think it most likely that they will come for Munster, but do not see any reason, if they come no more in number, why they may not be withstood here, if the 6,000 supplies which my Lord Deputy writes unto me he hath written for into England do come, and yet the war in Ulster may in like manner be continued, for more than equal numbers to the enemy need not be employed against them. Which I do hold to be sufficient, so as unto the horse now in pay in this province may be increased 100 more than is now in list. But because it may be thought that I am greedy to have the managing of the war in the province where I govern, and that to that end only I do deliver this opinion, I do protest unto your Honour I am free from any such conceit, having nothing before my eyes but the advancement of the Queen's service; foreseeing, if the prosecution in the north be left, and the garrisons there withdrawn, that the Queen's charges already bestowed will be merely lost, and Ireland in as ill or worse estate than ever. And therefore I do not wish that my Lord Deputy should be restrained from leaving the north to come into Munster (if his Lordship think it meet to be personally here), but to be advised so to come as that the garrisons there may be left in sufficient strength to keep Tyrone busied in his own country. Otherwise he will not only draw the force of the north into Munster to assist the Spaniard, but his personal coming will incite all the provincials to rebel; whereas, if he be infested with a war in Ulster, the Munster men will be better stayed, and as I hope will stand as neutrals. But except forces do directly and timely come into Munster, then of necessity the Ulster garrisons must be drawn hither, the inconvenience whereof I have formerly delivered. If there be any meaning to send the supplies aforesaid, I do humbly beseech you to hasten them away. If the Spaniards do come, the cost is well bestowed; if they come not, they may be disbanded and turned over to supply other companies, and thereby free the army from the Irish which now are entertained, or returned into England as Her Majesty shall please to direct.

"I am advertised by a merchant of Galway that the Spanish bishop, called the Archbishop of Dublin, hath of late written to Tyrone that the King his master will presently send him aids, and that his letters were sent by the way of Scotland. This town of Cork, as in my former letters I have written, is one of the weakest places to be defended from an enemy that ever I saw, and without an infinite great charge, and long time in working, no art can make it defensible. Yet I am not idle to do somewhat to make defence, to win time, and doubt not by God's favour to hold it, until either from the Lord Deputy or from England I be relieved. What judgment to make of the provincials before they land, I know not; for until then they will not declare themselves; but how well they are affected to them, and how internally they hate our nation, long experience hath taught me. Wherefore I do mistrust them all, and wish that in my opinion of them I were deceived. James FitzThomas and Florence I will send away, as soon as any ship comes hither that is of countenance, lest they may be snatched up

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in their passage by some petty man-of-war, of which sort many times this coast is frequented. This morning I understand that James Archer, the Jesuit, is landed in the west. If it be true, then the coming of Spanish aid is at hand, for he is their forerunner, to prepare the people to a defection. This intelligence I received from Captain Flower, but, until I hear it better confirmed, I do but relate unto you what I heard, being unassured of the truth.”—Cork, 1601, July 13.

*Beside the address Sir George Carew has written:—“ Since the sealing hereof, I have certain intelligence that the Jesuit Archer is landed, and is gone into the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny, to raise up the spirits of the ill-affected to revolt, and all that were in rebellion do affirm that his coming doth assure the coming of Spanish aids, for without aids from them his purpose was never to return.” Endorsed:—Received the 18th by one Hamon. Holograph. Seals. pp. 3.*

*Encloses:—*

66. i. “ *The examinations of the undernamed persons taken by me, Edward Goeghe, Mayor of Waterford, the 9th day of July, 1601.*”

“ *Matthew Wadding, of Waterford, merchant, being examined, deposeth and saith that he departed from Cadiz in Andalusia the tenth of June last past, and that it was commonly reported there that there was a fleet at Lisbon, some saying that there were 6,000 men, others saying 10,000, and the most general report that there were 15,000 men, putting themselves in a readiness to come for Ireland, but for what part especially he could not learn. He also saith that it was reported there that Tyrone his son (who entered into a friary to take the order of that profession) was directed to be removed from thence, and that a Spanish Bishop (that was of late in Ireland), who called himself by the title or name of the Bishop of Dublin, was sent by the King to draw and persuade him from taking that course; and that James Archer is also of late come to Salamanca; and no farther deposeth. The said Matthew arrived at Wexford in the Margaret of Wexford.*

“ *Peter Strange Fitz Richard, of the said city, merchant, being likewise examined, deposeth and saith that he departed from Croswicke [le Croisie] in Brittany the second day of this month, and being in the Nantes a month before his coming to sea, he had meeting with a merchant of Croswicke, that came from Bilbao thither some two days before, who told this examinee that there were two ships of Dublin stayed in Bilbao by the Crosodore of that place, their ships being brought aground, and their rudders and sails taken from them, and for no other cause that he could learn there, but for want of having Tyrone his pass. He also saith that it was commonly reported at the Nantes and Croswicke, as also affirmed by the merchant of Croswicke that came from Bilbao, that there was a fleet prepared at Lisbon, and bound for the Low Countries or Ireland, and no farther saith.*

“ *Michell Hore, of Waterford, merchant, being likewise examined, saith that he departed from the Rochelle the first*

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*day of this month, where he heard it commonly reported that there was a fleet at Lisbon to come for Ireland, and there were two hundred and fifty mariners imprested alongest the coast of Biscay to serve in the said fleet, and sent away to that service."*  
Signed. p. 1.

July 13.  
Cork.

67. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "This gentleman, Ralph Hamon, having long served Her Majesty in the toils of this province, and by this late rebellion sustained losses to the depressing of his estate, is very desirous to manifest his endeavours towards Her Highness in better measure than hitherto his means hath served." Begs that he may have charge of one of the next companies to be employed in Munster. Recommends Hamon.—Cork, 1601, July 13. Signed. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

July 14.  
Derry.

68. Sir Henry Dockwra to Sir Robert Cecil. "The alarm of Spaniards landed in Killibeggs proving nothing (though a long and constant bruit thereof was hotly maintained), finding myself unable, for want of tools, to make my new plantation of garrisons, which indeed were the speediest and surest course for ending the war, yet that it might appear I neglected not such opportunities as the time could afford, I prepared my carriages and all necessities for a journey upon O'Cahan, in whose country I had a purpose to have lain for eight or ten days together, spoiling and burning whatsoever I might encounter with; for that I saw, though he made some shew of willingness to be received in, yet he proceeded so coldly, as I might well discern he sought but an advantage to win time. When this intended journey was set, my spies laid forth for the purpose, and order given out for the troops to meet, I was advertised by the Clerk of munition (being warned to load his carriages), that he had not match to carry abroad, sufficient for one day's fight. This bearer, Captain Covert, can testify it, for he happened to be present, when the matter came in question, and knows how sudden and unexpected a cross it gave to the business, not by my improvidence for not demanding the question before, but by his direct fault, that, being asked, immediately after the taking in of Aynogh, how the munition held out, answered in general terms, he had yet threescore barrels of powder left, to which I made no question but match and lead had been proportionable. Upon knowledge of this main defect, I was forced to discharge my prisoners, and to attend a supply from England, which I hear is already upon the sea, and wish to see arrived with as much speed as may be. In the mean time I neglect not such other business as may testify the employment of time to the best advantage it can be used. In other business touching the state of the country, I must advertise your Honour that Owen Oge McSwyne Ne Doe (whose pledges the Marshal negligently suffered to escape), after a long dallying and bearing me in hand of sending in news, is now either casually or wilfully preyed by O'Donnell, and thereby pretends (without men in pay from the Queen) that he must of necessity



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follow after his goods. I leave him to his choice, for of any such condition I never had thought to put him in hope, nor of his country find any such commodity, as that I would wish it bought at so dear a rate, especially knowing that a garrison once planted at Ballyshannon will of necessity bring him in again, with many other of his neighbours beside.

"To Art McHugh Mergoh (of whom I made mention in my last letters, to have kept an island to the Queen's use in the heart of Tyrone) is also a mischance befallen. For, going abroad and stirring to have done service, he was betrayed by his own men, his island given up to Cormack McBaron, and himself so hardly beset, as losing most of his company in fight, he was himself enforced to scape by flying. This is the only change hath happened since my last letters, the report whereof, as I know in some measure sounds but unpleasantly, so I hold neither material to be respected for ill news, nor so slight but in discharge of my duty I thought fit to write of.

"From my Lord Deputy I have of late heard nothing, but gather by conjecture he should be near ready for entering the north by Blackwater, and therefore I have drawn all the forces to Lifford and thereabout, to the end, upon a day's warning (or otherwise as I see myself occasion) I may be ready to satisfy either his direction or expectation, though the new return of O'Donnell with the forces of Connaught, from whence I hear he is upon his way coming back, having taken O'Connor Sligo prisoner, and bereft him of all his castles, will much detain me from giving that effectual aid to his Lordship which otherwise I may be able to do.

"How it is resolved in England, touching the Ballyshannon money, I am utterly ignorant, by reason, as I think, of the indisposition of the winds. A ship I have stayed, and fraught (*sic*) with such necessaries as this place was to afford, attending the rest to come from other parts. Your Honour may be pleased to be put in remembrance how the time goeth away, and if that business be not gone in hand with by the end of this month, or within a little of the next, I am of opinion (under correction of a better) that the opportunity thereof is wholly lost for this year. Which if it be, yet I hope (our shovels and spades being once landed) I shall find the means to lay all Tyrconnell waste or subject before winter. To which endeavour of mine I humbly crave but the addition of your honourable favour, as one that relieth thereon."—Derry, 1601, July 14. *Endorsed* :—Received 7 August. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

July 14.  
Callan.

69. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "This bearer, Henry Sherwood, my secretary, is to be a suitor unto you and the Lords of the Council, to be freed of a debt due by Sir John Norreys, his late master, unto one Philip Conran of Dublin, merchant, for which Sherwood's bill lieth, and hath of late been sued for the same, and to discharge himself thereof hath no other mean left him, other than certain warrants belonging to the said Sir John, which amounteth near to the sum demanded by Conran."

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Prays that the warrants may be paid, or some other course taken to free Sherwood of the burden. Begs for his speedy return.—Callan, 1601, July 14. *Signed.* p. 1.

July 14.  
Camp at  
Blackwater.

**70.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy, Sir R. Wingfield, and Sir G. Bourchier, to the Lord Chancellor and the rest of the Council of Ireland. "We have thought fit hereby to let you know that (God be thanked) we have already won our passage over the Blackwater, though the rebels had fortified and entrenched themselves very strongly all along the river, especially upon the fords and places passable, and defended it stoutly for a time. Yesterday morning, when we made our first approach, we found that by daylight we could not well give upon it without apparent loss of many men, and therefore resolved that day to forbear it, applying ourselves to encamp as near it as we could, and to view where best we might attempt it; which done, we gave the soldier rest. Only with a rabbinett and a faulkon, two small pieces brought with us from the Newry, we made divers shot amongst them afar off, for the more terror when they should find they were brought nearer them, and then we did not anything else till night. But when night came, the work was so applied, as the pieces were planted where we thought fittest, and that done, we assaulted them very sharply, and with main force beat them from the place, so as before day we were possessed of all their trenches, and they enforced to save themselves by running away in the dark. By this means we have gained a goodly country, stored with abundance of all sorts of grain, which it behoveth us to spoil; and for that cause must stay here much the longer, for, if they might be suffered to get this corn into their hands, it would be hard for any garrisons to make them weary of the wars, being so well provided for of victuals, and the spoil thereof will no doubt starve the most of them. I pray you, so soon as the beeves come in, send them away to us, and let us not want bread and biscuit, but dispatch it away by sea with all speed possible, together with great store of working tools, especially the 200 pickaxes, which you, Mr. Treasurer, write you have provided. For you may easily perceive our want of them to be exceeding great, having had here but only seven pickaxes for this great work, which would rather have been furnished with 700. We must eftsoons pray you to have a care that the several garrisons and companies be supplied with munition and all things else that they shall want, and give them charge to answer one another, and correspond in the service as they should; and especially pray my Lord of Ormonde to assist my Lord President upon all occasions, for it seemeth he feareth the landing of Spaniards in Munster, and in that case had need of assistance speedily, when he requireth it."—The Camp at Blackwater, 1601, July 14. *Copy.* pp. 1½.

July 15.  
Dublin.

**71.** Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I make bold still to trouble you with such advertisements as come to me, more that your Honour may see how the time runneth with us here, than for any great fruit or importance in most of the advertisements."

1601.

From the Mayor of Waterford, 9 July, 1601.—“From France it is reported by a ship of Waterford, coming from Rochelle twelve days past, that the King having been at Poitiers, Bordeaux, and other places, rather in private manner than according his estate, hath laboured to raise upon his subjects a new taxation of 5 in the hundred. This impost putteth his people into much murmur, insomuch as it is thought the matter will sort to a civil war, for that many towns, and particularly Rochelle, do prepare to stand against it. That the French King hath gathered great forces, but whether for foreign or home employments is not known, only the intelligence saith that the French King sent to make tender of a great sum of money to the Archduke of Austria, to redeem the Earldom of Artois, mortgaged or sold by some former Kings of France, this King alleging that his predecessor Kings could not alien the lands of the Crown. That if the Archduke would not receive the money for redemption of Artois, the King would attempt to recover it by the sword.”

From Wexford, 10 July, 1601.—“Out of Spain it is written that that King hath caused all the plate in Spain to be weighed, out of which he hath drawn by way of taxation an exceeding great mass of money to answer his wars. That the Spanish King doubteth that the great levies of money and men in France are intended to enable the French King to make war with Spain. That the Spanish fleet prepared in Cadiz, and intended for Ireland, as was given out, was suddenly diverted to the Straits, upon advice written to the Adelantado of certain ships discovered from the mount of ‘Jubertaltare’ [Gibraltar] in the sea, and that being done, they were to return to Lisbon, and so for Ireland.” [*Marginal note* :—“This is the fleet whereof Captain Sebiero had charge.”]

From Weston, 11 July, 1601.—“For Ireland, the Lord Deputy is by this time near the Blackwater, and ready to put for it. Tyrone saith he will fight with his Lordship, and for that purpose hath drawn all his forces to one head, to defend that passage. But I am of mind that he will be better advised, and will rather lay to vex the army in the pass between the Blackwater and Dungannon, I mean the pass where the Lord Burgh had his disaster, after he had won the Blackwater. I hope the forces of Lough Foyle will be shortly ready to shew themselves, and to correspond with his Lordship for the action upon Dungannon; and likewise Sir Arthur Chichester with his boats upon the Lough, which will carry him to land men within three or four miles of Dungannon. If these forces do hold a just intelligence one with another, whereby they may answer their due time, your Honour may guess what will be the case of Tyrone, being so roundly set upon on all sides. But for my part I dare give no opinion therein, considering how many of these fair Irish enterprises I have seen to slip and fail, even when they have been ready for the execution. Magennis hath made his submission to his Lordship, and is this day to put in pledges to Sir Francis Stafford.”

From Sir Francis Stafford, from the Camp, 12 July, 1601.—“Tyrone hath married Magennis[s] sister, and Magennis is married to Tyrone’s daughter. By which alliance and inward credit he hath with Tyrone, he might be a fit instrument to draw some draught



1601.

upon Tyrone to his destruction, if he had either grace or wisdom to consider that by such a fact he might redeem all his offences past. Captain Tyrrell is still expected to pass out of the north into Leinster, but I think Tyrone can spare him no forces for that journey, being so invested himself on every side in Ulster. The late submittees in Leinster and the north borders stand fast as yet, and so I think will continue, if these fabulous bruits of the coming of Spaniards do not raise some of them into a new pride of mind."

From Lord Delvin, 13 July, 1601.—"Of these Phelim McFeagh hath lately sent to Tyrrell to speed his coming into Leinster. Phelim's messenger, being met withal, was asked how his master durst revolt again, his pledges lying within for his loyalty, whose answer was, that his master, before his entrance into action, would take as good pledges for them."—Dublin, 1601, July 15. *Endorsed*:—Received at Greenwich the 20th. *Signed. Seal.* pp. 2½.

July 15.  
Camp by  
Ballyadams.

72. Sir Henry Power to Sir Robert Cecil. Has formerly been a petitioner to him for the furtherance of a grant of lands in Leix; of which the Lord Deputy gave him the *custodiam*. "I understand Sir Richard Grymes, at his now being in England, hath obtained Her Majesty's grant for the same, a thing so far from my expectation, and so grievous of me to be borne, that I am enforced to repair to your Honour for redress. For that when I enter into consideration how that I have employed twenty years of my time in Her Majesty's service in divers countries, with no little loss of my blood, and that in the latter part of them I have in all the heat of these wars continued in this country, and now lastly (which chiefly fell out by your Honour's furtherance) being made Governor of Leix, where I have made choice to stay till these wars were finished, abandoning all my business in England, how much soever they concern me, all which may be thought not to proceed for the lucre of the entertainment, being but a noble the day, seeing that I have already been drawn from a far greater means and a greater list, all which I find not to be respected by the State, in that I am not thought worthy to hold the Lord Deputy's grant, but that it is thought fitter for such a talking fellow as he is, on whom it is bestowed. Which disgrace, pardon me, I beseech your Honour, if I think it too heavy for me to bear; for which your Honour will think I have reason, if you will compare us together, he being one of whom the world hath taken little notice, and never had better reputation in the wars than a private Captain, and that but within these few years. For myself, I will not speak much, but that I do not use to vaunt myself of the killing of every churl or idle fellow, as peradventure he doth. But, notwithstanding all this, if it shall stand with your Honour's pleasure so far forth to continue me in your favour, the only hope I have to grace my actions, as to back me in so honest a cause as this, for mine own part I have been at almost 200*l.* charge in building upon those lands, and following the law upon those who formerly possessed those lands, to entitle the Queen therein, building upon the Lord Deputy's promise to me,

1601.

who hath this far forth proceeded therein, that he hath not only given me the *custodiam* of them, but put in a *careat* into the offices and to the Remembrancer, that no grant should be passed of those parcels to any but to me, and that so soon as the full course of the law should be brought to pass, which had been done this term past, if it had [been] held. In which *careat* his Lordship hath granted me a lease of 21 years, my farther assurance of the same to be had by some order from Her Majesty. My remedy in this matter is only, first, humbly to implore your Honour's favour, and then, seeing it hath pleased Her Majesty to give order that no land shall be taken over any servitor's head, which gracious favour to us is now extant in the Council book, which if I be thought worthy to enjoy the benefit of, I hold his suit will take small effect." Craves Sir Robert's furtherance. "Balance my deserts with his, and I shall be found as well deserving. Let me not be made so vile to the world as being a Governor of a country, and having some of the lands which were pertaining to the rebels granted unto me in the government, as to have them (after so great a charge bestowed on them) taken from me and bestowed on another." Begs Sir Robert to procure Her Majesty's confirmation of the Lord Deputy's grant in "those parcels of land, which formerly appertained to Edmund McMulmorey, Terence McDonnell, and Cahir O'Kelly, of all which I have the *custodiam*, neither do they amount to 17*l.* per annum, and that I may have them in that nature passed that the rest of the lands in the country are passed to the gentlemen." If the land is so far passed as not to be recalled, begs Sir Robert to dispose of him elsewhere. "If I had not more regarded the service than my own private [estate], I would have come over to have been a petitioner to your Honour for the government of Connaught, which, as I understand, is not yet granted to any." His dependence on Sir Robert's favour.—The Camp by Ballyadams, 1601, July 15. *Signed*. *Seal*. pp. 2.

July 15.  
Waterford.

73. Edward Goeghe, Mayor of Waterford, to Sir Robert Cecil. Desire his favour, as they had that of Lord Burghley, in all the just causes of their Corporation. "For some shew of gratuity, and yearly remembrance of our good wills, I have thought fit, in the behalf of this Corporation, to present your Honour with a pair of bed-coverings, and two small rundells of *aqua vite* of our town's making, which you shall receive at the hands of the bearer hereof, our late and now agent, Nicholas Wyse."

Has lately advertised Sir George Carew of certain intelligences brought from Spain by some of the townsmen of Waterford, for which his Lordship returned great thanks, and desired him to send a copy of those advertisements to Sir Robert. Encloses the same herewith.—Waterford, 1601, July 15. *Signed*. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Enclose :—

73. i. *Examinations of Matthew Wadding, Peter Strange Fitz-Richard, and Michell Hore, on 9 July, 1601. (Duplicate of No. 66. i. above.) Certified by the Mayor of Waterford. p. 1.*

73. ii. "The examination of James Walsh, of Waterford, merchant, taken by me, Edward Goeghe, Mayor of the city of

1601.

*Waterford aforesaid, the 14th day of July, 1601.*" (Almost a duplicate of the early portion of No. 71. The sum offered to the Archduke was 300,000 crowns.) *Certified by the Mayor of Waterford. p. 1.*

July 16.  
Newry.

**74.** Sir Francis Stafford to Sir George Carey. "The haste of the messenger is such that I will not long trouble you. My Lord Deputy is passed over the Blackwater, and hath forced Tyrone's great Captains to quit their barricadoes and trenches, and there fortifieth. Captain Harris hath in this attempt received a deadly wound; Sir Edward Wingfield a small hurt; Captain Williams his Lieutenant [it] is thought will not live; small hurt otherwise. Magennis hath made his humble submission, and I have received two pledges from him, such as I would nominate, and I hope he shall answer a fine, which hitherto hath not been used. Sir Arthur Chichester is drawn unto Castletown with all his forces, ready to invade Tyrone.

"To conclude, I pray send for your hawks, either appoint me to deliver them unto some one, for I have not a man of experience to keep them; and I pray send ruffier-hoods for them, for it is time that they were handled."—Newry, 1601, July 16. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

July 16.  
Camp by  
Blackwater.

**75.** Sir Henry Davers to Sir Robert Cecil. The accusations made against him. To repeat all circumstances is more than troublesome, and to premit many things that may be said will make him appear less innocent. Never in word, thought, or deed, was he guilty of ingratitude or treachery towards Sir Robert. Thanks him for the favourable words addressed to Sir Oliver St. John concerning himself. Promises service to his uttermost endeavours.—The Camp by Blackwater, 1601, July 16. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

July [16.]

**76.** "A note of such as were slain and hurt in winning our passage over the Blackwater, and the day before at the sitting down of the army." Total: slain, 4; hurt, 15; "almost all Irish." *Endorsed:—1601, July. Unsigned. p. 1.*

July 17.  
The Black-  
water.

**77.** The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I must confess that I am not so partial against myself (*sic*), (knowing the sincerity of my own heart, and not forgetting my own labours and dangers, because I continually suffer them only for the Queen's service), but that I expected much more comfort than I received by Sir Oliver St. John's return; to find by him that I remain highly in Her Majesty's displeasure; that she thinks I am carried away with the opinion of the glory of having the command of a great army; that I have even favoured the archtraitor Tyrone himself, and many things else which it grieves me to remember, and I think more vain to seek to answer with words, since my deeds have taken no better effect to give Her Majesty satisfaction. If anger and unkindness were not some



1601.

physic to my melancholy, by God, Sir, I think it would break my heart; for it is one of the greatest curses to be mistaken and misconstrued in all things, and one of the most insupportable pains of hell to labour in vain.

"Our scouts and the rebels do now talk together most part of the day, and one of the rebels asked one of ours whether I were not mad to prosecute them so bitterly, since all that were apprehended about the Earl of Essex his rebellion were examined about me, and had confessed that I was as far in as any of the rest, and that I was but spared till I had made an end of these wars. This is the news from my enemies, and little better I receive from my friends, venture my life every day, endure continual labours contrary to my nature, [and] waste that little living I have, being the poor remnant of my ruinous house. For all this, which is only for her sake, I will only desire this favour, that whosoever hath been examined about me, may be charged upon their souls upon this point, to deliver their knowledge truly, whether ever I made friendship or profession to them, or to any living or dead, but with this continual limitation and adjunct, that I would be the first man that should imbrue my hands in his blood whosoever, that should at any time attempt anything against the present estate or person of the Queen. And thus much I owe unto her, and so much will I faithfully pay. But, if men will grow to that height of impiety as to wrest and reveal the secret though innocent meditations of an inward friendship, who shall be absolved, that shall not find more grace in his judge than honesty in his accusers. I have so many grievous thoughts that follow one another, that they stop the way of their passage, and better are they kept back, for I fear they would break out with too much passion. But I appeal to that Judge and will trust to that Friend who will never forsake me, which is the God both of kings and us poor men, whom I desire to prosper me as I have prayed for the Queen's prosperity and sincerely served her.

"What concerneth the present service you have in our letters to my Lords. For my particular, Sir, if my fortune were not miserable, I would make you greater professions of my love, for the promises of us unfortunate men are but beggings, but as in all things so shall you find me honest unto you."—At the Blackwater, July 17. *Endorsed*:—1601. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 1½.*

July 17.  
The Black-  
water.

**78.** Sir Oliver St. John to Sir Robert Cecil. "At my coming to my Lord Deputy, when I had delivered unto him such letters and other particularities as concerned Her Majesty's public service in these parts, and was retired with him in private, he enquired of me with the greatest devotion that possibly could be of Her Majesty, rejoicing exceedingly that I brought him the most welcome news of Her Majesty's health and welfare, but wondered and grieved very much that I, that a few months before had presented him with letters written with her royal hands, full of gracious favours, should now return empty of so great a comfort. I related unto him, as near as I could remember, what Her Majesty commanded me, what a noble and gracious interpretation

1601.

Her Majesty always made of his endeavours and successes in this kingdom; but that she blamed him that, having received letters written by so royal hands, he had been so careless to return answer or thanks, till I returned again. Which he heard with so much passion and grief as, by God, I protest I wish rather never to have returned, than to be the bringer of so much discomfort unto him. For though he persuaded himself, and called me to witness, that he might reasonably excuse his deferring to write at that time, yet I perceived in him an apprehension of some greater displeasure, which did more nearly and inly afflict him. I endeavoured to assure him the best I could, with putting him in mind of as many arguments as I could to persuade the contrary; but nothing can comfort him, or appease the greatness of his grief, which I constantly believe to be such as, were it not that his public alacrity must uphold the spirit and courage of this army, he would rather confine himself to a chamber, than be seen of any. The which I thought good, out of my affection to Her Majesty's service, and the assured persuasion I have of his incomparable devotion to her royal person, to make known unto you. For, by God, it grieves me to the heart to see so noble a personage so deeply afflicted; to the end your Honour may know what a meritorious deed you may do, to give him comfort and better assurance concerning those doubts and apprehensions I find him possessed withal, which I humbly leave to your Honour's best and wisest consideration."—Blackwater, 1601, July 17. *Holograph.* p. 1.

July 17.  
Newry.

79. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil. "Sithence the plantation of the garrison at Armagh, my Lord Deputy did remain and keep the field fourteen days. The general hosting being gathered unto Dundalk, my Lord repaired thither, and there remained five days, dispersing those forces for the safety of the borders, under the command of the noblemen and gentlemen of those parts.

"This being done, and some proportion of victuals and utensils for the army being arrived at Carlingford, my Lord Deputy forthwith made his retreat unto the Newry, and with all expedition provided to march towards the Blackwater. The 11th of July he dislodged with the army, and marched that night unto Mount Norris, the 12th unto Blackwater, where he found all the passages fortified with trenches and barricadoes, wherein Tyrone had placed many of his foot. The next morning, being the 13th, my Lord caused some companies to be drawn forth, whereof were Commanders, Sir Henry Davers, Sir Henry Folliott, and Captain Williams, with commandment to attempt the place, which they very well performed, and forced the enemy to quit his fights, and to betake themselves to their running, which is their best castle of defence. My Lord Deputy fortifieth there, hard by the old work, and intendeth to leave Commander of that place and fort, Captain Thomas Williams. The certain number which shall be left with him, as yet is not known.

"The 16th of July, there was a great fight between our forces and the enemy, which continued the space of three hours, very hotly maintained by the enemy, and the soldiers fought very well. The

1601.

note both of the hurt and such as were slain, as it was sent unto me by my Lord Deputy, I hereinclosed present your Honour withal, with this certainty further, that, of the 24 which were killed of our side, there was not one Englishman lost, one Doctor Latwaye, my Lord his preacher, dangerously shot in the neck, being the very next man unto my Lord Deputy. The 17th, my Lord fighteth again with the enemy. What the sequel shall be, I will with all expedition advertise your Honour. For myself I am appointed to remain at the Newry, to see my Lord and the army furnished with victuals, and for the good of the place.

"O'Donnell lieth at Sligo, and hath taken Connor Sligo prisoner. O'Donnell much feareth the invasion of an army by Sligo, and so unto Ballyshannon.

"Until this work at the Blackwater is finished, my Lord cannot settle his determination. If in good reason there be not contradictions, his Honour intendeth to invade Tyrone, and yet I can assure your Honour that his passage will be very difficult, for the woods are long, and the way made by them very unready both for man and carriage.

"Magennis hath made his humble submission, and hath received Her Majesty's gracious protection, and hath put in for his assurance two gentlemen, the best pledges which could be nominated and taken upon him for his obedience.

"I can assure your Honour, my Lord Deputy taketh wonderful care and great toil, with hazard to himself, to end these wars, and to subvert this Archtraitor Tyrone, and (God be thanked) his actions do take a prosperous success, I hope to Her Majesty's content and good satisfaction to that honourable table."—Newry, 1601, July 17. *Endorsed*:—Received the 24 of July at London. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

*Encloses:—*

79.i. "*A note of such as were slain and hurt in a skirmish at Benburb beyond Blackwater, the 16th of July, 1601.*"  
*Unsigned. pp. 1½.*

July 17.  
Dublin.

80. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This is but to give you knowledge that the Lord Deputy hath won the Blackwater with so small loss as is not worth the writing. For there is but one Lieutenant slain, and two or three soldiers hurt. The rebels, at the first approach of the army, gave some volleys of shot out of their spykeholes, but when they saw the companies resolute to enter the water, they quit their trenches and ran to the woods. The Lord Deputy is now levelling out some kind of fortification, near to the place where the Lord Burgh cast trenches, when he won that passage; and I think his Lordship will destroy the corn there (of which there is great plenty), or else reserve it for the use of the garrison which shall be laid at the Blackwater. By that time his Lordship hath made that place guardable, I hope he shall hear that the garrisons of Lough Foyle and Sir Arthur Chichester will march, between whom, if the correspondence be well given and answered, I look for some good blow of service to be performed, at least to evict Dunganannon from Tyrone (*sic*), if he be not driven into the sea.



1601.

“The Lord President of Munster hath sent 1,000 foot into Connaught, who, arriving at Galway the 11th of this month, are now upon their march towards the Abbey of Boyle, under the conduction of the new Earl of Clanrickarde. This will keep O'Rourke at bay, and curb O'Donnell, whilst the army in Ulster shall have better commodity to range the archrebel Tyrone. It may please your Honour to bear with this short letter, till larger matters may break out upon this good beginning.”—Dublin, 1601, July 17. [*Postscript.*] “Before I had ended this letter, I received one from the Lord Deputy touching this matter of the Blackwater, which I sent presently to Mr. Treasurer, from whom I think your Honour shall have the copy of it sent by this passage.” *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

July 17.  
Off the  
Blackrock.

81. Captain Charles Plessington to Sir Robert Cecil. “Sithence my coming into these parts, I have had no means to advertise any thing till now; and, although I find these parts very barren of any news or matters of moment, yet I do in all humbleness acknowledge it my duty to give you account both where and how I spend my time in your Honour's services.

“First, your Honour shall understand, by Sir Henry Dockwra his directions I came hither, where I have spent two months in plying off and on at sea upon the west coasts of Ulster and Connaught, doing my best endeavour to intercept and take any ship, bark, or other vessels from Spain or other parts, which shall bring relief or give aid unto the rebels. As I am informed by divers persons dwelling in the country about Killibeggs and Donegal, that yet the coming of a great force from Spain is daily expected, notwithstanding Midsummer Day last, which was the day (as they say) appointe[d] for their coming, is now expired almost a month, since which exceeding fair winds, and yet not in sight, nor heard of near at hand, I am most assured.

“Right Honourable, amongst all the most fair and goodly rivers and havens of this coast, I have found out the place where the Spaniards, at their first arrival, do harbour themselves, to learn news and take in pilots. This river is upon the westernmost part of Connaught, between Cape Akell [*? Achill*] and Cape Killala, whereof lies certain rocks called Stags, from which this river runs into the country of O'Burkes, due south and north. I know no name for it yet. But hither came two ships from Spain, with treasure and munition at Christmas last. Here they stayed a fortnight, and from hence they went to Teelin and Killibeggs, and there remained one month in discharging of their lading. Your Honour shall not find this river set out in any chart or map. But I purpose (if please God) ere long to present one unto your Honour, which shall not only shew this river, but all that is contained within the whole circuit of Ireland, in better form, I hope, than any that have been formerly set out.

“All the sails I have seen since I came upon the coast was a galley I met withal betwixt Teelin and Killibeggs, where I made her run on shore amongst the rocks, notwithstanding she rowed with thirty oars, and had on board, ready to defend her, 100 good shot, which entertained skirmish with my boat at most an hour, and had put her to the worst. But coming up with my ship to her

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rescue, I quickly with my great shot made an end of the fray. This galley came out of Connaught, and belongs to Graney O'Malley, whereof a base son of hers is Captain; and, as I have learned since, this, with one other galley, was set out and manned with a people called the Flaherties, who was purposed to do some spoils upon the countries and islands of McSwyne Fanat and McSwyne Ne Doe, about Lough Swilly and Sheep Haven. But the lying off and on with Her Majesty's ship here, betwixt the Blackrock and Stags, is bruited all along the coast, which is such a terror, as I fear I shall see no more sails, while I stay here; which cannot be long before I retire to Lough Foyle to supply my victuals, or else to Galway, as the wind favours, when the time comes that I am forced to bear up the helm.

"It may please your Honour, here is one of the largest bays that ever I did see, having so many good harbours. It is in breadth at the entrance, between the headlands of Cape Teelin and the Stags of Killala, fourteen leagues, south west and north east; and in depth, from Killala to Donegal, eighteen or twenty leagues, east and west. In ranging along with my ship and boat, I have viewed and taken perfect notes of all the rivers and havens hereabouts, which I find to be very good and safe harbours for any ship to arrive in; but at this time very barren thereof, save a few small boats, which I have destroyed, so many as I could come by. This country is very fertile, and full of corn and cattle, especially about Killibeggs, Donegal, and Ballyshannon. O'Donnell was lately on this side in Connaught, and hath taken 'Conyers' [O'Connor] Sligo prisoner, and put a strong garrison into the castle, and left his mother overseer thereof. Himself is returned to Donegal, and there lies ready with all the force he can make to go against Her Majesty's forces which (*sic*) I pray God to prosper their journey, and send them safe hither, and then no doubt the neck of this dangerous and most rebellious war will soon be broken. So long as I am able to stay here, if any ships come from Spain or other parts with relief unto these rebels, I am sure to discover them and discomfit them. If I think myself able to make my own part good, I will do my best endeavour to bring them off with me."—"From on board Her Majesty's ship *Tremontana*, lying at sea off the Blackrock," 1601, July 17. [*Postscript.*] Will not fail to advertise Sir Robert of anything of moment. The messenger causes him to make haste. "I doubt the coming of this to your Honour's hands, because the way is dangerous betwixt this and Lough Foyle." *Holograph. Seal. pp. 3.*

July 17. 82. Anthony Reynolds to Sir Robert Cecil. His repair to Lough Foyle. Assistance received from Captain Covert in his duties. Mustered the forces at Derry and at all the other garrisons. Encloses note of their present state and strength. The pains he has taken. The whole list is 3,000, and, within the last four months, they have had 2,000 supplies. Will himself visit every garrison monthly. "First, I purpose that every particular Commissary shall take a muster all in one day and one hour; which when they have done, I will in some few days after, go and examine

1601.

their doings myself, so as I hope one way or other to meet with the Captains' abuses. And this course will cause an emulation in the Commissaries and me to exceed one another, so as the Queen shall be the better served."—Lough Foyle, 1601, July 17. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

*Encloses :—*

82. i. "*The present state and strength of Her Majesty's army at Lough Foyle, according to a muster taken in the several garrisons, where they are dispersed, between the last of June and the fourth of July, 1601.*" *The Commissary at Derry, Aynogh, Ramollan, Culmore, and Colmackatreyne, is Jonathan Field; at Dunalong and Cargan, George Gascoigne; at Lifford and Newtown, Richard Marsden. Total of "able men for present service," 2,302 foot and 100 horse; and Irish companies, 150 horse, 500 foot.—1601, July 17. Signed by Anthony Reynolds. pp. 6.*

July 19.  
Camp at  
Blackwater.

83. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy, Sir Richard Wingfield, and Sir George Bouchier, to the Privy Council. "Having, since our last letters to your Lordships from the Moyerie, planted a garrison in Lecale and another at Armagh, and being able to undertake no further at that time, both for want of victuals, tools and carriages, I, the Deputy, remained in the field, thereby to cause the traitor to keep his forces the longer together, the sooner by it to weaken him, and desired the Marshal and Sir George Bouchier to repair to Dublin, the one to haste away the general hosting beeves and carriages, the other tools and munition. While I encamped some three mile[s] from the Newry, Sir Henry Davers drew from Armagh into the fastness where Brian McArt encamped, had the killing of divers of his men, took many of his horses, the spoil of much baggage, and at that time took a prey of above 300 cows from Magennis, and since (before my return to Armagh) took some chief horses from Tyrone's camp, entered into the MacCanns' country, of (*sic*) the greatest fastness of any in Ireland, and brought from thence a great prey. But being himself over-wearied with the travel of that night, and putting a strong guard of horse upon the cows while they grazed, by the negligence of the corporal and guard, that wearied with overtravel had withdrawn themselves to sleep, he lost the greatest part of the prey he had taken by Tyrone himself, who the same morning drew thither with his whole force. The country answering their rising out for the general hosting exceeding slowly and backwardly, and the Council certifying me from Dublin that neither the victuals, the most part of the munition, nor any pick-axes, were as then arrived, and besides that the carriages and beeves appointed to be brought in were in the greatest part like to fail us, I thought fit to fall back unto Dundalk with three companies only for a few days, thrusting the rest of the army to those garrisons that fronted nearest unto the rebels' countries. My coming thither proved to good purpose, for, upon the return of me, the Marshal, and Sir George Bouchier, we dispatched divers things to the contentment of the country, and disposed of the rising out to the defence of themselves, seeming to



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be led thereto at their most earnest suit, for which many of the Lords and chief gentlemen were come unto us ; but indeed finding that course to be the fittest, for we saw their furniture and provisions to be such, whether by their poverty or backwardness might be some question, as they could do us little good abroad, and at home they have undertaken their own defence, which if they fail of, the fault must be their own. In the mean time they hold themselves well dealt withal, and promise to strain themselves the further to furnish us with carriages and beeves, though hitherto we find small effects thereof. For our carriages fall short above half the number, and, had we not by another course gotten beeves (for new money, since the time it was proclaimed, which now passeth as current as the old did) from some of the submittees lately pardoned, the army could not thus long have subsisted; the country disappointing us in the greatest part of that number of beeves, which they had direction to send unto us, and no part of the last contract for victuals (which we find your Lordships have been careful of) being yet arrived (except some small store, which even now we hear is come to Carlingford), unless some at Galway very lately, which we here can make no use of, though for the forces there it cometh very luckily ; and the old store being all spent, save only bread and ill dry fish, which the soldier is exceeding weary of, and may not any longer be tied to take, for above one day's victual in a week, it so dries up and distempereth those that eat it now in summer by the unsavoury saltness, long keeping, and ill condition, as we began to be afraid of an infection, and therefore are exceeding glad to see that by the new contract your Lordships have appointed only one day's fish a week for every soldier, which comforts and contents them very highly, and will be no small furtherance to the service here.

"The fifth of this present, Sir Oliver St. John delivered your Lordships' letters unto me, the Deputy, which bear date the seventh of the last month, and, according to Her Majesty's pleasure thereby signified, I have imparted to the Commanders her most gracious acceptance of their endeavours, and the contentment she now taketh, that her army hath so well manifested their zeal and duty to her service, and recovered their ancient reputation. The like I mean to do publicly upon the first fit occasion, knowing that it will both comfort and encourage them very much ; and I will not fail as becometh me to observe what further by those letters I am directed. We have of late written often to Sir Henry Dockwra, to let him know that upon this side we would lie close upon Tyrone, and keep him busied ; and we have accordingly performed what we promised both for the time and all things else we undertook. We were desirous to learn certainly from him, how he was fitted to plant at Ballyshannon, and when he intended to set forward to that work ; but finding by the last letter that came from him, bearing date the 30th of the last month, that he wanted tools and divers other necessaries, and till they came could determine nothing certainly, we have once more signified our being here, and left it to his choice, whether he will bend his forces that way, or essay to come this way, where we may meet to spoil the country of Tyrone ; by which means we hope we shall be able to beat that arch-rebel out

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of his country, and then afterwards plant Ballyshannon with much less difficulty, and, for aught we see, to as good purpose, though perhaps we defer it almost till Michaelmas. This later course we conceive he will resolve on, and therefore hope shortly to hear from him, that he is drawn as near us as he can possibly, upon the other side of Tyrone, who now lies with all the force he can make, to keep us from passing to Dungannon, as it may be we shall be able within a short time, if we could once be assured of Sir Henry Dockwra's resolution to draw near to us; that letters might pass to and fro between us, and we understand one another as we should do, although the way be of exceeding great difficulty, and of more hazard than we conceive the consequence to be worth; wherefore we mean in that point to be well advised. But if he hold on his course for Ballyshannon, finding himself furnished for that purpose, our being here cannot choose but give him great facility to plant, since Tyrone's whole force lies hereabout, and must not stir from waiting upon us, lest we enter his country this way, which he most feareth, being the only fast place where he can hope to stop us. We were very ill-fitted to come hither, wanting carriages, victuals, and tools to work withal, but when our best endeavours could work us no more help, and the appointed time now approached, we set out from Dundalk the 9th, stayed one day near the Newry, and the 13th, in the morning, by nine o'clock, with the army attained to this place, where we sat down close by the Blackwater, after we had thoroughly viewed all the works, which the rebels had made along the river, in every place where there was any ford to pass at. We assure your Lordships they had fortified very strongly and artificially, and, for aught we could discover, were resolute to hold it out like soldiers; insomuch as we did not think it fit to attempt anything until the night came, for, if we should, we must have had great loss and disadvantage; and at night we were driven to make our approach in trenches, as to a piece of great importance. But when we had once planted our artillery hard by them, which was but a falcon and a rabbinett, and after they had played a little while, and made them weary of their trenches, Captain Williams with some companies was appointed to give upon them, who resolutely offering to enter, they quit the place and ran away, so as we were possessed thereof by the break of day, the 13th, without any great loss, not above twenty being hurt, and not above two or three killed. On their side they could not but have some loss, especially in their falling off, but what their loss is, we cannot yet learn [with] any certainty. To the performance of this work, and the building of a fort here, which now we are busy about, and conceive to be of extraordinary importance, we had not above seven or eight pickaxes, being the chief instruments we were to use; by which your Lordships may see how well we were furnished. Yet rather than we would lose time, which is precious, and disappoint Sir Henry Docwra in what we promised, for that might have bred a greater inconvenience to him, we resolved to do all we could otherwise, and it hath pleased God thus to bless our endeavours. It is true that when we found our pickaxes did not come, which we had long looked to receive out of England, we prayed Mr. Treasurer to cause some few to be made

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at Dublin, which since are ready and come unto us. But at that time the passage was taken, we had no more than before we spoke of.

“On Thursday, the 16th, whilst some were busily working at the fort, we sent out a regiment in the highway towards Dungannon, to discover what way we shall find it to be, and whether the rebels did possess it. When they came somewhat beyond Benburb, being a greater fastness, the rebels fell into a very hot skirmish with them, which was well maintained on both sides by the space of two hours and above, Tyrone with all his horse and foot coming in, which were laid thereabout for such a purpose, and on our side other regiments being drawn from our camp for seconds, as providing for that which might and did happen. In this fight were many hurt and killed on both sides, though we verily think (and might perceive by our eyes, for our men cut off almost as many of their heads, as we had in all killed) many more of their side than of ours. For ours did many times make very good retreats, our purpose not being to go further, and then would they come on so hotly, as if they had gotten the day upon us, even upon good hard ground without their woods, though their woods were always round about them; and then would ours turn and charge them to their woods again, which makes us assure ourselves we have killed many of them. The number of the hurt and slain on our side will appear unto your Lordships by the enclosed note, which we have caused truly to be collected, as we will answer it upon our credits. And yet, if we had lost many more, being Irish, as in a manner all these were, for there was but one Englishman killed, being mine own chaplain, that would needs strive to be the next man unto me, we think we have done Her Majesty almost as good service, as by killing so many of the rebels; for so these were, or would have been, upon any slight occasion. And therefore we hold it a very good piece of policy, to make them cut one another's throats, without which this kingdom will be never in quiet.

“Sir Oliver St. John signified from your Lordships that Her Majesty was pleased to give allowance to the Captains for broken arms, upon bringing in the old, or good testimony of the truth of their demand. [*Sir Robert Cecil has written “Arms” in the margin.*] We humbly pray your Lordships to be pleased to give warrant to that effect, for we are of opinion it will further the service greatly, where otherwise it will fall out, as now it doth, that when any soldier breaks his piece, he shall be turned to a pike, and so our shot prove very few, and our pikes many more than we have use of; and the Captain allegeth for his excuse that, when they break their pieces, he is not otherwise able to arm them. It may further please your Lordships to understand that this service hath been done since the last dispatch. Sir Henry Dockwra hath taken Newtown, not past sixteen miles from Dungannon, and burned and spoiled the country thereabout, hath taken Aynogh Castle in O'Cahan's country, which did abide 100 shot of the cannon, and some 1,200 cows from the parts near the Lough of Erne. Sir Arthur Chichester hath taken Castle Reogh. Sir Richard Morrison with his garrison in Lecale hath taken two islands in loughs of Brian McArt's, being all the forts he held, and by the planting of that garrison in that place,



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Magennis finds himself so restrained, as he hath made great means to be taken in, and in most humble manner submitted himself to Her Majesty's mercy. Sir John Barkley with his force laid in the Annaly joining with the Lords of Delvin and Dunsany, have met with Tyrrell's followers, as they were passing towards Offally, for which purpose he was specially laid there, and [have] taken from them 300 cows, killed some of them, and stopped their passage from going thither, so as the country we hope will be in quiet. We have spoiled here good store of corn already, but there is the greatest abundance in these parts, almost all the corn that the traitor Tyrone himself hath, that ever we saw anywhere in this realm. We mean to spoil it all, God willing, ere we go hence, and then cannot he keep any men this winter. And we find by experience that it is the only sound course to ruin this rebellion.

"We must renew our suit to your Lordships to send us with as great expedition as may be a thousand shot for supplies, for we must daily hazard many of those we have, and we conceive it to be the next way to diminish Her Majesty's army, to strengthen the English companies, whereby we may the more securely take occasions to cast the rest. For we do for the present keep many Irish in pay, rather because we would not have them fight against us, than for any other great use or trust that we have in them."—The Camp at Blackwater, 1601, July 19.

[*Postscript.*] "We have of new proclaimed a reward for Tyrone's head, because we hear no man durst take notice of the old proclamation, and we have caused our scouts to publish it, that the rebels cannot but hear thereof." *Endorsed*:—Received by Mr. May the 30th. *Signed. Seal.* pp. 7.

*Enclose* :—

83. i. "*A note of such as were slain and hurt in a skirmish at Benburb beyond Blackwater, the 16th of July, 1601.*" *Total* : killed, 26 ; hurt, 76. *Besides these, there were wounded Sir William Warren and Captain Williams, and Dr. Latewarr, the Lord Deputy's chaplain, was killed. The names both of officers and men, English and Irish, are given. Unsigned.* pp. 2.

83. ii. *Proclamation signed by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, Sir Richard Wingfield, and Sir George Bouchier. Refer to Tyrone's boast to his followers that he can make his peace when he list. Declare this to be a falsehood, and that he will never be received to parley or pardon. The Queen's compassion towards those misled by him.*

"Yet doth Her Majesty so well remember that Tyrone was at the beginning the son of a smith, that she raised him to the title of an Earl, and gave him lands and means to maintain that estate, and that all that would not content him, but that out of the cankered malice of his own heart (without pretence or ground) he is himself revolted in the worst degree that may be, and seduces others by all the means he can devise ; that she is resolved never to give him pardon, but as a reprobate to make him an example of her justice to the world, and for that cause hath given us authority in her name to promise to any man that brings him in alive or dead unto the State, the sum of two

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*thousand pounds sterling, if he bring him in alive, and one thousand pound[s] sterling for his head, if by the bringer's means he come to his end, besides a general pardon for all offences whatsoever, if the party that brings the body or head shall stand in need of the same. To this effect a former proclamation was published at the camp at Mount Norris in November last, upon the rising of the army, which hereby we have thought good to renew, and to assure every man that can justly challenge the same, to have the benefit thereof. Given at the Camp at Blackwater, the 18th of July, 1601." One sheet.*

July 19.  
Camp at  
Blackwater.

84. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. It is not in his power to dispose of the government of Connaught, but by direction and warrant from England. Recommends Sir Oliver Lambert, who has deserved especially well in this service. A great part of Mountjoy's work would be undone, if any were put into the government of Connaught, unfit or unable to make that war. Has no other end but the advancement of Her Majesty's service.—The Camp at Blackwater, 1601, July 19. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

July 19.  
Dublin.

85. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "These enclosed may show your Honour how all things proceed here touching my Lord Deputy's journey; and we are careful to supply all his wants. The bark, wherein the pickaxes and other munitions were, was not arrived; and therefore, to supply my Lord's wants, I caused 200 pickaxes to be made, and sent unto his Lordship, which are gone by sea unto him; and now, thanks be to God, the Queen's store is come and landed. If we be not hindered with foreign forces, I have a confident hope that, by God's favour, Her Majesty's services will have good success. Her Majesty's new monies hath a good passage, and will be profitable to Her Majesty, if the exchange may be maintained (more especially at the first) according to the agreement."—Dublin, 1601, July 19. [*Postscript.*] Prays for a greater proportion of powder. There are not three lasts left in the store to supply any sudden service. *Endorsed:—Received at Greenwich the 25th. Holograph. p. 1.*

*Encloses:—*

85. i. Thomas [Jones, Bishop of] Meath, to Sir George Carey. "I thought good to acquaint you with such advertisements as I have newly received from the camp, which, so soon as I alighted here from my horse, I have received. On Monday last my Lord Deputy did beat the rebels from all their trenches with ordnance and such other means as he used, and that night they ran away from their trenches. My Lord fell presently in hand with a fort, and it goes forward very well. On Tuesday last, his Lordship resolved with 800 foot and 60 horse to go to Benburb. There in his way he was encountered, and, as it is written, there was the sorest fight for three hours that ever was in this kingdom, but, thanks be to God, with far greater loss to the rebels than to Her Majesty's forces. No men of account of our side hurt, but Captain Williams[s] leg

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*broken, Sir William Warren shot through the shoulder, and the bullet cut out of his neck, no bone perished. Sir Garrett Moore shot in the arm, and his horse killed. Dr. Lathware shot through the head, and not like to recover; and but a few soldiers more, but some other horses galled, &c. (sic). The loss to the rebels is thought to be great, God's name be blessed. This I write I take to be very true, for it is sent to me from one I trust."*—"From Forowes [Forres], this Saturday evening, July the 18th, 1601."

*Sir George Carey has added a note:—"I am doubtful whether these occurments be true, because the same is not confirmed." Holograph. pp. 2.*

July 19. 86. "The remain of munition and arms in the store at Dublin, the 19th of July, 1601." *Signed by Sir George Bouchier. p. 1.*

July 20. 87. Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil. "The Lady  
Cork. Sentleger by her painful and expensive labours, having brought to a conclusion, as I think, the information made against her to the Lords in England, hath entreated me to express to your Honour the appearance thereof. And, in regard that upon the particular examination of the cause (which I have carried with the best endeavours I might, to understand the same perfectly), I have found her in my opinion cleared, I can do no less than to testify that James Fitz Thomas, the archtraitor of this province (whom I purposely questioned with therein) hath by his deposition acquitt[ed] her, and Denham her accuser confesseth that what he informed proceeded not of his own knowledge, but derived from others that enforce not the same against her. So as now the cause being made apparent (for aught yet I know), and the scandal such as hath hitherto maimed her reputation in your Honour's opinion, I do humbly crave that you will be pleased (according her innocency in this sort justified) to afford her such countenance as to your grave judgment shall seem meet."—Cork, 1601, July 20. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

July 20. 88. Gerrot Comerford to Sir Robert Cecil. His employment  
Waterford. in Munster by the President has made him in a manner a stranger to the affairs of other provinces. Nevertheless, in discharge of his duty, presumes briefly to deliver "a general taste of the stay and state of this kingdom at this instant."

"Munster, through the provident care of the Lord President, is reclaimed and amenable to law, the forts and castles thereof recovered, and at Her Highness[s] absolute command, and not one wood-kern abroad, saving Keadagh O'Meagher, who is in the county of Tipperary, now drawing to a head to the number of three hundred men, encouraged by the report of the coming of Spaniards. The Lord President, to give impediment to the turbulent practice now afoot there, sent me to the Earl of Ormonde to make proffer to his Lordship that the Lord President



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in person would prosecute those rebels. The Earl, not embracing that motion, did undertake that service. In Leinster, some of the Clansheries of Upper Ossory, enemies to the Lord of Upper Ossory, Onie O'More, and the Connors of Offally, are joined together, preying and spoiling Her Majesty's subjects. Donnell Spainagh and Feagh McHugh his sons are pardoned nevertheless, as I suppose they expect the success of Spaniards, and will be ready upon the least occasion to take arms. Petty stealths and robberies, the fuel of rebellion in Leinster, are daily committed, and the last reconciled rebels desirous to embrace a temporising peace, to keep their people in strength, prest [*i.e.* ready] upon all occasions to revolt. Thomond, through the provident care of the Earl of Thomond (whose absence is a great hindrance to the present and future service of Her Majesty), is at a reasonable good stay, populous of able men, and procured to be in awe of the law, by his Lordship's good government. Connaught tickles and inconstant of divers factions, one day in, and another day out. The Burkes of Clanrickarde are relying to the young Earl of Clanrickarde and his brethren, who are daily disturbed by Redmond Burke, a competitor for some part of Clanrickarde. The Burkes of Mayo dependeth chiefly on Theobald [Tibbott] Ne Long Burke, who lately usurped the name of McWilliam for Richard Burke, the Devil's Hook's son, to make him to be at his direction, and is impugned by Theobald Burke, Walter Kittagh[s] son. O'Connor Don, O'Connor Roe, and the Kellys, do bear the chiefest sway in the county of Roscommon, and are in a manner absolute without any great controlment. The county of Leitrim is wholly under Brian Oge O'Rourke and Teig O'Rourke, reconciled enemies. The supposed O'Connor Sligo is at Ballymote, the only place of retreat for O'Donnell, when he is distressed by the garrisons of Ulster, to remove him thence. A thousand foot and fifty horse of the forces of Munster were by direction sent into Connaught to the abbey of Boyle, to join with the rest of the forces of that province. The daily attendance and employment of the Lord Deputy in Ulster hath greatly dismayed Ulstermen, and kept them in Ulster. Nevertheless they are of late drawing to a head, daily disturbing our garrisons: for preventing whereof the Lord Deputy is now encamped in Ulster. Florence McCarthy in a seasonable time was by the Lord President restrained, whose restraint hath not only discovered his dissembling fidelity and faith to Her Highness, but also abated the pride of his partakers in such sort as we stand more secure than formerly we have done in Munster. It was a question whether, to execute that archtraitor James Fitz Thomas where his offences were committed and his treasons known, would be more notable and work more terror, than to send him into England. The report of the pretence of the Spaniard to land some men in Munster is lately confirmed by merchants come out of Cadiz, and by shipping-come out of France to this city, the 12th of this instant, and also most probable, by the new stirs and spoils committed by the Moores and Clansheries upon Kilkenny, and the towns thereabouts, every second day, and by the insolency and wicked behaviour of divers of the inhabitants of these parts, that they gape for the coming of Spaniards. To prevent their landing,

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the Lord President drew to a head the forces of Munster, and intendeth to give them impediment to fortify in places convenient, as occasion shall be offered. Myself, both privately and publicly, have found by all conjecture and examinations that the Irishry assure themselves that the Spaniard is ready to take sea, and that there is one army appointed to land at Dunkirk, and another to land in Munster. I go instantly herehence to Limerick by direction from the Lord President. This city is every day mustering of their people and strengthening of themselves, protesting that they purpose and resolve to die before they yield to the Spaniard. It was credibly delivered unto me that the archtraitor Archer, the Jesuit, obscurely arrived in Munster lately. I have thereof written to the Lord President. If he be arrived, it is not unlike but that the Spaniards will speedily second him, for he is a most seditious stirrer of the people, and, as it should seem, come to renew a second faction, and prepare the inconstant people to join with them.”—Waterford, 1601, July 20. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

July [21]. 89. Notes of certain events in Irish history, 1601, March-July. [*Part of the notes, apparently, collected by Dr. Meredith Hanmer.*]

“1600[-1], March 20. Sir George Carew, Lord President, commended William McHubbert, by the name of a gentleman, whose father and son himself had been well acquainted withal, and for dutifulness, valour, and service deserved favour; and for that there was no use of his employment in Munster, he sent him to Leinster with his kinsmen and followers, desiring the Earl of Ormonde to grace him, and employ him, if occasion required, &c. (*sic*); which turned to no small hurt, as after shall appear.

“1601, June 22. At Carrickbane, the Lord Deputy with others of the Council hearing, as they termed it, an indisposition in the Earl of Ormonde, being Lord Lieutenant of the army, and not to the prejudice of his authority, sent unto the aforesaid Earl a project or disposal of the Queen’s forces for that summer’s service, very providently as followeth:—Out of Munster (say they) may well be spared 1,000 foot and 50 horse, and yet to remain there in list 1,600 foot and 200 horse, for any occasion that may happen. In Connaught there are already, besides Tibbott Ne Long’s, 1,150 foot, 74 horse, to be placed as followeth:—

1. To keep at Galway and Athlone, 350 foot.
2. At the Abbey of Boyle 1,000 foot, 62 horse, which will very much further the plantation at Ballyshannon.
3. At the Annaly, on Leinster side the Shannon, 800 foot, 62 horse, lying fitly to join with the forces of Leinster either northward or southward, to stop the passage of the Ulster rebels into Leinster.
4. In Offally, foot companies under the command of the Earl of Kildare, 150; Sir George Bouchier, 100; Sir Edward Herbert, 100; Sir Henry Warren, 100; Captain Carroll, 100; horse company under the command of the Earl of Kildare, 25; Sir Edward Herbert, 12.

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5. In Leix, foot companies under the command of Sir Henry Power, 150; Sir Francis Rush, 150; Sir Thomas Loftus, 100; horse companies under the command of Mr. Marshal [*i.e.* Sir Richard Wingfield], 20; Captain Pigott, 12.
6. In Kilkenny, under the command of the Earl of Ormonde, 50 horse, 150 foot.
7. In Westmeath, foot companies under the command of the Lord of Delvin, 150; Sir Francis Shane, 100.
8. In Kells, foot companies under the command of Captain Roper, 150; horse under the command of the Earl of Kildare, 25; Sir Henry Harrington, 25.
9. At Liscannon in the Brenny, foot companies under the command of the Lord of Dunsany, 150; Sir Henry Harrington, 100; Sir William Warren, 100; Captain Lawrence Esmonde, 150; horse under the Lord of Dunsany, 50.
10. At Dundalk, under the command of Captain Freckleton, 100 foot.
11. At the Moyerie, under the command of Captain Hansard, 100 foot.

"The 14th of July, anno 1601, the Lord Deputy took the Blackwater, with the trenches and strength which Tyrrell and Mostian undertook to hold for the rebels; and the same month the Earl of Ormonde forewarned him and the Lord President of Munster of the coming of the Spaniards for Ireland. Shortly after the Lords of the Council of England sent forewarnings, dated the 20 of July, to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Earl of Ormonde, and to the Lord President of Munster, of the preparation of 5, [000] or 6,000 Spaniards at Lisbon for Ireland, and that her Highness would with all expedition send 2,000 men to join with her forces there to receive them, which landed shortly after." pp. 1½.

July 21.  
Carrickfergus.

90. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir Robert Cecil. "This gentleman, Captain Covette [*sic*, Covert], brought me letters from Sir Henry Dockwra, declaring his wants of match. This, and some other occasions of despatches to my Lord Deputy brought me hither from Massereene, whither I am to return in the morning. I will send half the store I have to Lough Foyle, the better to hasten Sir Henry to draw into Tyrone, where my Lord Deputy expects him. How he can secure the country in his absence, I know not, but sure I am, if he advance not, his Lordship will find ill entrance into that country. The way by Blackwater hath been often attempted, and the rebel hath used all art to impeach that passage by plashing, trenching, and other devices. That from Lough Foyle is plain, and no art used to prevent access. My Lord is now at the Blackwater, fortifying near the last fort. Tyrone lies at Tubbermassan, a strong fastnage two miles from him, and will be loath to fight a blow, until his Lordship put so far into the country. I have daily spies in his camp, and do understand that if they of Lough Foyle can draw towards my Lord, the traitor by all likelihood is beaten. If he once turn wood-kern, some one or other will soon cut his throat. I have given my Lord notice of as much as can be known touching Tyrone's strength and his designs, and have



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made suit that a day may be appointed us to enter upon him from all parts adjoining, when I hope to give as good assistance as can be expected from so many men. My Lord hath drawn those of Lecale unto himself more than such as are left for the guard of the country. I have many places to hold, and yet am hopeful to force my passage to his Lordship, if I foreknow the day of his putting into Tyrone. I have beaten Brian McArt over the Bann, who is in Tyrone with all his goods and people. He cannot return until O'Neill have leisure to give him assistance. He holds a strong fort in Killultagh, which I must in this their busy time take from him. I came this day from before it, having been in Clanbrassill, from whence I fetched such cows as were left on this side the Bann, killed such people as we lighted upon, and cut as much corn as possibly we might for the time and number. I found all that country as plentifully stored with corn as any part of England, and I will labour by all means to destroy it, which will cut their throats faster than our swords, from which flight keeps them. Killultagh is one of the strongest holds in Ireland. I must take the time whilst my Lord is so near to waste and consume it, into which I have already made a good entrance. On Thursday I will fortify at Toom, or make a road into Tyrone on that side, to 'swype' away the traitor's cows, which are driven to those parts for safety.

"I can do little good with my boat, until the other is finished, upon which we work daily. The materials came lately unto me, and are not so good as they should be. They have so good watch towards the Lough, that without good strength I can do them no great annoyance; but I will leave nothing unattempted, and hope that famine and the sword will shortly tame all rebels. I am still a humble suitor that we may be furnished with whole victuals for our remote garrisons, for I assure your Honour (in the state we shall bring the country) little will be bought for money. I lately got a spy or a priest, who slipped out of Armagh into Tyrone, he not having been above fourteen days in Ireland. He names himself Thomas Walker, and I have sent him with a guard to the Governor of Lecale, to be by him conveyed to my Lord Deputy.

"Captain Covert stays the writing of these, which hastens me to end, humbly praying your Honour to be good unto me for procuring me payment of the money due from Her Majesty, without which I am like to fall into great danger for not payment where I am bound, and must be driven to seek leave to repair into England to prevent it, whereof I would be loath during the wars."—Knockfergus, 1601, July 21. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.*

July 21.  
Whitefriars.

91. Frances, [Lady] Norreys, to Sir Robert Cecil. "The bearer hereof, Captain Haughton, hath been an old soldier of my uncle's, Sir John, for which cause I am bold to recommend his suit unto your Honour for a company in these employments into Ireland, or elsewhere. Where of late he had charge, and, as I have heard, behaved himself like an honest, valiant man, although he was cased amongst many other by the Deputy who then was."—"From my lodging in Whitefriars, this 21 of July." *Endorsed:—1601. Holograph. p. ½.*

1601.  
July 21. **92.** Sir Edward Fitzgerald to Sir Robert Cecil. His devotion to Sir Robert. The success of the northern journey. The Blackwater fort taken on July 14, with the loss of some seven hurt and killed. The fight at Benburb on July 16; loss of rebels uncertain; some 80 hurt and killed on our side; Captain Williams, Captain Harrison, Sir William Warren, and Sir Edward Wingfield hurt. "My Lord continueth his camp at Blackwater, still attending the building of a new fort, not made where the first fort was, but in another place near the former, in a more defensible and convenient place, in most opinions of the army. God be thanked, the flood of all the rebellious pride in this kingdom beginneth well to abate, but great distress and scarcity amongst the poor subjects generally."—"From the camp at Blackwater, the 21 of July, 1601." *Signed.* p. 1.
- July 23. **93.** Captain Henry Clare to Sir Robert Cecil. Has been maliciously slandered by a most injurious letter of Francis Martin, Mayor of Galway, to the Privy Council. The cause referred to the Council of Ireland, who have heard the same at Dublin, and have returned their opinion, with a true declaration by the writer of the cause of the Mayor's malice. Desires that the letters herewith sent (*wanting*) may be read at the Council Table, that he may be freed from the imputation of the Mayor's letter, and regain such poor reputation as he brought with him to Ireland. Is maliced by the Mayor for his true service to Her Majesty, as shall appear by what he has effected, and by the true testimony of the inhabitants of Galway, enclosed in his letters to the Council. Has not been recompensed like other and younger officers, so begs that his deserts (if Sir Robert finds any) may be made known to the Queen.  
"So, having sent your Honour a falcon of Thomond, a tassell gentill of Avon, and a tassell of a goshawk of Mayo, I can only advertise this from this province, that O'Donnell is almost driven out of his country; O'Connor Sligo by him lately taken prisoner; the Earl of Clanrickarde now marching with a thousand Munster foot toward the Abbey of Boyle; and that we all live in hope to have the wars shortly ended."—Galway, 1601, July 23. *Holograph. Seal.* p. 1.
- July 23. **94.** "The answer of Sir Ralph Lane, knight, Mustermaster, and Ralph Birkinshawe, esquire, Comptroller, to the petition of Hugh Brickdall, servant to the Earl of Thomond, exhibited to her Majesty's Privy Council of Ireland, authorised in the absence of the Lord Deputy." *In the margin*:—23 July, 1601.  
*Endorsed by Sir Geoffrey Fenton*:—"Answer of the officers of the Check to a second petition preferred in Ireland by the Earl of Thomond's servant, touching his Lordship's pretended arrear for his foot company." *Signed.* p. 1.
- July 24. **95.** Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Philip Hore, who served Sir Henry's father, and has also

1601.

rendered great assistance to the writer in the preparation of his accounts. Thanks Sir Robert for taking into his service Richard Hoper, who had also been employed by the writer's father.—1601, July 24. *Signed.* p. 1.

July 25.  
Duncannon.

96. Sir John Brockett to Sir Robert Cecil. Thinks it his duty to let Sir Robert understand all that has happened in the place under his command.

"All this month of July we have had news of a Spanish fleet by such merchants of this harbour of Ross and Waterford as have daily come in. The like it seemeth the Lord President of Munster hath had, for he did carefully send directions to the city of Waterford to prepare themselves. The like the Earl of Ormonde did to me. Upon the first news, I did write to Her Majesty's Council to Dublin of all the wants in the fort; the shortness of the time, the distance of the way, with many other dangerous lets, would not give them leave to supply it from the store. But they did take an honourable course for us with the Mayor of Waterford for the present time. The like I did certify to the Earl of Ormonde, who did take the same course with the Mayor of Waterford; and, to say the truth, I did find the Mayor so forward as myself could desire, truly acknowledging the defence of their harbour doth consist in the strength of the fort. And that your Honour may the better take knowledge of the fort, the harbour, with every creek, the country wherein the fort doth stand, with every village within eight or ten miles; so soon as I have planted some ordnance that are coming to me to the fort, I will make you an exact plot or map, truly made to a scale; and if my endeavours may be accepted on (*sic*), you shall not find me an idle or unprofitable member to my Prince and country, nor unserviceable to your Honour. In Waterford and these parts is more traffic and change of money than in all Ireland, Dublin excepted. Wherefore I am bold to write that, notwithstanding Her Majesty's proclamation doth strictly forbid after the tenth of July, yet doth all men sell their ware of all kinds as near as they can for silver. No man examineth the buyer, what coin he doth pay; and if there be not some strict course taken, I do believe it will be long before the use of this silver will be left, nor will otherwise be left until the Frenchmen and other nations do carry it away for their wines and other merchandise."—Duncannon [Fort], 1601, July 25. *Holograph.* p. 1.

July 29.  
Dublin.

97. Sir George Carey to the Privy Council. Concerning the alleged arrears to the Captains at Lough Foyle. States the monies he has paid to them. They have small cause to complain, besides "there hath been such packing used by some of them in giving bills and money to falsify their certificates for victuals by them received," that he endeavours to sift out the truth thereof. In no way desires the hindrance of the Captains. Sends copy of his instructions to his paymasters. Yet the checks are not collected, nor can he get perfect certificates of the victuals and money supplied. Has just



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received notice of another sum to be defalked out of these Captains' entertainments. Shews the results, if he had paid every man in full. The new money.—Dublin, 1601, July 29. *Signed.* pp. 2.

*Encloses :—*

97. i. "*Instructions for the paymasters under me for the army at Lough Foyle and the forts adjoining, touching the payment and issuing of twelve thousand two hundred and fifty pounds of new money sent to Lough Foyle by sea, the 18th day of May, 1601.*" *Copy. Unsigned.* pp. 2.

July.

98. List of fourteen Captains for Ireland.—*Endorsed :—*July, 1601. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

July.

99. List of Captains, to take charge of 2,000 men. *It is stated by whom they are recommended, &c. Four are from the Low Countries.* *Endorsed :—*1601, July. p. 1.

July.

100. List of 2,000 men to be sent into Munster ; giving names of counties, numbers, Captains, ports, and dates for embarkation. The dates are either the 6th or the 9th of August. *Endorsed :—*1601, July. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

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GENERAL INDEX.

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